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THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN:

FROM THE

REVOLUTION IN 1688, TO THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE THE FIRST.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN MANUSCRIPT OF

ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, Esq.

MINISTER FROM GEORGE I. TO THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

To which is prefixed,

An INTRODUCTION, containing an Account of the Author and his Writings,

By WILLIAM THOMSON, LL. D.

PUBLISHED BY

THOMAS HOLLINGBERY, D. D.

ARCHDEACON OF CHICHESTER, AND CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY, F. R. S. AND S. S. A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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MDCCLXXXVII.

TO THE

EARL of HARDWICK.

MY LORD,

I GRATEFULLY accept of your permiſſion to ſubmit this Hiſtory to the public eye, under the favour of your patronage and protection, who were pleaſed, on peruſing the manuſcript, to entertain a good opinion, and to expreſs your commendation of it, as deſcribing characters and events worthy of general communication. This approbation and recommendation of your Lordſhip, who are both a lover and judge of hiſtorical truths, were ſo flattering and encouraging, that I ſhould ſuſpect myſelf of wanting the generoſity of a true friend to literature, if I ſuppreſſed entirely the information and amuſement they may afford, by diſcloſing the tranſactions and ſcenes of thoſe periods which have hitherto found but few well-informed authors to relate and illuſtrate them. Whatever

ever be the reception of this Work, what degree of merit and eſtimation it may deſerve and obtain, the propriety muſt be admitted and acknowledged of my dedicating and addreſſing it to you, who are accurately converſant with the annals of this nation, and have enriched the treaſures of hiſtorical knowledge by the publication of thoſe curious and authentic documents, which are juſtly diſtinguiſhed in the valuable collection of State Papers.

I HAVE the honour to be, with the greateſt eſteem and reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's moſt obedient

And humble Servant,

THOMAS HOLLINGBERY.

WELBECK-STREET,
CAVENDISH-SQUARE.

PREFACE.

IT may be neceſſary and proper to inform the Reader by what means this Hiſtory came to be produced to the world. On the death of a near relation, many papers came into my poſſeſſion: among them was found a manuſcript, written in Latin, ſigned by the initial letters of the name of the Author, ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, Eſq. nearly connected with my family. It appeared to be the Hiſtory of Great Britain, from the Revolution in 1688 to the Acceſſion of king George the Firſt in 1714; containing many curious anecdotes and facts, which have eſcaped other hiſtorians, and throw new light on ſeveral important tranſactions in this kingdom. I communicated this diſcovery to ſome friends, who deſired me to ſhew it to the earl of Hardwick, a competent judge of hiſtorical truths: meeting with his approbation, I ſubmitted it to the inſpection of the Rev. Dr. John Douglas, canon reſidentiary of St. Paul's church, and chaplain in ordinary to his Majeſty, known by his writings to be not only a zealous advocate for the truths of Chriſtianity, but a great ornament to the republic of literature and ſcience. He, ever ready to promote the advancement of uſeful knowledge, and willing to encourage whatever contributes to the amuſement and inſtruction of mankind, examined it with attention, and agreed with other friends in deſiring to ſee it in print. The favourable opinion of theſe

eminent men, joined to that of others remarkable for their abilities and learning, induced me to publiſh it. My firſt deſign was to have produced it in the original; but knowing how few are ſufficiently learned to underſtand, and how many are indiſpoſed to read two quarto volumes in Latin, however intereſting and entertaining the ſubject may be, I altered my purpoſe, and intended to have ſent it into the world in a tranſlation. A nervous fever depriving me of the power, defeated the ſcheme. But that the world might not be diſappointed of the amuſement and information it may afford, Mr. Cunningham's manuſcripts were committed to the care and management of the Rev. Dr. William Thomſon, known in the republic of letters as the author of a philoſophical *jeu d'eſprit*, and of the Continuation of Principal Watſon's Hiſtory of Spain.

THIS account I think proper to give, that the world may know what part I take in this work, and how far I am concerned in the publication. The preface and the dedication I wrote, the one to relate theſe circumſtances, and the other as an acknowledgment of the obligation I am under to Lord Hardwick, for the trouble he was pleaſed to take in peruſing, and giving his approbation to, the manuſcript. This tranſlation I hope will be received with that indulgence for its faults which candor preſcribes; and as the motive for publiſhing it is ſolely to gratify the public curioſity, every apology will be admitted in favour of Dr. Thomſon, who has expreſſed the ſenſe of the Author with fidelity. Dr. Thomſon has introduced it with biographical and critical obſervations on the life and connections of the Author, and merit of the work; to which he has added, in an Appendix, ſpecimens of the Latinity, that the Reader may form ſome judgment of the nature of the language, and ſpirit of the ſtyle, in which it is written.

THOMAS HOLLINGBERY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE prevailing ſpirit of the times, whatever it be, is uſually carried to exceſs, and being tinctured in its progreſs with the imperfections and follies of human nature, throws an air of ridicule even on the nobleſt purſuits. The inſtitution of chivalry, which had its origin in the moſt generous principles of the human mind and heart, having gradually degenerated into extravagance, ceremony, and affectation, became an object of general deriſion. The labours of philologiſts, dignified at one period by the importance of their object, being miſ-ſpent in another on matters of trifling minuteneſs, furniſhed a copious ſubject for the exerciſe of wit and humour. That diſpoſition to abſtraction, which leads to the inveſtigation of general laws, bewildered men of ſublime genius in the mazes of imagination. The wildneſs of theory was exchanged for the ſober paths of induction and literary experience: but even this reflux in the ſpirit of philoſophy, if it has checked the chimerical flights of fancy, has alſo immerſed multitudes of pretenders to ſcience ſo deeply in the contemplation of ſolitary and ſeparate ſubſtances, that they become mere nomenclators, confine their views to deſcription, and are more anxious to aſſign to any particular object its juſt place in ſome artificial catalogue, than to explore the œconomy and laws of nature.

A SIMILAR obſervation may be made on the extreme avidity with which many readers peruſe every regiſter and memorial that relates to paſt times, and who are delighted more with the particular facts brought to light by the induſtry of the mere antiquarian, than with the conduct of the paſſions, the moral principles of human nature, and the fate of nations, diſplayed by a variety of intereſting ſituations in the page of the hiſtorian. Whether the Britiſh government has yet arrived at that ſtage of exiſtence in which nations, like individuals, having experienced the vanity of all human enterprizes, begin to exchange the ardour of hope for the recollection of paſt events and adventures; or, whether the accidental appearance of a few great maſters has eſtabliſhed in this country, as it were, an hiſtorical ſchool; certain it is, that the paſſion for writing, as well as that for reading narratives and records of every kind, is ſtronger in the preſent than it has ever been in any former period. Yet few of theſe come up to the grace, the dignity, and importance of juſt and genuine hiſtory; a ſpecies of compoſition which conſiſts not merely in a collection of ſeparated and disjointed parts, and ſtill leſs in ſuch an artificial arrangement of facts, accompanied by the ſhrewdeſt conjectures, as may give plauſibility to particular prejudices concerning matters of doubtful diſputation. The hiſtorical, like other humours, has tranſgreſſed the bounds of propriety and found criticiſm. We have compilers, who amaſs in ponderous dictionaries, innumerable unconnected and unimportant facts, going on at the ſame time in different parts of the world, from one of which they ſuddenly ſtart to another, and with all the ſpeed, without the eaſe of poetry, drag along the ſurprized reader, out of breath, from Athens to Thebes, and from Thebes to Athens. Other writers ſearch with incredible eagerneſs after anecdotes, attach themſelves chiefly to circumſtances of place, dreſs, perſon, voice, and manner, and ſeem more anxious to preſerve the aſhes of the dead than the memory of their actions. A third party keep a ſteady eye on ſome

controverted opinion, as the citadel around which they raiſe their outworks, and the centre to which they refer the principal facts that enter into their narratives. And a fourth, under new titles, and with ſome ſlight variations and additions, republiſh what was before in the public poſſeſſion.

UNDER ſuch circumſtances, it may be neceſſary, in announcing the Work now offered to the Public, to premiſe, that it is neither a re-publication, nor a mere compilation of facts; that it is not addreſſed merely, though it certainly be in part, to a paſſion for anecdotes and antiquities; and that it is not dictated by a ſpirit of controverſy. It is the production of a man who, having lived long on the ſtage, and converſed with the principal actors in public life, is animated by the recent ſcenes which he had ſeen, and in ſome of which he himſelf had acted a part. It contains facts that have paſſed unobſerved by other hiſtorians: ſome, though not new, when conſidered ſeparately, are ſelected, diſpoſed, and deſcribed with a ſkill which beſtows on them all the grace of novelty: and the whole of them, whether new or old, are united by a principle of connection, into one intereſting view, which makes an impreſſion on the mind, of ſomething that is uniform and entire.

THAT Mr. Cunningham was miniſter from the court of Great Britain to the republic of Venice, in the reign of George the Firſt, might be ſhewn from traditional authority that could not be called in queſtion, were it not placed beyond all doubt by the public records of this kingdom. The cover of a letter directed to him under that honourable title, by the ſecretary Craggs, was found with the original manuſcript of his Hiſtory: and when this circumſtance led to an inquiry at the paper-office, his correſpondence, or, at leaſt, a part of it *, with the ſecretaries of ſtate, from his

* Secretary Craggs carried away his official correſpondence from the public office; and probably, among others, ſome of Mr. Cunningham's letters.

arrival at Venice in 1715, till his return to London in 1720, appeared to be there preſerved; his diſpatches having been collected and arranged by Mr. Aſtle, who very obligingly communicated this information.

But though this diſtinguiſhed ſituation of our Author, between the years 1715 and 1720, be thus authentically aſcertained, it will be natural to inquire into what is known of him in the earlieſt ſtages of his life, and particularly from the Revolution in 1688, to the Acceſſion in 1714, the period of which he has undertaken to write the hiſtory. It unfortunately happens, that no materials for the gratification of this curioſity, can be produced; as none of our author's books, and ſcarcely any of his papers, beſides the MSS. of his hiſtory, have been tranſmitted to Dr. Hollingbery. There are, however, a great many paſſages in this Hiſtory, which throw a conſiderable ſhare of light on an inquiry concerning its author; and which, compared with other collateral evidences, enable us to trace him to certain ſituations in life, of which he himſelf has left us no memorials.

Mr. Cunningham * ſays, "About this time Dr. Burnet arrived "in Holland." Could the writer, with any degree of accuracy or propriety of language, have ſaid that Dr. Burnet arrived in Holland, unleſs, at the time of the doctor's arrival, he had been there himſelf? or, if this remark ſhould be thought too minute, may we not infer from the curious anecdotes reſpecting the earl of Sunderland when in Holland †, that our Author was intimately acquainted with his family? And, above all, from the circumſtantial detail of the prince of Orange's memorable expedition into England, and from the copious liſt, given by our Author, of individuals who came over with his highneſs, ſeveral of whoſe names occur not in any other hiſtory, and whoſe ſtations in life were indeed ſo pri-

* Vol. I. p. 79. † Vol. I. p. 96.

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vate as to render it improbable that they ſhould have been diſtinguiſhed, may we not conclude, that if he himſelf did not actually embark, he was, at leaſt, ſo ſituated at the time of the ſailing of the fleet, as to be enabled to introduce ſuch particulars into his narrative as could only come from the pen of an eye-witneſs?

If, however, the foregoing paſſages ſhould not be thought ſufficiently to aſcertain that our Author was in Holland in 1688, he has, in another part of his work, enabled us to trace, with the utmoſt preciſion, where he was, and how he was employed, in 1701. We read * that this year "a certain perſon was ſent "into France by the king's authority," and that the king "had an exact account of the forces, horſe and foot, money "and proviſions, old and new, throughout all France." The ſingularity of the expreſſion, *a certain perſon*, marks very ſignificantly that the Author himſelf was this perſon. This paſſage ſuggeſted the idea of conſulting Carſtares's State Papers, as it was poſſible at leaſt, that ſome collateral proof of this public employment of our Hiſtorian, might be produced from a book which contains not a little political information during the reign of king William, in a ſeries of letters to one who appears to have been greatly truſted in conducting the government of Scotland, and with whom therefore, Cunningham, his countryman, might naturally be ſuppoſed to have correſponded.

This ſuppoſition, on examination, appeared to be well founded. For in this book, publiſhed in 1774, there are two letters † from Alexander Cunningham, dated Paris, the 22d and 26th of Auguſt 1701, giving an account of his conferences with the marquis de Torci, the French miniſter, relative to the Scottiſh trade with France. This commercial negotiation, from the tenor of Cunningham's letters, compared with his hiſtory, appears to have been only the oſtenſible object of his attention, while he was

* Vol. I. p. 238. † Vol. I. p. 709, 710.

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in France this year: for "the exact account ſent to the king" of the military preparations throughout all France, makes it very clear, that "the certain perſon" was, at this very time, rendering to his majeſty ſervices equally ſecret and important.

It ſeemed not unlikely that, honoured as Cunningham thus was, with the patronage of Carſtares, ſome earlier traces of him than thoſe juſt mentioned, might be found in the ſame volume of State Papers. Accordingly we find * a letter from Alexander Cunningham to Mr. Carſtares, dated Bruges, October 20, 1697. Though we cannot, as in the caſe of the letters from Paris, connect this with any coincident paſſage in our Hiſtory; yet, as it ſeems to be highly improbable that Carſtares ſhould, within the ſhort ſpace of four years, have two confidential friends and correſpondents, both having the ſame Chriſtian and ſurname, may we not be permitted to aſſume it as an undoubted fact, that our Author was the perſon who wrote the letter from Bruges? eſpecially as the Rev. Dr. Macormick, Principal of the United College at St. Andrews, who publiſhed Carſtares's State Papers, in a letter relative to the preſent enquiry, expreſſes not the leaſt doubt on this ſubject? And if this be ſo, we have gained a very important acceſſion of intelligence concerning our Author: for it appears from this letter that he was in 1697 intruſted with the care of lord Lorne, afterwards ſo well known under the name of John duke of Argyle. His lordſhip, though not ſeventeen years of age, when Cunningham wrote this letter, was then colonel of a regiment, which his father, the earl of Argyle, had raiſed for his majeſty's ſervice in Flanders. The abilities and virtues of our Author, we may be allowed to preſume, muſt have been well known, for otherwiſe, it cannot be ſuppoſed that he would have been placed by Argyle in ſo confidential a ſituation. It appears by a letter from the earl of Hyndford to the earl of Buchan, on the ſubject of this inquiry concerning Mr. Cunningham, that he travelled

* Vol. I. p. 360.

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with James, afterwards earl of Hyndford, and with the Hon. Mr. William Carmichael, the father of the preſent earl, who was younger brother to that nobleman, and, in the reign of queen Anne, ſolicitor general for the kingdom of Scotland. They paſſed two winters at Utrecht and Franker, between the years 1692 and 1695, and travelled together for ſome time afterwards. Lord Hyndford has tranſmitted to the tranſlator an holograph letter of Mr. Cunningham's, dated London, Dec. 7, 1704, to Mr. Carmichael his father, which perfectly agrees with the hand-writing of the Latin MSS. of our Hiſtory, and that of our Author's correſpondence with the ſecretaries of ſtate. This letter, in which the writer ſolicits prompt payment of a ſum of money from the Scotch treaſury, which he has lain out of for *four* years, and for which he has the queen's letter, proves, beyond the poſſibility of a doubt, that our Author is the Alexander Cunningham mentioned in Carſtares's Collection, as having been employed in France in the public ſervice in 1701. Lord Hyndford has heard of his being, afterwards, at one period of his life, tutor to an Engliſh nobleman, whoſe name is unknown to him, but which will appear in the ſequel of this inquiry. His Lordſhip adds, "And I know for certain, "that he was ſometime employed as reſident at Venice."

THE earl of Argyle, who committed the hope of his illuſtrious family to our Author, was grandſon to the marquis of that name who was beheaded at the Reſtoration, and ſon to the earl who was beheaded by king James. He came over from Holland, where he had taken refuge in the falling fortunes of his houſe, with king William, to England. He had the command of the Scotch horſe-guards, and was one of the lords of the Scotch treaſury. He was diſtinguiſhed by manly ſenſe, an open and unreſerved deportment, and both in writing and ſpeaking by great boldneſs of ſentiment and expreſſion. King William was wont to obſerve, that he

he got more truth from Argyle than from all the reſt of his ſervants in Scotland, becauſe he had the courage to declare what others ſcarcely dared to hint. It ſeems probable, that Mr. Cunningham was perſonally acquainted with the earl of Argyle, when he was in Holland, before the Revolution; and that, after directing the ſtudies, and performing a tour through Europe with the ſons of Hyndford, he was entruſted with the care of the lord Lorne.

THE ſame letter from Bruges, which intimates his connection with the family of Argyle, bears witneſs to Mr. Cunningham's purſuits as a ſcholar; for in it he requeſts Mr. Carſtares to carry over to England ſome books which had been bought by him in Flanders, as materials for a certain literary work, the nature of which is not explained, but which, the writer ſays, "he is reſolved "to ſet about ſo ſoon as he is free from lord Lorne." It may not be foreign to our purpoſe to remark here, that Mr. Cunningham's connection with lord Lorne, while he was at the head of a regiment in Flanders, naturally tended to qualify him to write intelligibly on military affairs: and, when we reflect on this circumſtance, we ſhall the leſs wonder that his accounts of battles and ſieges, and, in general, of all the operations of war, ſhould be ſo copious, and at the ſame time ſo conceivable and ſatisfactory. It is not unnatural on this occaſion, to call to mind that the hiſtorian Polybius, ſo juſtly renowned for his knowledge of both civil and military affairs, was tutor to Scipio Africanus.

How long before October 1697 Mr. Cunningham had been lord Lorne's governor, or travelling tutor, I have not been able exactly to trace. But there is a letter in Carſtares's Collection *, a paſſage of which ſeems to imply, that the connection between this young nobleman and our Author had been of ſome duration.

* P. 318.

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The earl of Argyle, on the 10th of July, 1697, writes to Mr. Carſtares thus: "I have writ to Mr. Cunningham to lay aſide any "thoughts he had, for ſome time yet, of leaving my ſon;" and Cunningham, when he wrote the letter of October 20th, in that year, had, no doubt, then laid aſide ſuch thoughts: for he ſays there, "I do not yet know whether I ſhall go to Paris or not, be-"fore I return to London; my lord Argyle has not yet written "any thing concerning his ſon." It appears probable, on comparing theſe paſſages with the date of Mr. Cunningham's travelling with the Carmichaels, that in 1697 he had accompanied the lord Lorne about the ſpace of two years. And we may reaſonably infer that he continued ſtill with lord Lorne, for two years after that period. How can we otherwiſe account for his ſaying *, in enumerating the tranſactions that happened about the cloſe of 1699, and the beginning of 1700, that "Lord Lorne then went "to Rome?" Had he not attended him in his journey thither, it is ſcarcely poſſible to imagine that ſuch an article could have been introduced at all; much leſs that the particular place to which this young nobleman then travelled, could have been thus ſpecified. But we may conclude with ſome degree of certainty, that Cunningham, to uſe his own expreſſion, was "free of lord Lorne" before his employment in France in 1701. For his own words in his hiſtory are, that "he was *ſent* into France by the king's au-"thority:" the obvious meaning of which is, that he had been *ſent* from England. And this interpretation derives full authority from his letter to Carſtares of the 26th of Auguſt, in which he ſays, that "he had given him advice of what he had done *ſince* he "came over."

MR. CUNNINGHAM, however, ſeems now to have undertaken the care of ſome other young perſon of rank, whom he had carried

* Vol. I. p. 183.

with him in 1701, from England: for in the ſame letter he tells Mr. Carſtares, that "he intends to ſet out next week, with his "charge, for Italy;" and that he actually did then go into Italy, we ſhall be diſpoſed to believe when we attend to the very copious accounts of the military and other tranſactions in that country in 1701 and in 1702, which he has introduced into his work with circumſtances that could ſcarcely have occurred to him, or indeed have ever come to his knowledge, if he had not been, as it were, on the ſcene of action.

WE are enabled by our Hiſtory to trace its Author in the following year: for we learn* that he was then at Hanover, in company with Mr. Joſeph Addiſon; both of them, in all probability, on their return from Italy. Cunningham, by this time, had formed ſome important political connexions: for, after his arrival in England, in 1703, we find him †, through the intervention of Dr. Moore, the biſhop of Norwich, engaged in a ſecret negotiation for the purpoſe of reconciling Mr. Harley with the lord Sommers; in which he ſucceeded, the reconciliation between theſe ſtateſmen being perfected, as he tells us, at the houſe of lord Halifax. In the ſame year ‡ he is conſulted at London about the appointment of a new miniſtry for Scotland. He recommends Argyle and Roxburgh: but, if their extreme youth ſhould be thought an objection to theſe noblemen, he points out, as the fitteſt miniſter for that kingdom, next to them, the marquis of Tweedale.

WE learn §, that in the courſe of next year, 1704, he was ſo much in the confidence of the Engliſh miniſtry, as to be conſulted by them, at London, whether the royal aſſent ſhould be given to the Scotch act of ſecurity. Much about the ſame time ‖, he recommends the queen's miniſters for Scotland to the whig party in

* Vol. I. p. 307. † Vol. I. p. 353. ‡ Vol. I. p. 361.
§ Vol. I. p. 412. ‖ Vol. I. p. 415.

England;

England; and has frequent conferences with lord Sommers, about effectuating an union between the two kingdoms.

We are enabled to trace his being at London in 1705, by a paſſage which occurs in his Hiſtory*, where he mentions "his "having had a converſation with Sir Iſaac Newton about at- "tacking Toulon, two years before the attack," which was made in 1707. It may be mentioned here that we find him, in another part of his Hiſtory †, uniting his advice with that of Mr. Iſaac Newton, relating to the coin of Great Britain: and that, on ſundry occaſions, he mentions the perſon, genius, and diſcoveries of Newton with diſtinguiſhed reſpect and admiration: an honour the greater to our Author, that Sir Iſaac had not, at that time, attained to the unrivalled celebrity which his name has ſince juſtly obtained in the world.

Mr. Cunningham ſeems to have gone abroad again in 1706, for in that year ‡, he ſays, "when he ſaw the Dutch bent upon "the laying out a ſum of money to prevent the union between "England and Scotland, he uſed all the arguments he could to "diſſuade them." This denotes that he was then in Holland. It appears from his Hiſtory, that he had moved from thence into Italy, in 1707, at lateſt. For, in his account of the conqueſt of Naples, in the ſummer of that year, he mentions a variety of circumſtances §, from which we may certainly conclude that he was in Italy during count Thaun's expedition into that country, and more particularly, that he was at Rome. After this, he immediately quitted Italy: for we learn ‖, that "Sir Cloudeſly Shovel "ſent *a certain perſon* from Toulon to England, to inform the "queen's miniſters that the enterprize againſt that place had miſ- "carried." Having returned to England, he appears at London,

* Vol. II. p. 103. † Vol. I. p. 182. ‡ Vol. II. p. 61.
§ Vol. II. p. 111—120. ‖ Vol. II. p. 109.

in November, at the meeting of parliament; for * he ſpeaks of the active part he took, at that time, in the bill for aboliſhing the Scotch privy council.

He continued his reſidence at London in 1708: for, in giving an account of a bill for reſtraining the power of deans, then brought into parliament by the whigs †, he ſays ‡, that "it could "not have paſſed, if he had not beſtirred himſelf."

Mr. Cunningham's Hiſtory does not preſerve any memorial of its Author during 1709: but we have the moſt ſatisfactory intelligence about him in the following year, famous for the change of miniſtry in England. The firſt change at court, which announced to the world that Mr. Harley had gained the aſcendency in the Britiſh cabinet, happened on the 14th of April, when the duke of Shrewſbury was made lord chamberlain. On the 14th of June, lord Sunderland was removed, and lord Dartmouth made ſecretary of ſtate in his room. Lord Godolphin, who, ſome time before, had retired in diſguſt to the country, was, on the 8th of Auguſt, removed from his office, when Mr. Harley ſucceeded him as firſt lord of the treaſury. The diſſolution of the parliament was expected about the beginning of September: but it did not take place till the 21ſt of that month. With theſe dates before us, let us now ſee what account Mr. Cunningham gives of himſelf at this very critical period. The reaſon of this circumſtantiality will appear afterwards.

At this time, ſays our Author §, "*A certain private gentleman* "of the whig party, but who had long kept up an acquaintance

* Vol. II. p. 135.

† The act for avoiding of doubts and queſtions touching the ſtatutes of divers collegiate and cathedral churches. Q. Anne, 6. ch. 21.

‡ Vol. II. p. 161. § Vol. II. p. 303—4.

"with

" with Mr. Harley, ſeeing a cloud gathering over his country, " *reſolved* to travel." We are told, that, in a private conference with Harley, he was intreated to *ſtay* in England. This conference took place before any thing certain had tranſpired concerning the diſſolution of parliament: for on his putting the queſtion whether this meaſure was in agitation, he declined to tell him. We are afterwards informed *, that " it was owing to Sir " David Dalrymple, Mr. George Baillie, and Mr. Alexander " Cunningham, that the members choſen into the houſe of com- " mons for Scotland, were, for the moſt part, ſtrenuous aſſertors " of the principles of the revolution." May we not, from a conſideration of theſe paſſages, infer with the utmoſt certainty, that the writer of this Hiſtory was in London, while " the cloud " was gathering over his country," by the intended changes in the miniſtry during the ſummer of 1710; and that, though he had *reſolved* to travel, he did not actually go to the continent till he had lent his aid to the whig intereſt in the new elections in Scotland? Now, it is demonſtrable from the circumſtance that the parliament was not diſſolved till the 21ſt of September, that the Scotch elections could not be earlier than October, and muſt have been in ſuſpence during the whole of that month. Here then we ſeem to have got the moſt convincing proof, from Mr. Cunningham's own moſt expreſs words, that he did not go abroad till towards the cloſe of the year 1710.

To what part of the continent our Author directed his travels, his own work informs us: for we find him † at Milan, in October 1711, with Richard lord Lonſdale, his fellow-traveller. And this is probably the Engliſh nobleman alluded to in the anecdotes of our Author, communicated by the earl of Hyndford. In the following year, 1712, Mr. Cunningham appears to be ſtill

* Vol. II. p. 356.

† Vol. II. p. 387.

in

in Italy: for we read*, that "at Venice the duke of Argyle, "returning from Spain, met there Mr. Alexander Cunningham, "whom, on account of *old acquaintance*, the duke honoured with "great friendſhip and familiarity for a whole week." This paſſage, added to that which mentions his having recommended Argyle to the Engliſh miniſtry in 1703, to be one of the miniſters for Scotland, to the extreme probability of his having been perſonally acquainted with the earls of Sunderland and Argyle, during their reſidence in Holland, before the revolution, to the circumſtantiality and perſpicuity with which he deſcribes all the operations of war, and to the particularity of his mentioning, among the tranſactions of 1699, that, at ſuch a time, lord Lorne went to Rome, very forcibly confirms the evidence which has been produced from Carſtares's State Papers, to prove that our hiſtorian was the Alexander Cunningham who had the care of this nobleman as his governor. Nor are the facts juſt mentioned the only particulars that may be drawn from Mr. Cunningham's Hiſtory, to prove that he had the honour and advantage of being intruſted with the tuition of the great duke of Argyle. Throughout the whole of his work we meet with proofs that he was moſt intimately acquainted with his grace, and warmly intereſted in his fortunes. We find him excuſing, as with the predilection of a parent, "the ſlips of his youth, and inſiſting, that his virtues had "outſtripped his years†." He relates minutely the great viciſſitudes in his public, and ſeveral particularities and incidents in his private life. Of the firſt we have an example, where he tells us of lord Lorne ſelling his commiſſion in the army‡: of the ſecond, where he relates, that "when the duke of Argyle died, his "ſon ſucceeded him; and no ſooner did he take poſſeſſion of his "eſtate, than he turned all his father's miſtreſſes out of doors, "and ſeized their ill-gotten goods by his own authority, ac-

* Vol. II. p. 409. † Vol. I. p. 361. ‡ Vol. I. p. 343.

"cording

" cording to the Highland cuſtom *." Among other particulars that diſtinguiſhed the duke of Argyle, our Author relates, that " when he found any man deſperately in debt, involved in diſ- " treſs, and without any proſpect of relief, if he perceived him " to be a man of courage, he would receive him into the number " of his particular friends, and load him with ſuch favours and " hopes, as infallibly attached him to his perſon †." He takes notice in another place, that " he took great delight in being at- " tended by a number of ſwordſmen, whom he retained for that " purpoſe." It may alſo be obſerved, as a proof of Mr. Cunningham's ſtrong attachment to the duke of Argyle, that he ſeems anxious, on every occaſion, to do juſtice to the duke, as a ſtateſman, an orator, and a ſoldier. He alſo takes every opportunity of celebrating the abilities of his grace's brother, the earl of Iſlay, afterwards well known to all the world under the name of Archibald duke of Argyle. Our Author ſeems, indeed, to take a very particular concern in the fate of the whole family of Argyle, and to be minutely acquainted with their hiſtory, as appears, among other inſtances, from what he relates of the marquis who was beheaded at the reſtoration.

To this proof that our Author was moſt intimately acquainted, and entruſted with the tuition of Argyle, drawn from his hiſtory, and from Carſtares's State Papers; if it ſhould be thought to need any confirmation, we might add what follows. The earl of Buchan, in a letter which he very obligingly wrote on this ſubject, dated at Edinburgh, March 24, 1786, ſays, " I had " not a doubt of being able to furniſh you with materials for " your hiſtorical and critical memoirs of the life and writings of " Mr. Alexander Cunningham, the Britiſh reſident at Venice; " but on ranſacking all that I had, in upwards of thirty volumes

* Vol. I. p. 366. † Vol. I. p. 425.

" of old letter-books, and making the moſt diligent inquiry in " Scotland, I have been able to diſcover nothing of greater con- " ſequence than that his father was miniſter of the pariſh of Et- " trick, in the preſbytery of Selkirk, and that he was educated " in Holland, where he imbibed his principles of government, " and was much with the Scottiſh refugees at the Hague, before " the prince of Orange came over to England. Dr. Steuart " Moncrieff, of Cloſeburn, told me, that his uncle, Dr. Steuart, " who was phyſician and friend to Archibald duke of Argyle, " knew him well, and eſteemed him highly in his latter years, " when he lived in retirement. Dr. Steuart uſed often to play " with him, at lord Iſlay's, at the game of cheſs, which he un- " derſtood better than any man in England, in his time." In another letter, lord Buchan, on the ſame authority, ſays, that " Mr. Cunningham, in the latter part of his life, when he was " but little-ſeen in the higher circles, dedicated himſelf entirely to " ſtudy, learned ſociety, and the game of cheſs."

DR. DUNBAR, of the king's college at Aberdeen, in a letter dated the 18th of March 1786, among other particulars, which have ſince been confirmed by more direct authority, ſays, " I " have been informed by profeſſor Roſs *, that he has heard the " late lord Finlater mention a Mr. Cunningham, a travelling go- " vernor, as a man of great erudition, whom he ſaw often at " lord Sunderland's, and at the duke of Argyle's. He was do- " meſticated with theſe noblemen; and was no leſs acceptable as " an eminent player at cheſs, than as a critic, and a man of ge- " neral knowledge and information." Lord Sunderland took great delight in cheſs. What follows will, I hope, apologize to the reader for this minute and tedious proof that our Author was

* Of the Mareſchal college, Aberdeen, who lived long in the family of the late earl of Finlater, and was tutor to his ſon the preſent earl.

the

the tutor and intimate friend of John duke of Argyle.

THE name of Cunningham the critic is deſervedly high in this country, and ſtill higher on the continent of Europe, where his Horace procured him unrivalled fame. At Leyden, at the Hague, and other places of note in the Low Countries, the bookſellers, who always re-echo the commonly-received opinions of the times, conſidered him as the very oracle of criticiſm. Nor has his reputation on the continent been diminiſhed by length of time: Jani, the laſt German editor and commentator, treats him with high reſpect, and does no more than juſtice to his taſte and knowledge of fine writing. Cunningham is generally allowed to have underſtood the ſpirit of Horace better than any of his predeceſſors in the philological walk, Bentley alone, in the judgment of ſome, being excepted. Yet in thoſe paſſages where Cunningham differs from Bentley, the preference is for the moſt part given, and juſtly, to the former. With a more diſciplined fancy, and with more induſtry in the collation of manuſcripts, than Bentley, he often oppoſes him with ſucceſs.

THE queſtion, therefore, has no doubt been anticipated by the reader of theſe notes, whether Cunningham, our hiſtorian, was the critic on Horace, and the author of the poſthumous criticiſms in an edition of Virgil, publiſhed by Hamilton and Balfour at Edinburgh in 1742? And undoubtedly an hiſtorical compoſition from the pen of this celebrated philologiſt muſt be an object of curioſity to every man of learning: for though in general we cannot reaſonably, from the talents of the critic, infer the abilities of the hiſtorian, there is, with regard to Cunningham, a vigorous and manly caſt of thinking in all his canons of criticiſm; and in his attack on Bentley, a dignity and intrepidity, which, if tranſ-

ferred to the greater ſubjects of hiſtory, muſt have been exerted with greater advantage.

We have ſeen that our Hiſtorian Alexander Cunningham was by birth a Scotchman; that he lived in Holland before the revolution; that he was there intimately acquainted with the earl of Sunderland; that he travelled with different noblemen, and particularly with the duke of Argyle; that he enjoyed the favour and familiarity of the great; and that he was eminently diſtinguiſhed for his ſkill in the game of cheſs. Now, that all theſe circumſtances belong to the life, and point to Alexander Cunningham, the commentator on Virgil and Horace, there is the following evidence.

That Cunningham the critic was a native of North Britain ſufficiently appears from the editions of the Latin claſſics that bear his name; that he went early in life, and lived long in Holland, appears from general and uncontroverted tradition, and from the traces that are to be found of him in the writings of the critics on the continent. Dr. Macormick, Principal of the United College in St. Andrews, as appears from a letter of his, addreſſed by him to Mr. Dempſter, ſo generally and juſtly eſteemed for his political talents and public virtue, was intimately acquainted with the late Mr. Charles Macky, Profeſſor of Hiſtory in the Univerſity of Edinburgh. "Mr. Macky," ſays the Principal, "was a great friend "of the editor of Horace, and was recommended to his atten-"tions, when he went abroad, by Mr. Carſtares, who was a great "patron of Mr. Macky's. Mr. Macky uſed to amuſe me, when I "was a young man, with ſome anecdotes of this Mr. Alexander "Cunningham. One I remember, which, for lack of other matter, "may fill up a blank in Dr. Thomſon's life of the Hiſtorian, provided "that the two Soſias (meaning the critic and the hiſtorian Alexander "Cunningham),

" Cunningham), were the ſame perſon. When lord Sunderland " was at the Hague, he contracted a particular intimacy with Mr. " Cunningham, as they were both remarkable *cheſs-players*. When- " ever his lordſhip was at leiſure, he either drove to Cunningham's " lodgings, which were at ſome diſtance, or ſent his carriage for " him. After playing for a courſe of time, lord Sunderland diſco- " vered, that he who was jolted in the carriage before they ſat down, " was always ſure to loſe every game: for which reaſon, he gave " over going to Cunningham's, but always ſent for him, and al- " ways beat him, to his no ſmall aſtoniſhment, as he was con- " ſcious that he underſtood the game as well as his adverſary. " At laſt, when he was very much out of humour, lord Sunder- " land told him the trick, and Cunningham inſiſted, that they " ſhould drive to one another's lodgings alternately; which con- " firmed his lordſhip's obſervation, and reſtored Cunningham to his " former level: for, from that time, they won and loſt alternately."

THIS fact, which appears not at all incredible, for the ſtreets of the Hague were not, in the laſt century, ſo ſmooth as thoſe of London are at preſent, proves how nicely the capacities of Sunderland and Cunningham were balanced againſt each other; but it is more curious and intereſting on another account; it ſhews the intimate connection between our corporeal frame and the faculty of thinking. There is a treatiſe written by a German on the queſtion, What is the moſt favourable attitude for contemplation and deep reflection? Whether to lie down, to lean backward, to ſit, to ſtand, or to walk? The German, after exhauſting on this ſubject a great deal of learning, philoſophy, and actual obſervation and experience, gives judgment againſt the Quietiſts on the one hand, and the Peripatetics on the other, and concludes in favour of ſitting, the juſt medium between an erect and a ſupine poſture. On the ſame ſubject, it has been obſerved by other writers, that monkeys are not ſuſceptible of laſſitude, but that the

organical conſtruction and diſpoſition of thoſe animals keeps them, like children, in perpetual motion; and that, hence, they can never attain to any conſiderable degree of improvement in underſtanding and knowledge. How far theſe phyſiological obſervations on the monkey are well-founded may be ſubmitted, with great propriety, to the conſideration of a great philoſopher, who has taken him by the hand, and acknowledged him as a relation. But, if in theſe obſervations, or in the reaſoning of the German philoſopher, there be any ſolidity, it ſtrongly confirms, and is itſelf confirmed by the fact juſt mentioned concerning Mr. Alexander Cunningham and the earl of Sunderland: ſo that there are organs, perhaps, connected with the operations of the mind, that we little thought of; and that to learn to ſit would ſeem to be a very important ſtep in the ſtudy of philoſophy. But to attain to this faculty of ſitting, ſimple as it may at firſt ſight appear to be, is indeed a very difficult matter. To paſs, by an act of volition, from motion and agitation of body or mind to reſt and compoſure, or from reſt and compoſure to a juſt degree of emotion and vigour, was the grand object after which a renowned ſect of antient philoſophers aſpired, as being that which conſtitutes the dignity and ſupreme felicity of human nature. But to return to the point in queſtion.

THAT the editor of Horace was the ſame Alexander Cunningham with our Hiſtorian, the intimate acquaintance of the earl of Sunderland before that nobleman returned from Holland, and afterwards in England, and the celebrated player at cheſs, is confirmed by a letter from Alexander Brown, Eſq. principal librarian to the Scotch advocates, dated at Edinburgh, May 18, 1786. It is proper to obſerve, that this letter was written in anſwer to another, in which it was mentioned, that there was, in the advocates' library, an account in manuſcript of the learned men of the name of Cunningham, whoſe lives had never been publiſhed. Mr. Brown, having

having conſulted that record, ſays, "Although the little pains that "I have been at are in a great meaſure unſucceſsful, I ſhall take the "liberty of mentioning on the ſubject of your queries, what comes "within the ſphere of my own knowledge, and alſo what I have "learned from others.

"TOWARDS the end of the laſt, and the beginning of this "century, there flouriſhed ſeveral very learned Scotch gentlemen "of the name of Cunningham; among whom was Mr. Alexan-"der Cunningham, who publiſhed an edition of Horace at the "Hague, 1721, two volumes octavo *. This Mr. Cunningham "was uncle to Mr. Logan, one of the miniſters of this city, be-"tween whom, and my much honoured and very learned friend "Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, the controverſy about the *jure divino* ſhip "was long and keenly agitated. That Mr. Cunningham was "tutor to John duke of Argyle, I learn from Mr. Paton of the "cuſtomhouſe here. This anecdote he had both from from his "father † and from Mr. Logan; and it may, on that account, "be depended on. Mr. Cunningham died in Holland, where "he taught both the civil and canon laws: all his books, ex-"cept a few claſſics, were ſold in that country. Mr. Logan, "above mentioned, got poſſeſſion of theſe claſſics, which, after "Mr. Logan's death, were ſold by auction in this place. Among "theſe there was a copy of Horace ‡, printed by Vandewater, "which Mr. Cunningham carried always about with him in his "pocket, and on which he wrote many notes and obſervations. "While Mr. Cunningham reſided at the Hague, a German prince, "hearing of our Author's great ſkill in the game of cheſs, came

* See Acta Lipſienſia, anno 1722, p. 377.

† A bookſeller in Edinburgh, who was well acquainted with Mr. Cunningham, the editor of Horace.

‡ In the poſſeſſion of the earl of Buchan.

" to that city with a view of playing with him at that truly noble " amuſement. The prince, whoſe name is not mentioned, in- " formed Mr. Cunningham, by a note, of the purpoſe of his " coming to the Hague. The laird of Cluny happened to be " with Mr. Cunningham when he received the note, to whom he " ſaid, That he did not chuſe to riſk his reputation for the know- " ledge of the game of cheſs with a perſon whom he did not " know, and wiſhed that Cluny would go and play a game or " two with the prince, in the character of one of Mr. Cunning- " ham's diſciples. Cluny agreed to go; and Mr. Cunningham is " ſaid to have written to the prince to this purpoſe: That al- " though he had the honour of receiving his highneſs' invitation " to play a game at cheſs with him, he could not accept of that " honour, as buſineſs of a particular nature would not permit " him at that time; but, rather than that his highneſs ſhould be " diſappointed, he had ſent one of his ſcholars to give him ſome " entertainment that evening: and that, if his ſcholar ſhould be " beaten, he would do himſelf the honour of waiting on him (the " prince) next day, and would play with him as many games as he " ſhould chuſe. Cluny * accordingly went, and beat the prince " every game they played. Early, next morning, the prince " left the Hague, ſenſible that, if he was ſhamefully defeated by " the ſcholar, he had, if poſſible, ſtill leſs chance of ſucceſs with " the maſter. It is a fact that may be depended on, that Mr.

* Mr. Ogilvie, laird of Cluny, a Scotch gentleman in the Dutch ſervice, and a very brave officer, who paſſed with many for little better than an ingenious madman. On his return to Scotland he fortified himſelf in his caſtle, on a ſmall iſland in a lake, not far from Dunkeld in Perthſhire; where he was wont to amuſe himſelf by compelling paſſengers of all ranks on the road that ſtretched along the ſide of the lake, to come on board one of his boats, by the firing of ſmall pieces of cannon, and pay him a viſit in his fortreſs. From poor people he would purchaſe game and other proviſions: and as to gentlemen, if he liked their company, he would detain them, and entertain them with great hoſpitality, for weeks, and even months together.

" Cunningham

"Cunningham and Cluny never played ſo much as a ſingle game "at cheſs during their whole lives; and that Mr. Cunningham "was eſteemed a much better player than Cluny."

THIS ſtory of the German prince will not appear incredible, or indeed anywiſe extraordinary, when we reflect on the high eſtimation in which the game of cheſs was held, in the laſt century, throughout all Europe. Mr. Bayle has celebrated the praiſes of two heroes in this game, who viſited moſt of the European courts, where they found many eminent cheſs-players, but none whom they did not overcome. Bayle regrets that theſe men left only ſome fragments, and did not write regular and complete treatiſes on that celebrated amuſement or ſtudy, in which they were ſo great maſters, and in which they ſhone with unrivalled diſtinction.

THERE is not, perhaps, in the whole moral world, a more curious or a more inſtructive ſubject of ſpeculation, than that men ſhould find the higheſt degree of entertainment in an intenſe application of the mind to divers games that require deep reflection. As the nature of the mind conſiſts in thinking, it ſeeks for ſome ſubject of attention and ſome object of hope with a longing not unlike the craving of thirſt and hunger: for what meat and drink is to the body, that attention and hope are to the ſoul. Where theſe are wanting the mind cannot be at eaſe, but ſinks down in languor, melancholy, and deſpair. But the ſame intenſion of thought to which, in games, we ſubmit with pleaſure, in other caſes, even when followed by emoluments and rewards, is not always unattended with a degree of irkſomeneſs and pain. The ſame youth who will voluntarily ſpend the day and night in the thoughtful game of cheſs, would willingly avoid the ſtudy of mathematics, if he were not impelled by motives of fear, or ſhame, or fame. In play, the natural diſpoſition to exerciſe our mental faculties is heightened by a deſire of victory, and inflamed by a mixture of ſocial ſympathy and oppoſition. In games, too, the

reward,

reward, whatever it be, is received on the ſpot; and in all caſes it is the nature of the mind to make great allowance for prompt payment. But the preſent buſineſs with the game of cheſs is only to take advantage of thoſe anecdotes to which it has given birth, in endeavouring either to identify Cunningham the critic and Cunningham the hiſtorian, or to prove their diverſity.

THE principal particulars with which we have to do in Principal Macormick's and the Scotch librarian's letters are confirmed by the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, a clergyman of high reputation of the church of Scotland, who, in a letter dated at Muſſelburgh, in April 1786, after declaring his opinion, that there was but one Alexander Cunningham, proceeds thus: "I lived very much at old "Logan's in Edinburgh; his ſon George, next to John Home, if "next, having been my moſt intimate companion. I know that Cun-"ningham the critic and editor of Horace was old Logan's uncle; "that he was tutor to John duke of Argyle, and that he was the beſt "player at cheſs in Europe. His grand nephew George was ſo proud "of this laſt talent of his uncle's, that he pretended to have inherited "from him, what, I dare ſay, was only imitation, a very great "turn for all games in which thinking is concerned, ſuch as "cheſs, whiſt, &c. and believed it to be connected with ſupe-"rior genius, till he found that women and fools could beat "him." The ſame facts are declared in other letters from Dr. Carlyle, of ſubſequent dates, with ſome additional circumſtances which ſhall be mentioned in their proper place.

MR. PATON, of the cuſtomhouſe at Leith, mentioned in the foregoing extract of a letter from Mr. Brown, and from whom lord Buchan received a copy of the firſt edition of Vandewater's Horace, which Mr. Cunningham always carried about with him, and on which he wrote with his own hand many notes and obſervations, in a letter dated May 31, 1786, writes, "That the "notes and various readings, written on the margin of that copy "of Horace, and interlined by Mr. Cunningham, are illegible

"to

" to him, and to many others, although at the time when they " were written they might be very intelligible to the writer." Mr. Paton, in that letter, adds, " that as this copy of Horace is " given back to the earl of Buchan, who is preſently in the " country, he cannot borrow it to compare the ſpecimen ac- " companying Dr. Thomſon's letter, which ſpecimen contains " various hand-writings, ſome of which, to the beſt of his re- " membrance, have a ſimilitude to ſome of the addreſſes, &c. on " the waſte leaves of this ſmall copy of Horace, but will not po- " ſitively affirm the ſimilitude, as both were not compared to- " gether at the ſame time." It is neceſſary here to obſerve, that in the ſpecimen ſent to Mr. Brown, there were three different hands, one, that of an amanuenſis, which is remarkably fair, and the other two, one of them certainly, and the other probably, that of Mr. Cunningham: for it appears by Mr. Cunningham's letters, in which the ſubſcriptions are in a different hand-writing from the body of the letters, that he wrote two different hands: the one a large Italian hand, the other a very old current hand, though even that bears ſome reſemblance to his Italian hand. So that when we reflect on what Mr. Paton ſays, of the unreadableneſs of the notes on Vandewater's Horace, by Cunningham, we ſhall be fully ſatisfied that it was the old hand in the ſpecimen, that is, our author's, between which and that of the notes, Mr. Paton, to the beſt of his remembrance, thinks there is a ſimilitude. It is alſo to be added, on this ſubject, that the earl of Buchan, who had ſeen an original letter of Mr. Cunningham's, in the poſſeſſion of the earl of Hyndford, ſays, in a letter of May 1786, " I have " handed Cunningham's original notes on Horace to be com- " pared with the hand-writing of the Author of the Hiſtory: I " begin to think they were one and the ſame man."

It is farther to be remarked, in the preſent inquiry, that from a paſſage in Mr. Cunningham's Horace, we may collect that he

had been in Italy; for ſpeaking of a reading (*invecta* for *inventa*) in the firſt Epiſtle of the ſecond Book, he ſays, that Politian quotes the line with *invecta*, in the Preface to Perſius, and then adds, "Et hunc puto *invecta* in manuſcripto quodam Florentiæ aſſer-" vato inveniſſe." Cunningham probably conſulted this manuſcript when he was in Italy. It is alſo to the purpoſe to mention that my very learned and ingenious friend Dr. Parr, of Hatton, in Warwickſhire, "from miſcellaneous reading, and literary converſa-" tion, has been informed that Alexander Cunningham, the critic, " had travelled in the capacity of private tutor to ſome nobleman; " that he lived for ſome time at the Hague; and that he had been " fortunate enough *principibus placuiſſe viris**." Another circumſtance with regard to our preſent ſubject, is not to be omitted: the publication of Cunningham's Horace coincides exactly with the time of our Author's return from Venice. It appears from his correſpondence with the miniſtry, that his firſt and ſecond letters were dated at Padua the 29th of November 1715: his third at Venice the 6th of December 1715: his laſt from Venice the 3d of November 1719: and his laſt at London the 9th of July 1720. Now Bentley's Horace was publiſhed in 1711; Alexander Cunningham's in 1721: we might therefore naturally ſuppoſe that he had been for ſeveral years preparing his critical work †, and that, after his return from Venice, he committed it to the preſs.

NOR muſt we omit, in the preſent inveſtigation, to obſerve the fameneſs of the critic's and hiſtorian's way of thinking in political matters. They were both of them, though not republicans, yet what we barbarouſly call whigs; that is, they were leſs attached to monarchical power, than to the rights of human nature, and the liberties of the people.

* To have recommended himſelf to the favour of the great.

† We find our Author, in Book iv. page 183, taking notice of the controverſy between Dr. Richard Bentley and Mr. Charles Boyle, on whom he beſtows high praiſe. He was a young gentleman, he ſays, of noble birth and mature judgment.

WITH

WITH regard to the ſtyle of the critic and that of the hiſtorian, a matter not to be paſſed over in an attempt to determine the queſtion under conſideration; it is generally allowed, I think, that the critic's Latin is perſpicuous, nervous, tolerably exact, but rarely elegant. He has ſuffered the natural force of his intellect to be cramped now and then by that quaint and harſh phraſeology which is commonly affected in verbal criticiſm. Something of this undoubtedly appears in the Latinity of the hiſtorian, who imitates the vigour of Salluſt, and the hardneſs and irregularity of Tacitus, rather than the elegance and fluency of Cicero and of Livy. But it muſt alſo be obſerved, that in the Hiſtory there is a freedom, an elaſticity, if that term may be admitted in criticiſm, and a tone of elevation, which is not diſcovered in the critical works of Cunningham, but which may be ſufficiently accounted for by the difference of the ſubjects. Our hiſtorian does not, any more than the critic, like his countryman George Buchanan, ſervilely imitate any one of the antients, but ſelects what he approves from them all. Hence we meet, in his Hiſtory, with phraſes often uſed by Livy, Salluſt, Cicero, Quintus Curtius, Julius Cæſar, Pliny, and Tacitus; and ſometimes too with terms and expreſſions found only in writers of later date and inferior reputation. His ſtyle is indeed greatly varied: nor would it have been an eaſy matter, perhaps it would not have been poſſible, to have clothed in the Latinity of the Auguſtan age all the tranſactions of a period, in which we find many facts, ideas, inſtitutions, and modes of life with which antient times were wholly unacquainted.——I ſhall take this opportunity of farther remarking on the Latinity of our Hiſtorian, that if he has, in a few inſtances, as in *reatos*, taken for a participle, in the ſpeech of Mr. St. John, in the Appendix, made uſe of words not to be found in any Latin author, he has at leaſt derived them from ſome well-known word, and formed them in a manner ſo analogous to the idiom of the Latin language, as to be eaſily underſtood. In a work ſo long and ſo various, ſuch failures,

or rather freedoms, are highly excuſable. Scioppius, in his learned *Judicium de Stylo Hiſtorico*, has detected falſe Latin in Muretus, Lipſius, Caſaubon, and Scaliger. But of this there is very little indeed in Cunningham: and there would have been, probably, none at all, if he had flattened down his diction to the model of one writer. But he has taken a bolder flight; and if he has created one or two new words, it is only after he has exhauſted, in the variety of his matter, ſuch as are old. His ſtyle, though it may not always defy the minute acuteneſs of verbal criticiſm, is always adapted to his ſubject, always thrown into an hiſtorical form, and always marked by his own peculiar character of thinking.

To all the preſumptions of identity already enumerated, it is to be added, that both the critic and hiſtorian Cunningham, as is agreed on all hands, lived to extreme old age.

It would ſeem ſtrange, indeed, if two Alexander Cunninghams, countrymen, ſo diſtinguiſhed for erudition, and the familiarity and favour of men of rank and power, and the ſame men too, ſhould have flouriſhed at the ſame æra, in modes of life, in place of reſidence, in peculiarities of character, and other circumſtances ſo nearly parallel. Is it probable that there ſhould have exiſted, in the ſame period, two Scotchmen of the ſame name, both educated and reſiding much in Holland, both friends and favourites of principal Carſtares confidential ſecretary to king William for Scotch affairs, and intimately acquainted with the ſame great men who took refuge in the reign of James II. at the Hague, in that prince's court? both of them eminent cheſs-players, and both of them concerned in the education and tuition of John duke of Argyle? Upon weaker evidence than that which ſeems to prove the identity of the two Cunninghams, deciſions have been given that have affected fortune, fame, life, poſterity, and all that is dear to mankind. Yet circumſtantial, which in

many

many inſtances carries ſtronger conviction than direct evidence, is ſometimes found to be uncertain and fallacious; as appears from our preſent inquiry: for, notwithſtanding the accumulated coindences in the ſituation and character of Alexander Cunningham the critic, and of Alexander Cunningham the hiſtorian, there are circumſtances too of diverſity and oppoſition that ſeem incompatible with their identity. And theſe circumſtances of diverſity, with the evidence on which their exiſtence is eſtabliſhed, when weighed in the balance with thoſe circumſtances of identity already enumerated, with the evidence on which their exiſtence is eſtabliſhed, will be found to counterbalance them, and probably, in the judgment of moſt men, to preponderate.

THE ſameneſs of name, which is the firſt argument that occurs for the identity of the Cunninghams in queſtion, will have little weight when we reflect that among the antients we are able to diſtinguiſh twenty perſons of the name of Hippocrates, ſixteen Platos, and thirty-two Ariſtotles; and that in the lives of theſe perſons there were many common circumſtances, which, were it not for the learned labours of a Meurſius and Fabricius, might occaſion, in different inſtances, erroneous notions of their identity. But to deſcend from this to more familiar reaſoning. There is ſuch a thing as family names, and even as national names: one name is more common than others in one family or nation, and one in another. In all times and nations it has been cuſtomary for men to call their children by names that were dear to them, or to which they were deſirous of paying homage and reſpect. The kings of France have multiplied throughout their dominions the names of Charles and Lewis; thoſe of Spain, Charles and Philip; thoſe of England, Edward and Henry; and the names of George and Charlotte will be ſpread more and more throughout the Britiſh territories in all ſucceeding generations. *Alexander* is a common name among the Scots, as their neighbours in the lower

lower ranks of ſociety do not fail to remind them. The ſame name is peculiarly common in all the branches of the family of Cunningham, both in Scotland and the northern parts of Ireland. But what is ſtill more directly to the preſent purpoſe,—about the beginning of the preſent century there were ſo many Cunninghams on the continent in the capacity of tutors, that it was believed in Germany that *Cunningham* was Engliſh for a travelling governor. More particularly ſtill, the earl of Hyndford, to whoſe father and uncle Mr. Cunningham, our hiſtorian, was travelling tutor, as already mentioned, "has heard of three Cunninghams, who were well known in the world: the firſt a claſſical ſcholar, who publiſhed an edition of Horace, with notes, in Holland, where he died, and who was uncle to Mr. Logan, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, to whom he bequeathed his library, and the greateſt part of his property: the ſecond nick-named the Kindermaker*: and, laſtly, though the firſt both in eminence and time, our Alexander Cunningham, moſt part of whoſe money went to a female relation of his at Greenock, who was afterwards married to major James Dalrymple, ſon to the preſident Dalrymple, of the college of juſtice in Scotland. In paſſing through London," continues lord Hyndford, "in the year 1735, I paid a viſit to Mr. Cunningham, by my father's direction, and was very kindly received by him, when the friends I had left in Scotland were particularly enquired after." Mr. Cunningham, when he was viſited by lord Hyndford, appeared to be a very old man, and was ſitting in his night-gown in a great chair. It is proper here to obſerve, that part of the fortune which Mr. Cunningham had acquired, was long in the hands of his quondam pupil, Mr. William Carmichael, ſolicitor-general for Scotland.

* This was an indecent old man, and long known to his countrymen in London by the name of old PAWKY.

To the account which is given of our Hiſtorian by the earl of Hyndford, who had ſeen and converſed with him, and who is the immediate deſcendant as well as repreſentative of that noble family with whom he was ſo intimately connected, and who had ſuch opportunities of being acquainted with his affairs, it is meet to give unreſerved and entire credit. What he affirms, as matters of fact that come within the compaſs of his knowledge, will, accordingly, ſerve as a land-mark to direct the courſe of our preſent inveſtigation. What he reports on hearſay may admit of doubt and enquiry.

THAT Cunningham, the critic, lived much in Holland, and publiſhed his edition of Horace there, is a matter that cannot be queſtioned. It is equally certain that he was held in the higheſt eſtimation among men of letters in all nations, on account of his profound knowledge in the civil and canon laws, both which he taught, in Holland, with great ſucceſs and applauſe. He was applied to by many learned men, as well as Dutch bookſellers, to re-arrange and write a commentary, and publiſh an accurate edition of Juſtinian's Corpus Juris. This work he had begun, but not completed: nor did he commit his looſe papers into the hands of any friend to be methodized after his death. This, lord Hailes conſiders as that which formed the chief buſineſs of Mr. Cunningham, the critic's, life. In order to accompliſh this, ſays Mr. Paton, he retired to Holland, and died there. That part of his library, this gentleman adds, which conſiſted of claſſics and hiſtory, were afterwards tranſmitted from thence to his nephew, Mr. Logan, miniſter in Edinburgh. But his immenſe collection of civil law books, reckoned the largeſt in thoſe days, that was probably in the poſſeſſion of any private perſon in Europe, as he had preſents of books on that ſubject ſent to him from all places and authors, to expedite his undertaking, were ſold in Holland. What is here advanced reſpecting the literary purſuits and occupations

pations of the celebrated critic on Horace, is confirmed by an edition of Virgil, publiſhed at Edinburgh in 1742, by Hamilton and Balfour, where the Editor avails himſelf of poſthumous emendations by Cunningham. His words are, "Si caſtigatior nunc "prodit Virgilius, id Cl. Cunningamio, ſimul et viro eruditiſſimo "Georgio Logano, ſacra munia in hac urbe ſumma cum laude "obeunti, qui has avunculi ſui curas mecum humaniter commu- "nicavit, acceptum referas." The ſame Editor ſays, in another place, "Quod Cl. Cunningamii curæ in Horatium poſteriores, "majuſque opus in Pandectas juris civilis lucem non aſpexerint, "dolet, neque immeritò reſpublica literaria."

It is natural at firſt ſight, when we caſt our eyes over the buſy ſcenes in which we have ſeen our Hiſtorian engaged, to ſuppoſe that he could never have been that Cunningham, whom we have found in the ſtudious ſhade giving lectures on the principles of law, immerſed in antient literature, and to whom the world looked up for a new arrangement and commentary on the Pandects. But both Cunninghams, it is allowed on all hands, lived to a very great age; and a life prolonged beyond the period of fourſcore years, admits of many viciſſitudes in ſituation and fortune. In ſo long a period different projects may be undertaken, interrupted, and reſumed: and, as the dates are not given of the years in which the critic on Horace taught the civil and canon law, and in which he was employed in preparing a new edition of the Juſtinian code, it is poſſible, at leaſt, that the profeſſor of law in Holland at one time, may have been the Britiſh reſident at Venice at another; and that the hiſtory of his own times may have been compoſed by the critic on Horace. But, beſides the argument of diverſity taken from the different purſuits of the Alexander Cunninghams, there is a ſtronger argument to the ſame purpoſe ariſing from the diſpoſal of their fortune: the Hiſtorian, we have ſeen, left the greateſt part of his money to a female

female relation; and there is undoubted evidence that the critic bequeathed at his death a ſmall eſtate in Aireſhire, worth at the time of that event between fifty and ſixty pounds a-year, to his nephew Mr. Logan. This eſtate, which was called Block, was afterwards ſold to lord Auchinleck, the father of Mr. James Boſwell. The earl of Hyndford has been informed that he alſo bequeathed to Mr. Logan his library: but Mr. Paton, who ſeems to have been very minutely informed of different particulars relating to Mr. Cunningham, ſays, as we have ſeen, that his immenſe library, with the exception already ſpecified, was ſold by auction in Holland. Yet do not theſe facts decide the queſtion concerning the identity or diverſity of the Cunninghams with abſolute certainty: for it is poſſible that a ſmall patrimonial eſtate may be left by a gentleman to his next heir male, and the bulk of his fortune to a daughter, or other female relation: and, in the caſe in queſtion, we may be at liberty to ſuppoſe that ſuch a diſtribution may have been made, the rather, that the family to whom Mr. Cunningham, the hiſtorian, left his fortune, know nothing of what became of his books: a circumſtance which exactly correſponds with the account already given of the diſpoſal of that immenſe and valuable library which was the property of Mr. Cunningham the critic.

It is certain, from the account given of Cunningham the hiſtorian by the earl of Hyndford, that he was living, and at London in 1735; to which we may add, that this, in all probability, is the Alexander Cunningham whoſe body lies interred in the vicar chancel of St. Martin's church, and who died in the eighty-third year of his age, on the 15th day of May 1737. Now, the Rev. Dr. Carlyle, already mentioned, in this inquiry, in a letter, dated May 12, 1786, writes, "That Mr. Logan, Mr. Cunningham the "critic's nephew, went to Holland to viſit him, and brought him "to Scotland, where he died about the year 1732 in Mr. Logan's "houſe, then miniſter of Dunbar." In another letter, dated at

Muſſelburgh, May 31, 1786, Dr. Carlyle ſays, "I have nothing "to add to the information I formerly communicated relative to "Mr. Cunningham, unleſs it be, that I have ſince converſed with "Mr. John Home, who confirms the account I gave, that Alexander "Cunningham, who publiſhed an edition of Horace, died at "Dunbar, in the year 1732, in the houſe of his nephew Mr. "George Logan, then miniſter in that town: he likewiſe remem- "bers, that Mr. Logan had gone over to Holland, a few months "before that, and brought his uncle to Scotland." This fact, were it undiſputed, would clearly decide the matter in queſtion. But Mr. Paton of Edinburgh, ſon to an intimate friend of that Mr. Cunningham's, and who ſeems to be more minutely acquainted than any other perſon I know of with the incidents in his life, in a letter of the 31ſt May 1786, ſays, "I can by no means agree with Dr. Car- "lyle, that Mr. Alexander Cunningham died at Dunbar, as "Meſſrs. Logan, father and ſon, who were both of them my "perſonal and particular acquaintance, have often told me, that "he died in Holland." That this Mr. Cunningham was generally reported to have died in Holland, is confirmed by the letter quoted above from lord Hyndford. There is a third account of the place where Cunningham the critic died. Dr. Dunbar, of Aberdeen, on the authority of Profeſſor Leſlie of the King's College there, whoſe father was acquainted with old Mr. Logan, and of Mr. Balfour the bookſeller, the publiſher of the Virgil, with Cunningham's notes, ſays, "that he died at Edinburgh."

THESE contradictory traditions concerning the place where the celebrated critic on Horace died, cannot all of them be true; but they may all of them be erroneous; and therefore, for aught that has yet appeared, it is ſtill poſſible, that the critic and the hiſtorian may have been one and the ſame perſon; although it muſt be confeſſed that the probability is, that they were different. This probability is nearly converted into a certainty by the following argument,

argument, founded not on hearſay, but on the ſolid foundation of poſitive dates.

ALTHOUGH our Author, when he ſaw a cloud gathering over his country in 1710, had reſolved to travel, yet, as we have ſeen above, it ſeems almoſt certain, from his own words, that he did not in fact go abroad till towards the cloſe of that year. Let us compare this fact with what is recorded of a Mr. Cunningham in Mr. Maty's Review for April 1786, in which we find two very curious Latin letters; one of Le Clerc in Holland to Bentley in England; and the other Bentley's anſwer to Le Clerc. Le Clerc's letter is dated June 25, N. S. the 14th O. S. which was then uſed among us; and in this he ſays, "That a report "had prevailed for ſome weeks in Holland, that Bentley had ſent "over a manuſcript to Peter Burman, to be printed againſt his "(Le Clerc's) edition of Menander *." Bentley's anſwer to this letter

* "Rumor ab aliquot hebdomadibus per totum Belgium ſparſus eſt, et indies "augetur, te ad Petrum Burmannum Profeſſorem Ultrajectinum miſiſſe, aut mitti "curâſſe, ut ab eo ederentur Animadverſiones in Menandrum, in quibus errores "ſcilicet mei multi et graves arguerentur. Nondum perſuadere mihi potui ea à "calamo tuo potuiſſe proficiſci, quæ famam viri, qui ſemper honorificentiſſimè "de te ſenſit, et in editis ſcriptis locutus eſt, quamvis eſſet fortè quod nonnihil "quereretur, atrociter læderent, et quidem in gratiam hominis maledicentia ſua "in omnes infamis et cum maximè in me debacchantis. Sed cum rumor ille in-"crebreſceret, et mox opuſculum in lucem proditurum eſſet, exiſtimavi mei eſſe "officii ea de re tenet ipſum conſulere, ne imprudens aliena tibi tribuerem, neve "de ejus moribus, cujus eruditionem ſuſpicere ſolitus eram, ſequius quam par eſt, "ſine cauſa ſentire inciperem. Itaq; fac, quæſo, ut ſciam an injuriam tibi faciant, qui "talia tibi tribuunt; quo me et mea ſine ulla inſectatione nominis tui poſſim tueri. "Satis intelligis æquum non eſſe, mihi famam tuam obeſſe, et hominem protervia "et nequitia ſumma ubiq; jam notum, auctoritate tuâ abuti, ut mihi noceat. Neq; "ſanè hoc ferre ſuſtineas, niſi Burmanno quidem favere, mihi verò infenſus eſſe "videri velis. Vidiſti præfationem ejus Petronio præfixam, et fortè infamem li-"bellum Gallico ſermone deinde in me ſcriptum. Ea verò ſunt ejuſmodi, ut qui "ad eorum auctorem quidpiam, quod in me torqueat, miſerit, æque mihi inimi-"cus ac Petronianus interpres à me habeatur neceſſe ſit. Quod de te, vir reve-

 "rende,

letter is dated the firſt of July, O. S. In that letter he tells Le Clerc, " That he had been informed by Mr. Maſſon, who had " lately returned from Holland, that he had met there Le Clerc's " friend Cunningham, and that it was Cunningham who had pro- " pagated this report, on the authority of a Scotch bookſeller, " who pretended to know that the manuſcript in queſtion had " been ſent to Burmann, not from Germany but from Eng- " land *."

" rende, vix poſſum ſuſpicari, cum quia nulla, ut probè nôſti, unquam re à me " provocatus fuiſti; tum, quod homine Chriſtiano, et præſertim theologo prorſus " indignum ſit, imo et à communi humanitate alienum. Tuum ergo erit per pri- " mum tabellarium, poſtquam haſce acceperis, me docere, quid eâ de re credi et " dici à me velis; nam ſilentium diuturnius rumores confirmaret; certè id aliter " interpretari non poſſem. Itaq; à te vel pauculorum verſuum literas expecto, " quam primum venti ad eas, quæ ſunt 25 Junii St. novo (quo die ſcribebam) " in Angliam mittendæ, reſponſa hùc retulerint. Vale, vir reverende, meq; ſi " falſa de te narrentur, amicum certum, niſi faſtidias, habeto; ſin minus, famæ " meæ, prout viſum fuerit, me poſthac conſulere ne mirator. Si, quod ſpero, " opuſculum, quod Ultrajecti editur, tuum non ſit, nihil erit quòd candori meo " indigneris; at ſi eſſet ingenii tui fœtus, nullo profectò jure, ut tacerem, à me " exigere poſſes. Poſterius autem hoc verum eſſe ut intelligam, verbis nullis opus " erit. Solum ſilentium me, quid ſit credendum, docebit. Σιωπὴ, ut Euripidea " verba uſurpem, mihi erat ἀπόκρισις. Iterum vale."

* " Quid autem tantoperè doles, aut quo tuo numine læſo tam iracunde mecum " agis? Rumor ſcilicet, ut narras, per totum Belgium increbuit, me animadver- " ſiones in Menandrum tuum ſcripſiſſe, *in quibus errores multi tui et graves arguuntur.* " Principio, quicquid id in Belgio rumoris eſt, (nam in Britannia nulla de eâ re " aura nec ſuſurrus eſt) ſcias velim, me à Cl. Maſſono nuper ex Batavia reduce " reſciviſſe, totum eſſe ex te ortum et profectum. Eum in Belgio convenerat " amicus tuus Cunninghamius, qui longam fabulam orditur; Burmannum ſcilicet " inter pocula narrare, ſe animadverſiones in tuam Menandri editionem ex intima " Germania ſibi ſubmiſſas mox prælo eſſe commiſſurum, in quibus graviſſima tua " παραδράματα nudarentur et corrigerentur: Cunninghamium tamen Bibliopolæ ne- " ſcio cujus Scoti indicio, non ex Germania (ut præ ſe ferebat Burmannus), ſed ex " Britannia faſciculum illum apportatum pro comperto habere; et id tibi renunci- " áſſe, quo te audito, continuò in me fabulam illam cudiſſe, et proinde orare Cl. Maſ- " ſonum, ut quaſi aliud agens id de me, exquireret et aſtu expiſcaretur. Hæc om- " nia mihi Maſſonus Londini, cui quod e re erat ſtatim reſpondi. Hactenus de " rumore, qui ſi ullus eſt, totus tibi et Cunninghamio debetur. Vix enim credide- " rim Burmannum (etſi ater an albus ſit neſcio) tam ferrei eſſe oris, ut me ejuſce " fœtus patrem eſſe vel verbo inſimulare auſit."

That

THAT the Cunningham who had taken ſo active a part againſt Le Clerc's friend in this literary controverſy about Menander in 1710, is the ſame Cunningham who attacked Bentley about his Horace in his own edition of that poet, printed at the Hague in 1721, can ſcarcely admit of a doubt. But Maſſon found this Cunningham in Holland, and converſed with him there in June 1710, at lateſt. Nay, he muſt have been in Holland ſome weeks at leaſt before the 14th of June that year: for ſo far back the report had been current, which is ſaid to have been ſpread by him in that country. Can he therefore be the ſame perſon who wrote in Latin the hiſtory, a tranſlation of which is now publiſhed? Do not the paſſages above quoted from this compoſition, compared with the correſpondence between Bentley and Le Clerc, to uſe a legal term, very ſtrongly prove an *alibi?* and afford a very ſatisfactory proof, that, at the very time when one of the two Alexander Cunninghams was intereſting himſelf in Holland in the literary ſquabbles of philologiſts, the other Alexander Cunningham, whom it is our object to trace, was actually in Britain, deeply concerned in the political conteſts between the whigs and tories, and not ſetting out for the continent till near half a year after? Admitting, therefore, that there were ever ſo many coincidencies of character and ſituation, it muſt be ſubmitted to the public judgment, whether the identity of the critic and of the hiſtorian has not been diſproved by a ſort of evidence that amounts almoſt to demonſtration?

AND yet I confeſs, that when the coincidencies above enumerated recur to my mind, and particularly the evidence tending to prove that both the critic and hiſtorian were entruſted with the tuition of Argyle, I am rather diſpoſed, for my own part, on the ſubject of their diverſity to be ſomewhat ſceptical. The letter from Bruges, already mentioned, which alludes to ſome literary project, may ſeem to point directly, at firſt ſight, to our Hiſtory, as it did in fact

to the accurate and judicious editor of Carſtares's Papers. But on reflection, it will rather appear to refer to the intended publication of Juſtinian's Code (though indeed it is poſſible that it alludes not to either), and thereby to confirm that direct and poſitive evidence furniſhed by Dr. Carlyle and Mr. Paton, that the Cunningham who was travelling tutor to the duke of Argyle was no other than the critic on Horace. "As for the project," ſays the writer of that letter to Mr. Carſtares, "I know you will not only uſe all your "credit with ſecretary Ogilvy, but will alſo recommend the thing to "all the Scotch nobility and gentry you ſhall meet with at London. "I have bought in this country a conſiderable number of books, in "order to the carrying of it on; and ſo ſoon as I am free of my "lord Lorn, I reſolve to ſet ſeriouſly about it." The work in contemplation, then, was thought of for ſome conſiderable time; for it was a deſign of which he had written before in the courſe of his correſpondence with the ſecretary Carſtares; and for the execution of which he had provided a conſiderable number of books. Could this be the Hiſtory before us? Unleſs we can ſuppoſe that his original deſign was only to write an account of the firſt confederate war, which forms but a ſmall portion of this work, and which was concluded at Ryſwick on the 10th day of September 1697; that is, about ſix weeks only previous to the date of the letter from Bruges, in which the literary project is mentioned. But if the hiſtory of the firſt confederate war, or of a longer period, was the ſubject that Mr. Cunningham had in view, where was the propriety or particular advantage of recommending his project to "the ſecretary Ogilvy, "and the Scotch nobility and gentry at London?" and where the neceſſity of providing "a conſiderable number of books in order to "the carrying of it on?" The patronage of the Scots nobility and gentry in general could not well be ſolicited in favour of an hiſtory of the times in which ſo many of them had taken an active part on different ſides; nor is any conſiderable number of books neceſſary to any author, whoſe object it is to give an account of

what paſſes in his own days, and who, like Cunningham, had many opportunities of penetrating within the veil that ſtateſmen draw between their public conduct and private motives of action; and alſo of being informed by converſation of the principal tranſactions and events that form the ſubject of his narrative. But if we ſuppoſe that the literary project to which he alludes, was an intended edition of Juſtinian's Pandect, obvious reaſons are not wanting why he ſhould collect books, and alſo why he ſhould ſolicit the countenance and aid of the Scotch nation. The civil is the grand baſis of the Scotch law; and he might receive aſſiſtance from the advocates' pecuniary fund, as well as from their famous library, which is one of the beſt in the world. And in fact, it appears from the records of the faculty of advocates, that, in order to enable him to accompliſh this deſign, he was allowed from that fund an allowance of fifteen pounds a year, a ſum towards the cloſe of laſt century, not inconſiderable.

But, if an edition of the Pandects, as it appears to have been, was indeed the project which Mr. Cunningham had in view, in his letter to Mr. Carſtares, what ſhall we ſay of the ſtrong circumſtantial proof, already exhibited, that Alexander Cunningham, our Hiſtorian, was intruſted at the time when that letter was written, with the tuition of John duke of Argyle? If the writings of our Author have encreaſed the ſtores of hiſtory, the incidents of his life, by ſhewing the uncertainty of oral tradition, have illuſtrated its importance. Theſe, whatever concluſion may be drawn on the ſubject of his identity or diverſity from the critic, were undoubtedly many and various, and not only furniſhed uncommon opportunities, but naturally tended to qualify the mind for ſound obſervation. For it is the nature of attention, like a microſcope, to magnify its object. The narrower our ſphere of obſervation, the larger do thoſe particular ideas appear with which we are converſant. Objects familiar, and conſtantly preſent, are apt to exceed in our imagination their juſt magnitude and rank in the ſcale of things, and

and to involve us in manifold errors. But different ſcenes and ſituations, different objects and points of view, correct the exaggerations of fancy, ſtrengthen common ſenſe, and reduce things to their due ſize and proportion.

FROM an education under the auſpices of the prince of Orange, in a country and times which forcibly impreſſed on his mind a ſtriking contraſt between an abſolute and a free government; and from the great examples of antiquity with which he was eminently converſant, as well as of thoſe illuſtrious characters with whom he lived, and by whom he was patronized, our Author naturally derived thoſe ideas of civil liberty, and the rights of human nature, which breathe throughout the Hiſtory before us, and which appear indeed to have dictated its ſubject.

THE general effect or impreſſion, the moſt ſtriking truth or moral that remains in the mind after reviewing any ſeries of events, which impels the hiſtorian or epic poet to communicate his ſentiments and emotions to others, ſerves at the ſame time as a band of union among the tranſactions and occurrences which he involves in the ſtream of his compoſition. This band of union is alſo a clue by which he winds back and unfolds the concatenation of circumſtances which produced the grand event or effect that firſt intereſted and induced him to tranſmit theſe to poſterity, whether in the naked ſimplicity of truth, or adorned with the graces of fiction. Every legitimate hiſtory, as well as epic poem, ſprings from ſome important truth or moral, as from its root, and ſhoots forth into various ramifications and flowers, until in due time it reproduces, as it were, that very fruit which gave it birth; until, by ſome cataſtrophe, it impreſſes on the mind that doctrine or moral which forms its principal object. And as the heroic poet, after briefly announcing the ſubject that fires his ſoul, does not fly directly and rapidly to the end he has in view, but on the contrary keeps long on the wing, and aims in his flight, to warm the mind,

mind, and to gratify its vaſt deſires by frequent views of the grandeur, magnificence, and beauty of nature and providence; ſo the hiſtorian diverſifies his narrative by incidents, circumſtances, and digreſſions. Various ſcenes are opened, various actors introduced, various characters and manners: and the variety of the ſtyle is ſuited to the variety of the matter. If we examine Mr. Cunningham's Hiſtory by theſe canons of criticiſm, we ſhall find reaſon to pronounce it a juſt and legitimate compoſition, and perhaps to rank its Author in the firſt claſs of our hiſtorians.

MR. CUNNINGHAM hints in his exordium, and recalls to the mind of his reader in ſeveral other places, the grand object of his work: to illuſtrate the advantage of compact over divided dominions, and of uniformity of deſign over fluctuating counſels and political jealouſies, by a ſeries of events all flowing from one principle. He diſplays the vaſt extent and importance of the Spaniſh and Auſtrian territories, which were formerly veſted by the moſt indiſputed right of ſucceſſion in the ſame family. "But "countries ſo widely ſcattered, and inhabited by people of differ- "ent languages, manners, and laws, even with the advantage of "the Imperial authority on their ſide, would hardly be able to "ſuſtain a conteſt with France alone, whoſe populous and fertile "provinces are ſtrengthened by contiguity, and defended by a "chain of forts and garriſons. For, in eſtimating the power of "princes, it is a very material circumſtance, whether their domi- "nions be ſcattered or contiguous." Lewis XIV. of France, the moſt powerful monarch of his age, was not afraid to attack the dominions of ſo great a family, but ſought to extend his power on every ſide. In 1678 he broke, at the head of an army, into Flanders, and reduced a great number of the Spaniſh towns both in the Netherlands and the county of Burgundy; of which, notwithſtanding the triple alliance formed for the ſafety of the Spaniſh Netherlands and the proteſtant religion, he ſecured the poſſeſſion by an

artful peace at Aix la Chapelle. His ambition, not ſatiated, but, on the contrary, inflamed by his ſucceſs, ſtill purſues its object by policy and by arms. The rapidity of his conqueſts menaced the Low Countries with final ſubjection. But Providence raiſed up a ſaviour for the United States, and for all the proteſtants, in the perſon of William prince of Orange, who ſuſpended the fate, but did not remove the terror that hung over the nations: for by the peace of Nimeguen, the French king, who now aſſumed the title of Great, became arbiter of the affairs of Europe. He, accordingly, continued to ſeek freſh occaſions of quarrel, and to threaten his neighbours with univerſal monarchy. The prince of Orange, by this time king of England, in order to ſupport the tottering cauſe of liberty, enters into an alliance with the emperor, the United Provinces, and certain German princes in want of money, as auxiliaries. The peace of Ryſwick interrupted open hoſtilities, but did not extinguiſh that reſtleſs ambition which was ready to break out again, on the firſt opportunity, in flames of war. King William, deſerted or but feebly ſupported by his allies, and embarraſſed by conteſts and diſſenſions in the Engliſh parliament, endeavours to unite the peace with the liberty of Europe by a partition of thoſe dominions which muſt otherwiſe ſoon become the ſubject of an armed conteſt. Two treaties, framed for this purpoſe, prove ineffectual. The artifices of France are continued; new conjunctures are improved; a plauſible pretext is found for proclaiming a prince of Bourbon king of Spain; and preparations are made to ſupport his pretenſions by force of arms. The ſecond grand alliance ſpread the fury of war far and wide, and obliged all the leading powers of Europe to take part either with the illuſtrious patron of political liberty, or the proud uſurper of the rights of men and nations. The power and the pride of the latter inclined almoſt all Europe to the ſide of the former. The death of William, at this criſis, ſeemed, however, to threaten inſtant confuſion to the affairs of the confederates. But benefi-

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cent Providence raiſed up a fit ſucceſſor to the king, in John duke of Marlborough, a great and well-regulated ſpirit, who, to a quick diſcernment of character, and of the general relations and dependencies of things, added the ſingular faculty of reſtraining paſſion by reaſon, and of giving energy to the dictates of reaſon by the impulſe of paſſion. With ſuch a commander, ſupported by the confidence and co-operation of prince Eugene of Savoy; with the favour and aſſiſtance of ſo many ſtates and princes; with a mighty military force, and ſuch generals as the count of Staremberg, the earl of Peterborough, and the duke of Argyle; with theſe advantages, the confederates ſeemed to be an over-match for the armies of France, though numerous and well-diſciplined, though inſpired by the courage and ambition of Lewis the Great, led on by ſuch maſters in the art of war, as the mareſchal Villars, and the dukes of Vendome and Berwick, and ſtrengthened not more by the troops than the preſence of the duke of Bavaria. And in fact, while the confederate army underwent various viciſſitudes in Spain, the genius of the duke of Marlborough, directing the engine committed into his hands, by confiding nations, with profound wiſdom, controlled fortune on the Danube and the Rhine, proceeded from one victory to another, and ſeemed to purſue a ſure march, from fortreſs to fortreſs, to the gates of Paris. The French armies are ſlaughtered, taken, or put to flight. Public credit in France is ruined. Men as well as money are wanting to recruit the French army, and famine begins to cooperate with the ſword for the deſolation of a proud and ambitious kingdom. Yet ſuch is the advantage of conſtancy over inconſtancy, and of undivided over divided power, that the French king wearied out by perſeverance the adverſity of fortune, conſtantly emerged from the greateſt difficulties, and at a time when the duke of Marlborough, having opened a way into the heart of France, had determined and was prepared to march to the French capital by the way of Calais, the marquis of Torcy negociated

the peace of Utrecht, which, by raiſing the duke of Anjou to the throne of Spain, united that kingdom to France, and thereby eſtabliſhed that enormous power, which ſeems ſtill, by a deliberate and ſyſtematic conduct, to aim at the total ſubverſion of the liberties of Europe.

OUR Author, throughout his Work, preſſes home the truth of the grand moral or connecting principle of his Hiſtory on the minds of his readers, by dwelling on the perſeverance of France, and the conſtancy of her exertions under the ſevereſt misfortunes on the one hand; while on the other, he deſcribes the different principles and paſſions that enter into the nature of the Britiſh government, and the natural inconſtancy of all confederacies. A revolution in the courſe of a long war had happened in the ſentiments and paſſions of the Engliſh populace, who, ſatiated with victory, and heated by a few firebrands of ſedition into licentious riots, were loud and violent in their clamours for peace, and in their undiſcerning fury ſeemed to demand as a victim the very man who had raiſed the national glory to the higheſt point of elevation. In the mad tumults of the people, in the court intrigues, and the cabals of faction, it appeared how much numbers and cuſtom influence the opinion and ſentiments of men. All regard to truth and juſtice appeared to be loſt; and, as was obſerved by Mr. Walpole in a ſpeech in the houſe of commons, "The Engliſh nation, who are generally accounted gentle even to their enemies, were "animated againſt each other with a ſpirit of hatred and rancour."

MR. CUNNINGHAM, having brought his narrative to that point in which all the movements which form its ſubject attained their full and juſt termination, and which ſo emphatically illuſtrates the advantage of undivided power and undiverted aim over the fragility of combinations, and the inconſtancy of popular councils, for the ſatisfaction of his readers, winds up the whole with a ſummary

ſummary account of the fortune and fate of the principal parties concerned in the ſcenes he had deſcribed.

THERE cannot poſſibly be any doctrine or moral, in which nations in general, or Great Britain in particular, are more intereſted than that which forms the connecting principle in the Hiſtory before us. Ambition and accidents conſtantly diminiſh the number, and enlarge the boundaries of principalities and kingdoms; the larger of which ſwallow up the ſmaller, as the ſmaller fall into the larger drops of water, when they come within the ſphere of their attraction. At laſt one general deluge overwhelms the nations in univerſal monarchy, until new commotions, whether external or internal, like fire, vapour, and ſtorms, agitate the mighty maſs, and rend it again into ſeparate ſtates and dominions. For the balance of power is not preſerved among unequal ſtates by equal diviſions of plunder. In all diviſions of this kind it is as clear that the ſtronger has the advantage over the weaker party, as it is in geometry, that if equal things be added to unequal things, their wholes will be unequal. Mutual conceſſion and connivance, mutual ſacrifices may protract hoſtilities for a time; but at laſt the maſtery of the world is decided by a ſingle action. Thus, in the decline of the Roman empire, the moſt powerful governors of provinces divided the Imperial dominions among themſelves, and then determined by the ſword who ſhould wear the purple. At no time has the partitioning policy of rival empires been more viſible than at preſent. When we reflect on the hereditary ambition of the court of France in all its meaſures, whether of war or peace; the weſtern and the eaſtern, the northern and the ſouthern boundaries of the dominions now governed by the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon; the political harmony which unites theſe rival powers; the immenſe extent and growing greatneſs of Ruſſia; and the complacency and good correſpondence which ſubſiſts between the courts of Vienna, Paris, and St. Peterſburgh; the moral of Cunningham's Hiſtory will, perhaps, appear, in the preſent conjuncture of affairs, peculiarly

ſeaſonable

ſeaſonable and important. When the deſigns of France were open and avowed, the neighbouring ſtates oppoſed them with vigour, otherwiſe an enormous power muſt have been eſtabliſhed, which would have overwhelmed the liberties of Europe. As Great Britain, in times of open hoſtilities, oppoſed arms to arms, ſo in times of peace ſhe ought to oppoſe caution to art, and alliance to alliance. In Pruſſia, in Holland, in Portugal, on the mountains of Switzerland, wherever the ſtandard of civil or of political freedom is raiſed, there it ought by all means to be ſupported. Liberty, utterly baniſhed from the continent, could not poſſibly find a ſafe and permanent aſylum in the iſland of Great Britain.

THE confederacy drawn together by king William, while it forms an æra in the hiſtory of Europe, and affords the moſt exemplary leſſon to the nations, is a period to which England looks back with pleaſure and with pride. At no time before, nor perhaps ſince the reigns of king William and queen Anne, has there appeared in this nation ſo great a compaſs of military and political talents, ſo juſt a taſte in works of art, or ſo manly a judgment, as well as boldneſs of inveſtigation in matters of ſcience. Philoſophy had not degenerated into ſcepticiſm *, nor compoſition into quirks, conceits, and far-fetched and high-ſounding words. Liberty, the rights, and the dignity of human nature aſſerted by reaſon, and defended by arms, nouriſhed in the Engliſh nation a boldneſs of character, and a ſpirit of enterprize which led on to improvement of every kind. With ſuch a field before him, Mr. Cunningham makes ſeaſonable and pleaſing digreſſions from politics and war to the arts of peace, marking the progreſs of the mechanical as well as of the liberal arts. For example: we are informed by our Author, in his fourth book, that, " during all

* It is not religious ſcepticiſm that is here meant, but ſcepticiſm in the moſt enlarged ſenſe of the word; ſcepticiſm with regard to the general principles of all truth or knowledge.

" the

" the time of the firſt confederate war, the Engliſh young gentle-
" men were wont to travel into Holland, Germany, and Italy;
" whereby the ſoft ſtrains of muſic, the architecture of the Ita-
" lians, and the laying out of gardens after the manner of the
" Dutch, became very faſhionable in Britain. In Norfolk, Suffolk,
" and Lincolnſhire, there was a moſt wonderful improvement in
" huſbandry and tillage; for the war was of great advantage to
" the farmers who exported corn into Holland. The Yorkſhire
" men bred managed horſes, opened rivers and canals for naviga-
" tion, and took care of the public roads and carriages, as well as to
" encourage the fiſheries and the plantation of hops." The characters that were moſt diſtinguiſhed in the controverſies of the day, whatever they were, are recorded. But of all the great men of the times he deſcribes, he juſtly beſtows the higheſt praiſe on Mr. John Locke and Sir Iſaac Newton, to whoſe labours in active life the Engliſh nation is ſo much indebted, as well as the whole world to their inveſtigations as philoſophers. Theſe illuſtrious names he conſiders " as almoſt divine, and born for the good of the human
" race *." Thus, he takes a view of whatever is moſt intereſting in the hiſtory of his own times. As politics and war are the great engines which govern nations, theſe form the great outlines of his deſcriptions; but he finds means of introducing in the back-ground whatever engages and moves mankind.

As the various ſituations in which our Author was placed gave him opportunities of penetrating within the curtain, and of ſeeing men off their guard, ſo we find him marking the expreſſion of their countenance, and the tones of their voice, and obſerving all the traces and the workings of paſſion. And as he enters deeply into the tempers of individuals, ſo he hits off with great felicity the varying ſpirit of the times. For example: the ſeverity of the times of

* Vol. I. p. 111.

Cromwell,

Cromwell, he obſerves, was exchanged in thoſe of Charles II. for a ſpirit of diſſipation and licentiouſneſs. This ſpirit, which perfectly correſponded with the gay temper of the king, was encouraged by him, as Mr. Hume, with other writers, thinks, merely from conſtitutional temper. Mr. Cunningham, who entertained a very high opinion of Charles's natural ſagacity, as well as accompliſhments, and who was in poſſeſſion of many private anecdotes, affirms, that "he encouraged all ſtrollers, players, mountebanks, "fortune-tellers, and rope-dancers, from a political motive; name-"ly, that he might divert the attention of the people from reli-"gious controverſies, which he juſtly conſidered as the ſole baſis "of the republic.—The valuable treaſure of medals collected by "king Charles I. being rifled and diſperſed, the fine arts were neg-"lected during the whole time of the rebellion, and their place "uſurped by party-rage, and the moſt fooliſh diſputes about "metaphyſical notions in religion. After the reſtoration of king "Charles II. all his revenue was little enough for his pleaſures "and recreations: yet he took care to have a royal edition of the "Polyglott Bible. And though there are but few ſuch inſtances "of royal bounty, it is certain, that neither the parts nor purſes "of private perſons were wanting to the promotion of learning. "During the reign of James II. the genius, wit, and induſtry of "the nation were exhauſted in libels and controverſies; but on "the acceſſion of king William, men employed their parts in ex-"plaining the laws of nature, and the rights and duties of men "and nations *." Towards the concluſion of the ſecond book he tells us, that "king William now began to ſee that many "people were opening ſuch ways for advancing themſelves to "riches, as were inconſiſtent with that virtue which is the ſpirit "and life of free government †." The late ardent zeal, he obſerves, for liberty and religion, after the conteſt was over, and the

* Vol. I. p. 111. † Vol. I. p. 110.

friends

friends and favourites of William had ſhared largely in the plunder of the forfeited eſtates, and every one hunted for prey, "the late "ardent zeal for liberty and religion was turned to avarice; and "he who was the richeſt, was of courſe to be looked upon as the "wiſeſt, the braveſt, the moſt honourable, and the beſt of men *." This ſpirit, in the beginning of the reign of queen Anne, had ſpread far and wide, and become inveterate: "Never," ſays Mr. Cunningham, "was there any thing known, before or ſince, like "the rage for wealth which prevailed in that female adminiſtra-"tion. For not only were bad men greedy of gain, but even "thoſe who were reputed to be men of virtue, endeavoured to "bring all things into confuſion, that ſo they might acquire to "themſelves preferments, wealth, and honours." This may apologize, in ſome degree, for that extreme rapacity which was viſible in the conduct of ſo many of our officers, and tarniſhed even the duke of Marlborough's glory. The characters of men depend not more on natural temper and conſtitution, than on fortuitous circumſtances and ſituation. Whatever energy is implanted by nature in any mind, receives, for the moſt part, its bias and direction from the impulſe of fortune. The duke of Marlborough was not guilty of mean actions; he reſtrained and puniſhed the rapacity of his army; and treated the conquered enemy with infinite generoſity and indulgence. If he was deeply infected with a paſſion for gain, it was the epidemical paſſion of the times, which, in its origin, was mixed with a natural deſire of being conſidered as an object of royal favour.

THE fluctuating ſpirit of the Engliſh nation is again traced by our Author, at the beginning of his fourteenth book, where it is ſaid, "In that canvaſſing for votes, which preceded the general "election of members of the Britiſh houſe of commons †, that "military ardour, and high ſpirit of liberty, which had, not many

* Vol. I. p. 127.

† In 1710.

"years before, ſhone forth among all ranks and orders of men, "and which are indeed natural to the Britiſh nation, were now, "after the late negociations on the continent *, exchanged for a "rooted averſion to war, a blind and anxious deſire of peace, "and a furious zeal among ſome of the country clergy, not only "againſt the principles of the whigs, but even againſt the rights "of the people, acts of the legiſlature, and the authority of go-"vernment †."

How fine is that deſcription, that natural hiſtory, as it were, which Mr. Cunningham gives of the varying character of the Italians? From the earlieſt times, when the extreme fertility of ſoil, and plenty of all things inſpired the inhabitants of Campania with pride, and inconſtancy of temper, through that ſlothful eaſe and idleneſs to which they were reduced by the conquering Romans; the national inſolence, and pride of that headſtrong people, revived by the luxury and imbecillity of the emperors; and all the viciſſitudes of fortune to the period when he finds the two Sicilies, in the reign of Philip V. under the dominion of Spain ‡. In a great variety of other inſtances, our Author paints national characters in a manner equally lively and juſt. To many readers this ſpecies of deſcription, this *icon animorum*, will appear to be the moſt entertaining, and not the leaſt inſtructive part of this work.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Cunningham's Hiſtory abounds throughout the whole with refined obſervations, yet does he not obtrude his reflections in a formal and dictatorial manner, but with equal elegance and conciſeneſs, either ſuggeſts them in a very few words, or involves them in the ſtream of his narrative. For example: "When king James II. of England diſbanded his army, he ex-

* Which had inſpired an hope of peace, and turned the ardour of their minds wholly to that object.

† Vol. II. p. 339. ‡ Vol. I. p. 227, 228.

"horted

"horted his ſoldiers to retain their allegiance to him, and to keep "themſelves free from aſſociations with the enemy:" on which Mr. Cunningham obſerves, "It is ſtrange that the king ſhould "imagine his diſbanded ſoldiers would continue more faithful to "him than his own courtiers*." Speaking of certain movements of the French general Boufflers, whoſe encampment for ſo long a time in Cleves and Guelderland had excited various ſuſpicions and apprehenſions in the wiſeſt individuals among the Dutch nation, and even in the States themſelves, he ſays, "The com-"mon people, *as it often happens*, found out his deſign:" a reflection, though apparently ſimple, yet in reality both profound and important†.—"The king of Pruſſia, who was more illuſ-"trious on account of the accompliſhments of his mind than the "gracefulneſs of his perſon, and was the laſt that had been "adorned with the regal diadem, ſeemed ambitious to excel the "antient kings in the magnificence and ſplendour of his court‡." In this paſſage, which is a juſt example of Mr. Cunningham's manner of interweaving reflection with narration and deſcription, the parade and oſtentation of the Pruſſian monarch are traced to their true ſource, the *ruimus in vetita ſemper*, with great beauty and delicacy.

THAT Mr. Cunningham perfectly underſtood the nature and the advantages ariſing from the Britiſh conſtitution, and that he may therefore be ranked among thoſe writers who are denominated by ſome, conſtitutional hiſtorians, might be proved by a great variety of paſſages in his Hiſtory, among which we find the following. Having taken notice of the readineſs with which the people, on the ſtrength of public credit§, brought vaſt ſums into

* Vol. I. p. 92. † Vol. I. p. 275. ‡ Vol. II. p. 337.

§ After the parliament, in 1704, had granted money to the queen for the ſervice of the war, a clauſe was inſerted in the act, for leaſing out certain taxes for ninety-nine years, to any purchaſer, whereby vaſt ſums of ready money were brought into the treaſury by three or four payments.

the treaſury, he obſerves, "That this confidence between the par-
"liament and the people of England was the true ſource of our
"victories, our military and naval power, our wealth, and the
"hopes of our poſterity both in war and peace, and ſtrengthened
"the foundations of our government *."—"Upon the promiſe of
"great intereſt, money enough was brought into the treaſury, and
"the payments made at once: whereby it appears, that in Britain
"the public good, and the intereſt of the community, depends
"more on the confidence and good will of the people, than
"either upon the royal authority, or acts of parliament †." And this confidence, as our Author inſinuates in another place, is not to be maintained by any multiplication of laws or conſtitutional reforms, ſo effectually, as by the practice of moral rectitude or integrity of conduct. "Every year there were new acts of par-
"liament made for the prevention of the frauds of many people,
"and redreſſing public grievances; but ſtill, by ſuch methods of
"redreſſing, the grievances increaſed: and I very much doubt
"whether the iniquity of mankind can be redreſſed by any laws,
"unleſs they receive an additional ſanction both from the example
"and the conſtant exertions of thoſe who are entruſted with the
"adminiſtration of them ‡."—As long as a confidence between the people and parliament is maintained, ſo long is our civil conſtitution preſerved entire; *but ſhould ever a period arrive in which that confidence ſhould be ſhaken or loſt, ſome new order of affairs would neceſſarily ſucceed, but probably none that would provide for the ſecurity of our natural rights and privileges*: ſo cloſe is the connection, in this mixed government, between good morals and public liberty!

It is to be remarked of our Author, that like Livy, and other antient hiſtorians, as well as ſome modern Italians, who imitate the antients, he relates, on manifold occaſions, ſundry prodigies and

* Vol. II. p. 367. † Vol. II. p. 155. ‡ Vol. II. p. 134.

preſages,

preſages of war. This he does, not to aſtoniſh the vulgar reader, but in order to ſhew their effects on the minds of the people, and their origin in human fears, and the inſupportable languor of inoccupation. Perhaps, too, in the origin of prodigies and fables, we may trace, as our Author hints, ſomewhat of climate. Even the northern nations, when their minds are ſtrongly aroufed and agitated by war, ſometimes ſee portentous omens *. The Italians, a lively and animated people, ſee them oftener: but moſt of all do they appear in Greece, a country, as our Author remarks, ever fertile in miracles †.—As the convulſions of nature diſcloſe the hidden ſtrata of the earth, ſo do the tumults and agitations of the nations open new proſpects of the human mind. Prodigies, with their occaſions, cauſes, and conſequences, are therefore recorded by Mr. Cunningham with perfect propriety: and it is with equal propriety that he takes notice of the effects of eclipſes ‡.

THROUGHOUT the whole of Mr. Cunningham's Hiſtory we meet with references to antient times. He not only appears in the character of a man of buſineſs, a courtier, and a philoſopher; but, in that of a very learned and agreeable companion, he takes frequent opportunities of ſtepping aſide into claſſical ground, and particularly of recalling to the mind of his readers, the great ſcenes, and the progreſs of the Roman arms. For example: in deſcribing the march of the imperial army, under count Thaun, into Italy, he ſays, "The Germans being well refreſhed in the Maſ-"ſican hills with Falernian wine, advanced towards Capua, with-"out any apprehenſion of being ſtopped by the enemy among "thoſe mountains, where they could ſwill themſelves with wine, "as Hannibal's army was of old. No ſooner did they deſcend "from the mountains, than the country of Campania Felix, or "the province de Lavoro, lay open to their view; which, for

* Vol. I. p. 394. † Vol. I. p. 192. ‡ Vol. II. p. 47.

"temperature

" temperature of climate, as well as fruitfulneſs of ſoil, was the " fineſt country they had ever ſeen. They were therefore de- " termined not to be diſcouraged by any dangers, but at all " hazards to make themſelves maſters of the province of Lavoro: " for generous food, and wine, which is found to enervate the " Africans, gives vigour and courage to the Germans.——The " Capuans were not now what they had been formerly, but " having learnt the evil conſequences of obſtinacy by the ſad ex- " perience of their forefathers, and taking warning from the re- " maining heaps of the ruins of their antient city, which old " misfortunes notwithſtanding ſo many ages paſt they ſtill looked " upon as if they had been recent, made anſwer, That they were " unaccuſtomed to war, and thought themſelves incapable of " judging of controverſies, otherwiſe than to ſubmit to the powers " for the time being *."

ALTHOUGH Mr. Cunningham does not attach himſelf ſo much as ſome late writers of memoirs, to circumſtances and anecdotes, yet is his work fuller, perhaps, of both, than any Engliſh hiſtory of high reputation. His circumſtances and anecdotes are all of them connected with that general train of events, or character, by which the particulars he records are diſcriminated from the ordinary courſe of affairs. He does not go out of his way to hunt for them: he does not dwell upon them as his principal object; and never introduces them but when they are natural, and to the purpoſe. If he relates the whimſical but efficacious ſtratagem by which the celebrated Milton, after the reſtoration, eſcaped the puniſhment of death, he is naturally led to do ſo from the ſubject before him, the fate of the regicides. If he deſcribes with extraordinary minuteneſs the extreme wantonneſs and open licentiouſneſs of the court of Charles II. he is juſtified by the ſudden

* Vol. II. p. 114, 115.

reflux

reflux in the temper and manners of the nation from extreme moroſeneſs and ſeverity, to extreme levity and ſenſuality.—The earl of Godolphin abandoning himſelf, on the news of the ſhipwreck of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, to the moſt paſſionate and immoderate grief, and tearing off the few grey locks that remained on his aged and venerable head*: the mareſchal de Tallard ſent to explain away the meaning of a treaty which he himſelf, on the part of France, had negociated and ſigned, abaſhed and confounded in the preſence of king William, and ſpeaking in a low, tremulous, and ſcarcely audible tone of voice†: the czar of Muſcovy, who was a very tall man, bowing down and embracing king William at Utrecht, and exclaiming with the moſt viſible emotions of ſatisfaction and joy, "Lo! here is an ample reward of all "my labours‡!" Such anecdotes and circumſtances as theſe, while they detract not from the dignity of an hiſtorical compoſition, render it highly pictureſque and animated.

BESIDES the anecdotes juſt mentioned of the czar of Muſcovy, our Hiſtorian records many others. Some of theſe, as far as I can learn, are new; and they are all of them ſuch as either relate to the ſtate of his empire, or illuſtrate his capacity for government. Biſhop Burnet ſpeaks of the czar with great indifference, and in a manner rather diſreſpectful. He had heard very high accounts of his capacity, and with his uſual curioſity, he went to the dock-yards on the Thames, where the czar was at work among the ſhip-builders. The biſhop expreſſes his diſappointment, and declares that the genius of this prince appeared to him to be more adapted to the occupations of a carpenter than the government of an empire. Mr. Cunningham ſpeaks of this great man in a far different ſtrain. "The czar of Muſcovy was not "only endowed with what are commonly eſteemed princely

* Vol. II. p. 110. † Vol. I. p. 196. ‡ Vol. I. p. 163.

"virtues,

"virtues, counſel, labour, magnanimity; but he had alſo a ſin-
"gular genius for all liberal arts, an obliging behaviour and in-
"duſtry, without parade or oſtentation: for though he was in
"dignity equal to the higheſt, he did not think it beneath him to
"converſe with the loweſt of mankind, provided they were in-
"genious and of approved probity. There was nothing in this
"prince, according to the character given of him by king Wil-
"liam, haughty, nothing abject, nothing mean: and, from the
"glorious condeſcenſion of his conduct, as well as the extent and
"depth of his obſervation, it was now abundantly apparent that
"his nature was ennobled by true greatneſs; and that in forti-
"tude, magnanimity, diligence, and perſeverance, he not only
"excelled all his cotemporaries, but even all the heroes who are
"recorded in the antiquities of the eaſtern nations *." So dif-
ferent were the eſtimates that were formed of the czar of Muſ-
covy by the two Scotch hiſtorians of their own times, Dr. Burnet
and Mr. Cunningham! And ſo different, too, are the eſtimates
that will be made, by all who read their oppoſite characters of
Peter the Great, of thoſe cotemporary writers. Having men-
tioned Dr. Burnet, I ſhall here take occaſion to obſerve, that Mr.
Cunningham appears to have entertained a very hearty contempt
of that prelate: he repreſents him in the moſt ridiculous and even
odious points of view: he returns to him again and again: he
plainly betrays a ſpirit of animoſity, and of perſonal reſentment
againſt Burnet. The ſelf-importance of the good biſhop was in-
deed a fit ſubject of ridicule; yet it will readily occur to every
reader, that our Hiſtorian himſelf is not wholly free from this
vanity. The importance that is aſcribed to the counſels of Alex-
ander Cunningham, is ſometimes little leſs ridiculous than that
which is arrogated in his writings by Gilbert Burnet: ſo natural
are the illuſions of ſelf-conceit, and ſo natural, therefore, are the

* Vol. I. p. 163.

claims

claims which both of theſe writers have to our excuſe and indulgence. It has been Dr. Burnet's fate to be ridiculed, by writers of monarchical principles, from animoſity; and by an author of oppoſite principles, from rivality, we may ſuppoſe, and, perhaps, from envy. It muſt be owned, at the ſame time, that the duke of Argyle, lord Sommers, and other leading men among the whigs, as well as our Author, entertained not any high opinion of the biſhop: they conſidered him, though learned and eloquent, in matters of buſineſs and the world, as a weak, credulous, and pragmatical man: but they knew he was zealous in their cauſe, and therefore they could not, like Mr. Cunningham, regard him with hatred and averſion. Another great object of our Author's averſion and ridicule, is, general Stanhope. The reaſon of this antipathy it is impoſſible for me to conjecture.

On the ſubject of our Author's prejudices, it is farther to be obſerved, that he takes every occaſion of inveighing, ſometimes in a ſtrain of ridicule, and ſometimes in a ſpirit of deteſtation, againſt prieſts and women, and never fails to impute to both their full ſhare of blame, and perhaps more than their full ſhare, in every national calamity. He ſhews great anxiety, too, about the chaſtity of the fair ſex. If any lady of diſtinction has deviated from the paths of virtue, her frailty is faithfully recorded; and that even when it is nowiſe connected with public affairs. In this particular, perhaps, it may be thought that our Author tranſgreſſes the laws of hiſtory. To tell us that at ſuch a time ſuch a lady was divorced from her huſband, with other particulars relative to the ſeparation, will indeed be deemed ſomewhat irregular and abrupt: if it may not be vindicated as ſerving to delineate the character of a licentious age, and yet, at the ſame time, an age in which divorces were greater novelties, at leaſt, than they are at preſent.

AT the ſame time that we take notice of Mr. Cunningham's prejudices, it is proper and neceſſary to obſerve, that he has a natural candour and probity of diſpoſition, which inclines him to do juſtice to ſingular merit, or excellence, wherever he finds it. Though he certainly had no predilection either for the female or clerical character, there are many individuals among both the women and the clergy, whoſe virtue he extols in the higheſt ſtrains: as queen Mary, the conſort of William; the electreſs Sophia of Hanover; the queen of Spain, a daughter of the houſe of Savoy; Dr. Compton, Dr. Tillotſon, Dr. Trimnel, with many others. Though Mr. Cunningham be a zealous aſſerter of the principles of the revolution*, he does not ſuffer thoſe principles to pervert juſtice in his accounts of men and their actions. If he is full in the praiſes of the duke of Marlborough, he does ample juſtice to the ſingular genius and intrepidity of the earl of Peterborough, of whom he ſays, that "he ſeemed to realize to the "Spaniards the fabulous atchievements of Don Quixote." If he celebrates the abilities and virtues of Sommers, Godolphin, and Oxford, he celebrates with equal goodwill thoſe of Sir Simon Harcourt, and Hyde earl of Rocheſter. Nay, there are occaſions on which he does juſtice to the merit of even biſhop Burnet, and general Stanhope. It is farther to be remarked, on the head of our Author's probity of diſpoſition, that he takes an apparent pleaſure in recording inſtances of extraordinary merit even in the loweſt ſtations, and wherever he finds it.

OUR Author was extremely well acquainted with the artifices and intrigues of courts, and he has deſcribed them with perſpicuity and minuteneſs. He not only tells us that a king, or other perſonage, ſaid this or that particular thing, but even deſcribes his

* The whiggiſm of Mr. Cunningham is apparent, from the Latin words by which he denotes whigs and tories: the former he calls *moderati*; the latter *rigidi*.

countenance,

countenance, whether he was in a grave or merry humour: and he is often very happy in delineating ſhortly and forcibly the characters of thoſe miniſters and ſtatesmen whom he has occaſion to mention. He takes due notice of all religious controverſies, and gives a full, clear, and diſtinct account of the debates in both the Engliſh and Scotch parliaments, particularly on the ſubject of the union. In a word, as he enjoyed uncommon opportunities of information, ſo he poſſeſſed abilities which enabled, and diſpoſitions which inclined him to make a proper uſe of his ſuperior advantages. He ſeems often to have diſcovered the ſecret ſprings which moved the ſcenes he deſcribes; and he has enriched and adorned his relation of facts with learning, philoſophy, many inſtructive and pleaſing anecdotes, and with ſatire, wit, and humour.

HAVING thus endeavoured to give an idea of the matter contained in this Hiſtory, I proceed to make a few obſervations on the ſtyle and manner in which it is written. The matter and the form, the ſubſtance and the ſtyle of any compoſition, are intimately connected. The ſtyle naturally grows out of the matter, and is ſwelled and formed by the ſentiment: it is, to ſpeak in the language of a celebrated naturaliſt, the full developement of that internal model, according to which the ſeparated and organized particles of matter take their place in any animated ſyſtem. Juſt ſtyle, therefore, does not conſiſt wholly in a proper and nice ſelection of pure and claſſical words, and the conſtruction of theſe, according to the eſtabliſhed rules of grammar, in ſentences and periods; but partly in that adaption of phraſeology, to the preciſe point in queſtion, to the ſentiment or paſſion, or ſhade of paſſion to be expreſſed; and which a word neither faſhionable nor elegant will ſometimes expreſs more happily than one culled from the moſt popular, pompous, and faſtidious writers. The word, which to a mind ſtored with all the riches of any language, firſt occurs, will, for the moſt part, be that which is the beſt fitted to the ſubject, and

to bring forth without diſtortion the conceptions of the mind. Hence, although in ſuch a ſtyle particular words and phraſes ſhould ſeem rough and uncouth, when viewed apart from the general contour of any work, yet, on the whole, it will poſſeſs an eaſe, propriety, and grace, which are by no means to be found in more laboured compoſitions. It is this free and bold uſe of language, correſponding to internal freedom and boldneſs of thought, which gives character and originality to an author. If the ſentiments and views of any writer be in reality his own, his manner will be his own alſo. A genius, original and ſublime, does not naturally ſo much as think of forming his ſtyle after the model of any one writer, however juſtly celebrated: he will not entrammel himſelf in the footſteps of any guide, nor diſgrace himſelf by the livery even of a king: but yielding to the impulſe of his mind and heart, he will catch the words, and ſeize the images as they firſt and moſt naturally ariſe: and thus he will expreſs his ſentiments with preciſion and vigour, and vary his ſtyle in ſuch a manner as to ſuit the different topics of the moſt complicated narrative.

THE ſtyle of Mr. Cunningham's Hiſtory (I ſpeak of the original Latin) is not in all places what is commonly called elegant; nor yet, perhaps, in a few inſtances, which is not to be wondered at in ſo long a work, perfectly exact and grammatical: but, on the whole, it is perſpicuous, various, manly, nervous. It poſſeſſes a pliant power, which riſes into a tone of elevation, or falls with the falling ſubject: but whether our Hiſtorian ſoar high, or touch the earth, he keeps ſtill on wing, and without foundering, maintains an equal courſe. It would have been impoſſible for Mr. Cunningham, as has already been obſerved, to have deſcribed ſcenes, modes of life, cuſtoms, ideas, and opinions, ſo different from thoſe of the antient Romans, and unlike any thing they were acquainted with, if he had not, like Eraſmus, been

maſter of the whole compaſs of latinity. Who that ſhould confine himſelf wholly to the ſtyle of the Auguſtan age, could poſſibly record the debates in the Scotch and Engliſh parliaments? The humours of the people of England on occaſion of general elections? The extravagancies of the Londoners at the time of Dr. Sacheverell's trial; and the temporary importance, of "butchers "with marrow bones and cleavers, chairmen, porters, chimney-"ſweeps, link-boys, and blackguards?" It may certainly be affirmed that Mr. Cunningham's latinity is as pure as his ſubject would admit of; and that, from a very great variety of writers, he has, with great taſte and judgment, ſelected what was moſt to his purpoſe.

THE choice of apt words is not, however, of ſo great importance, as that general arrangement of facts and ſentiments, that eaſe and dignity of tranſition from one thing to another, which is the animating ſoul of a compoſition, which joins one thing with another, produces an united full effect, and conſtitutes one harmonious whole. Now, there is nothing more characteriſtical of Mr. Cunningham's manner of writing, than this lucidity of order, which conducts his readers with ſo much eaſe through all the windings of human affairs. Mere journaliſts diſtract the reader, and by attempting to record every thing, record nothing. Mr. Cunningham does not break the attention of his reader, or perplex the thread of his narrative with a relation of every diſtinct event in the exact order of time: he arranges the minuter points, according to their relation to the greater; or he finds a place for them in the vacant intervals and pauſes of his narrative. Hence, at the ſame time that he preſerves the impreſſion and force of unity in each of his narratives and deſcriptions of different events and objects, he has an opportunity of relieving our attention, by amuſing and inſtructive digreſſions. Of this kind is the account we have in the fourth Book, of the riſe and progreſs of the

the arts in Britain: the heroic actions of Charles XII. of Sweden, in the ninth Book; and the hiſtory of the Jeſuits, to which he paſſes from the religious controverſies in England, in the fourteenth.

THE ſame happy art of painting, our Author diſcovers in his deſcriptions of battles, whoſe complicated movements are ſo hard to be deſcribed, and the accounts of which are for the moſt part ſo unintelligible. It is probable, as above mentioned, that in matters of war the pupil Achilles had communicated information to his preceptor Chiron. It muſt be remarked, too, that Mr. Cunningham enjoyed full opportunities of examining the ſcenes of battles, and in general of learning what may be called military geography. After drawing ſuch a picture of an engagement as the eye can take in at one view, and having placed the ſpectator on certain eminences, from whence he can ſurvey the fluctuating ſcene below, our Author traces the important conſequences of minute accidents, marks the illuſions of hope and of deſpair, and how the paſſions of courage and fear are ſuddenly infuſed into whole armies of men: for minds, agitated and heated by a conflict that muſt terminate either in death or victory, are more ſuſceptible than on ordinary occaſions of various impreſſions: and it is when an appeal is made to arms; even here, where all ſeems to depend on brutal energy, that the power of mind is moſt clearly to be diſcerned: the influence of conduct in the commander, and the various tides of paſſion that are transfuſed from ſoul to ſoul in the commanded.

AFTER deſcribing the great movements, and iſſue of battles and ſieges, it is Mr. Cunningham's manner to relate intereſting anecdotes, and inſtances of private merit, which could not be introduced, during the heat of the conflict, without confuſion. Thus, after deſcribing the battle of Malplaquet, and the retreat of the French army, he relates that prince Eugene, as well as the French

general, " was wounded, but that only ſlightly; and that imme-
" diately on having his wound bound up, he returned to the field
" of battle:" that " the duke of Argyle had his coat both cut
" and ſhot through and through in many places:" " Colonel
" Cranſton, in the act of ſolemnly devoting himſelf to God upon
" his bended knees, was killed by a cannon ball:" and, what was moſt important of all, " James Campbell, lieutenant to the earl of
" Stair, ſignalized his valour on that dreadful day in ſight of both
" the armies: for while the victory was yet doubtful, he ruſhed
" with great fury againſt the enemy with a party of his men, and
" cutting all before him, opened a way through the midſt of the
" enemy, and returned the ſame way to his friends. The bravery
" of this youth very much encouraged the confederates, and diſ-
" heartened the enemy, who were ſo much terrified, that none
" of them afterwards were ever willing to come in the way of a
" white horſe, which was the colour of his *." This was general Sir James Campbell, of Laurs, whoſe military valour ſhone forth afterwards with equal luſtre, and who, commanding the Britiſh horſe, loſt his life, in an advanced age, at the battle of Fontenoy. I have heard an anecdote concerning the gallantry of Sir James Campbell at Malplaquet, from his ſon the late earl of Loudoun, who was a brave officer, an accompliſhed ſcholar, and an amiable man, which has never, to my knowledge, been publiſhed, and which, therefore, as it ſerves to illuſtrate the lofty and generous nature of prince Eugene, of Savoy, I ſhall lay before the reader. Whether through envy, or from whatever cauſe, the bravery of Campbell was, by ſome of our officers, made an object of cenſure. Eugene, who greatly admired ſo gallant an action, who conceived that a juncture might exiſt, in which tranſgreſſion of rules might be juſtified by emergencies, thought it not ſufficient that lieutenant-colonel Campbell ſhould

* Vol. II. p. 160, 161.

paſs

paſs uncenſured, but returned him his thanks for exceeding his orders, on the day after the battle, in the face of the army.

THE pleaſure we derive from narration and deſcription depends very much on the clearneſs and celerity with which we conceive the different objects that are made to paſs before us. There is nothing of which Mr. Cunningham appears to be ſo ſtudious, next to perſpicuity and preciſion, as brevity: and in this reſpect, as well as in the uſe of the *vox ſignata*, or that term which moſt pointedly and exactly expreſſes the idea in queſtion, he reſembles Tacitus. How many ideas concur to give emphaſis to ſuch brief deſcriptions as theſe? "All good men wiſhed that the public "ſafety might be preſerved till the prince of Orange's landing: "for his fleet carried all the ſtrength of the proteſtants, and the "hopes of Britain." Of the twelve new peers created at once in the reign of queen Ann, for the purpoſe of bringing about what he conceived to be a very unſafe, as well as diſgraceful peace, he ſays, that "they were introduced in a group, triumphing, as it "were, over the groans of the nation." By bringing things cloſe together, our Author happily draws them to a ſtriking edge or point; and with the force of brevity, unites that of contraſt. Of this we have an example, in the conciſe and contraſted characters he draws of lord Sommers, the earl of Oxford, and the duke of Marlborough, which are publiſhed, as a ſpecimen of his latinity, in the Appendix; and of another triumvirate, whoſe characters were equally marked, though in humbler ſtations. "Among the multitude of miniſters, of different principles of "religion, who accompanied the prince of Orange in his expe-"dition to England, were William Carſtares, an honeſt man, "Ferguſon, a knave, and Gilbert Burnet, doubtful." The light and ſhade of contraſt, which appears throughout the whole of Mr. Cunningham's Hiſtory, is exemplified in the following deſcription: "The delivery of the queen, on the 10th of June 1688,

"is

" is publiſhed at home and abroad: the king exults in the ſafety " of the queen, and the birth of a young prince, and thinks him- " ſelf ſecure amidſt the congratulations of his people: his friends " feaſt in the camp, and the whole court is diſſolved in mirth and " revelry.

" In the mean time ſuch a conſpiracy was formed amongſt all " good ſubjects, as no violence could break, nor any ſubſequent ef- " forts overturn, and ſuch as had never been ſeen before in Britain. " The king, who had imbibed the dangerous doctrine of paſſive " obedience, did not perceive the ſtorm that was ready to burſt " upon his head. The reſentment of all men, having been a long " time ſmothered and concealed, broke out at laſt with the greater " violence: for James, ſlighting the advice of his wiſer counſel- " lors, and giving ear to the counſels of prieſts and women, ruled " his kingdom according to his own will, and the example of the " French king, while his nobles retired into the country *."

It has been already obſerved that there is, in the ſtyle of Mr. Cunningham, a proper and pleaſing variety. From the little intrigues, often as ludicrous as low in their nature, of bed-chamber men and women ſetting ſpies upon one another, ſometimes flattering, ſometimes ſcolding, he riſes in his tone, with the important effects of theſe trivial cauſes, to the moſt important ſcenes in the ſenate, and in the field of battle: when his ſtyle, like his theme, becomes bold and ardent. Belhaven, who ſees in the union the funeral of his country, invokes, in the moſt impaſſioned ſtrains, the departing genius of Scotland, pouring forth his very ſoul in tears †: and Nottingham, who ſees no leſs diſaſter to England, in

* Vol. I. p. 78.

† Etiam oculos et animum in lachrymas effundens: which the modeſt idiom of our language knows not how to tranſlate—" pouring out his very eyes and ſoul in tears."

the peace of Utrecht, with the ſtern virtue of a primitive Roman, devotes a numerous family to obſcurity and want, rather than conſent to the degradation of his country.—" The ſhout of war " is heard, and in the ſame breath the groans of dying men: a " terrible diſcharge is made of cannon on both ſides, and all things " around are involved in clouds of fire and ſmoke, and death *."— " In the midſt of a dreadful fire from the guns and the fourneaux, " while vollies of ſhot pour down upon their heads, the confe- " derates aſcend the enemy's works with unparalleled reſolution, " as if they had been ſtorming the flaming vault of heaven †." " The ground is full of ſubterraneous fire, and none can ſet his " foot on any place that is not within the reach of its ſudden " power: the workmen on both ſides meet below ground: their " hoſtile ſounds are heard at a diſtance: the beſiegers and the be- " ſieged are blown up together, and the multitude of balls and " bombs diſcharged into the reſiſting citadel, reſembles the ſky in " a ſtar-light night, and even outſhines the moon ‡." " The news " of the fierce conflict, and the exaggerated numbers of the ſlain, " are rumoured over the credulous nations, ſtruck with ſuperſtitious " terror. In England a dreadful ſound is heard of arms, and the " ſhouts of armies fighting in the air: a man is ſeen in the fens of " Lincolnſhire, riding upon a white horſe, and reporting the victory " at Blenheim on the ſame day in which it was obtained §." " In " Italy, the church doors in Rome are ſhut; prodigies and preſages " of war are everywhere reported. At Loretto, the angel which " looks upon the ſhrine of the Virgin, moves his wings: St. Ni- " cholas' arm at Tolentino ſweats, and the rivers run with blood." Eclipſes of the ſun aggravate the general gloom, and all nature ſeems to wear the complexion of the minds of anxious mortals.

* Siege of Liſle, Vol. II. p. 176.

† Omneſque ad hoſtium opera veluti ad cœlum ſtelliferum, ardentes, erecto animo proficiſcuntur.

‡ Siege of Tournay, Vol. II. p. 252—4. § Vol. I. p. 394.

THE

THE affairs of earth being thus united with thoſe of heaven, every object derives a magnitude and importance from its relation to ſo magnificent a ſcene: nor does this divine air and animation, which our Hiſtorian has diffuſed over his narrative, depend only upon the ſuperſtitious apprehenſions of the troubled mind: there is a chain which unites things below with thoſe above, and the upper extremity of this is fixed in the throne of the moſt high. Throughout the whole of his work, Mr. Cunningham acknowledges the ſuperintendency of Divine Providence; and where he cannot trace the circuit of cauſes by which Providence acts, he aſcribes, with equal dignity of ſtyle and juſtneſs of ſentiment, revolutions and incidents to the grand Diſpoſer of all events; to him who ſtilleth the noiſe of the ſeas, and the tumult of the people. Thus he aſcribes the prolonged proſperity of the "French "king to the Divine permiſſion, and the ſecret counſels of God*:" and when the Divine Being, in the courſe of his providence, ſees fit to bring him low, he inſpires the minds of Marlborough and Argyle with "prudence and courage, and covers their heads in the day of "battle†." The duke of Savoy, hard preſſed by the arms of France, ſent his children into the territories of Genoa. The French eagerly purſued them: but this tender company eſcaped the purſuers hands by a ſpeedy flight. "Thus, ſays Mr. Cun-"ningham, Genoa, of which the duke of Savoy, not long be-"fore, had a deſign to have made himſelf maſter, was now the "only ſafe retreat for his family; but if he had then accom-"pliſhed his deſign, there had been no hopes of ſafety left them; "ſo that all men might now perceive God's ſingular providence "over mankind, and how wiſely he governs the world‡." Speaking of the flight of king James II. he ſays, "There was "a great deal of good fortune in the king's retreat, but more of "the goodneſs of God; whoſe providence is conſpicuous, as in

* Vol. I. p. 275. † Vol. II. p. 261. ‡ Vol. II. p. 36.

" all events, ſo more eſpecially in thoſe which could not be " brought about by the wiſdom of man *." The unaccountable delay of king Charles, notwithſtanding the earneſt and almoſt violent remonſtrances of his friends, in coming to Madrid, diſcouraged the minds of the Spaniards, gave birth to tumults and inſurrections, and a favourable turn to the affairs of his rival Philip. This delay ſome aſcribed to treachery, ſome to an abſurd regard to the pomp and parade of a ſolemn entry and coronation, and ſome to the folly of ſuperſtition: " King Charles's delay at " Saragoſſa, ſays Mr. Cunningham, was a very dark affair, and, " in my opinion, rather to be aſcribed to the will of God, than " to the treachery or folly of any man †."

It is the interference of celeſtial agents chiefly, that diffuſes that warm glow over the moſt admired compoſitions of the antients: and although the more philoſophical writers, whether poets, hiſtorians, orators, or others, may be ſuppoſed to have underſtood, by their deities, the powers of nature, or the fixed laws of providence and fate, the animating machinery of their mythology was the ſame. But can heavenly machinery in reality have any place in real hiſtory? Undoubtedly it may: ſince a difficulty may happen, in hiſtory as well as in poetry, which cannot be reſolved without the intervention of a God. As the embryo plant and animal eſcapes our obſervation, ſo, frequently, do the ſecret ſprings of great events: and when we cannot trace all the links in the chain of Providence, it is not abſurd, as has already been obſerved, to have recourſe to him on whom that chain ultimately depends.

King William, the only hope of civil liberty and religious toleration, had been induced to believe that immediately on his

* Vol. I. p. 95. † Vol. II. p. 16.

landing

landing in England, the people, who placed their ſecurity in him alone, would crowd to his ſtandard: he therefore embarked his ſoldiers on board a Dutch fleet, and ſet ſail for Britain; but they were ſcarcely out of ſight of the coaſt of Holland, when a ſudden tempeſt drove them back to the ſhore, and ſome of the tranſports fell into the hands of the enemy, and many of them were greatly damaged: but the prince of Orange refitted his ſhips, again ſet ſail, and landed in England: for ſeveral days, however, very few came in to him; and a fall of ſnow, four feet deep, which filled up the hollow ways, and made the roads almoſt impaſſable, concurred, with other cauſes, to retard the advances of the people to the aſſertor of their liberties. Now, who that reflects on the alternate hopes and fears, correſponding to the ideas that muſt have *fluctuated*, during ſo anxious an interval in the prince's mind, in circumſtances that ſeemed deſtined to ſhake his reſolution; who that reflects on this, and on the minute and often hidden ſprings on which the determinations and volitions of men in important and critical ſituations depend, but muſt excuſe, but muſt approve our Author for aſcribing the revolution to the providence of God? The ſame inviſible hand which ſtayed Charles of Auſtria from advancing to Madrid, encouraged the heart of the prince of Orange, who believed in God, and confided, as we are told by our Hiſtorian, in the goodneſs of his cauſe, to march on without loſs of time, at the head of his ſmall force, to London.—Such views as theſe cannot be condemned even by thoſe who admit not of the free agency of man, and juſtly contend that every voluntary action muſt have a motive, as every effect muſt have a cauſe: and they certainly beſtow on hiſtory a dignity and animation which the cold, diſſecting hand of ſcepticiſm chills and deſtroys. It is for this reaſon that the human mind is more charmed with the animated glow of Robertſon, who unites the exiſtence of Providence with the ſtricteſt and happieſt inveſtigation of cauſe and effect, than even with the profound ſpeculations

tions and various knowledge of the two other great modern hiſtorians, Hume and Gibbon, who, at the ſame time that they carry the views of the reader over ſuch extenſive fields of information, throw cold water, as it were, over the ſcenes they deſcribe, and labour to convince us that there is nothing in this univerſe that to a wiſe man can be either a ſubject of warm admiration, or an object of enlivened deſire and hope. If there be nothing greater, and of more extenſive views and influence in the univerſe than the human mind; if the world is governed by undeſigning, brutal force; what is there that can reaſonably appear very intereſting in any thing that paſſes before us? Sceptical compoſitions, inſtead of intereſting and animating mankind in virtuous exertions, by ſhewing the general ſubordination of human affairs to the will of heaven, ſeem intended to throw all things into confuſion and diſorder, for the conſolation of hopeleſs malefactors confined in diſmal dungeons.—Why ſhould men of genius defraud their compoſitions of the dignity, and themſelves of the comfort which the belief of a ſuperintending providence inſpires? The exiſtence of God is the ſimpleſt, and therefore the moſt rational ſolution of the phænomena of the world. Since the idea of neceſſary exiſtence, of ſome kind or other, preſſes itſelf on the mind, and cannot be ſhaken off by our utmoſt efforts; and, ſince that which conſtitutes or cauſes neceſſity of exiſtence, overwhelms the aſtoniſhed mind, and is perfectly *inconceivable*; it follows that a being muſt exiſt endowed with *inconceivable* perfections: but the higher theſe perfections are, the leſs the wonder that they ſhould neceſſarily exiſt: the greater and the more ſtupendous the being, the more fitted and likely to fill, ſwell, and ſuſtain the vaſt and unlimited void of infinite ſpace and duration *.

* As this argument, or at leaſt the manner of ſtating it, is, as far as I know, new, I beg leave to take this opportunity of giving it a wider circulation than it would obtain if confined to the narrow circle that might be commanded by any thing that I might publiſh.

I SHALL

I SHALL conclude theſe remarks on Mr. Cunningham's Hiſtory by obſerving, that it is not addreſſed to the Britiſh nations merely, or men ſuppoſed to be previouſly acquainted with our local and municipal cuſtoms and inſtitutions, but to the whole civilized part of mankind. Many things are therefore briefly explained to thoſe who are preſumed to be unacquainted with the Engliſh conſtitution. Our Author ſeems to aſcend thoſe eminences which divide the old from the new world, and the nations from one another: he appears on a moſt extended theatre, and in a language generally intelligible wherever civilization prevails, addreſſes facts, ſentiments, and obſervations to the whole world.

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31. — 2. *for* Van Ghaler, *r.* Ghalen.
36. — 31. *for* Ghent, *r.* Gouda.
58. — 16. *for* Earl, *r.* Earls.
65. margin, *for* conſpiracy, *r.* controverſy.
66. — 22. *for* Forbes, *r.* Torcy.
69. — 24. *for* Condè, *r.* Conti.
86. — 1. *for* and petitioned, *r.* petitioned.
96. — 23 and 31. *for* Jervies, *r.* Juneu.
120. — 2. *for* confided, *r.* confide.
158. — 21. *for* Ball, *r.* Bull.
160. — 18 *for* Valerna, *r.* Valencia.
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174. — 10. *after* Portland, *inſert* practiſed on the king.
183. — 21. *for* Oxford, *r.* Orford.
198. — 9. *for* ſir Charles, *r.* ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave.
205. — 30. *for* captain Ridot, *r.* captain Kidd.
240. — 30. *for* prince, *r.* princes.
246. — 29. *for* by, *r.* to.
250. — 23. *for* officially, *r.* officiouſly.
253. — 7. *for* houſe, *r.* horſe.
257. — 4. *for* 1712, *r.* 1702.
329. — 8. *for* directing, *r.* attacking.
367. — 28. *for* marriage, *r.* miſcarriage.
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384. — 32. *dele* before.
388. — 5. *for* Wills, *r.* Wilkes.
390. — 13. *for* Bulan, *r.* Bulau.
391. — 22. *for* him, *r.* time.
400. — 14. *for* cleared, *r.* cleaned.
404. — 11. *for* Darphiny, *r.* Dauphiny.
425. — 9. *for* Cummir, *r.* Cummin.
442. — 30. *for* 1706, *r.* 1705.
463. — 10. *for* confederates, *r.* confederate

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

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BOOK I.

State of the Spaniſh dominions.

THE monarchy of Spain, with the ſovereignty of the territories annexed to the Spaniſh crown, was antiently veſted, by the moſt undiſputed right of ſucceſſion, in the Houſe of Auſtria. But countries ſo widely ſcattered, and inhabited by people of different languages, manners, and laws, even in conjunction with the Imperial power of Germany, would hardly be able, at this day, to ſuſtain a

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conteſt with France alone, whoſe provinces, though numerous and of large extent, are ſtrengthened by contiguity, and defended by a chain of forts and garriſons. Theſe, lying between Spain and Germany, derive, from their ſituation, the additional advantage of cutting off, in many places, all communication between the Spaniſh dominions, and thereby diminiſhing their military power and importance. The two Indies are ſeparated from Spain, on the ſouth and weſt, by the ocean: Spain from Italy, by the Pyrenees, the mountains of Savoy, and the ſouthern parts of France; and Milan from Naples, by the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and Tuſcany. A frith divides the kingdom of Naples from Sicily; the Tuſcan ſea is interpoſed between Sicily and Sardinia; and that part of the Mediterranean, formerly known by the names of the Iberian and Ligurian ſeas, ſeparates Sardinia from the iſlands of Majorca and Minorca. On the weſt, Spain is bounded by the Atlantic ocean and Portugal; on the north-eaſt, by France: and beyond the utmoſt limits of France, a land riſes, as it were, out of the ocean, of amazing fertility, moſt remarkable for richneſs of ſoil, convenience of harbours, magnificence and number of cities, and variety of commercial exports. This country is called the Netherlands. It is bounded on the north by the coaſts of Britain, and the German ocean; on the other ſide, from the confines of Liege and Limbourg, by the Scheldt and the Maeſe, it ſtretches to the borders of the Seven United Provinces. The Spaniſh dominions in Burgundy lie towards the Rhine.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great extent, the influence, and importance of theſe countries, in the hands of the Spaniards, they excited not among the neighbouring nations the leaſt animoſity or alarm. For, in eſtimating the power and grandeur of princes and kings, it is a very material circumſtance, whether their dominions lie ſcattered or contiguous.

Deſigns of France upon them.

FRANCE, which is not only very populous, but which abounds in all the neceſſaries of life, is ſurrounded, almoſt on all ſides, by ſome of the Spaniſh provinces; of which the kings of France have lain in wait to get poſſeſſion one after another, as they ſaw their opportunity.

But

But all the princes of Europe had long been upon their guard, leſt thoſe monarchs ſhould ever get the Spaniſh Netherlands into their power; eſpecially the ſtates of Holland and the kings of England, who had nothing more at heart than to preſerve and ſecure inviolate the rights of a free people, with whom they were united by many ties of friendſhip. But, not to be too inquiſitive into antient times; while Germany was haraſſed by the Swedes, and Britain torn in pieces by civil wars and diſſentions in the parliament, about an hundred years ago, the French king made war upon Spain, and the other ſtates of Europe were not willing to give any aſſiſtance to a power that had been influenced and actuated by the deſire of univerſal monarchy. But now the Spaniards, diſappointed of their vain hopes by the arms of the Engliſh, the French, and the Dutch, both by ſea and land, neither governed the kingdom with prudence, nor carried on their wars with vigour. They were unprovided both of money and men. For, the cuſtoms and other antient revenues, and even the crown lands, which had formerly been beſtowed upon thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the wars, being now bought at a low rate, even by men who were mere ſtrangers to arms, were not only poſſeſſed by the nobility, whoſe numbers were greatly increaſed through the neceſſity of war*; but alſo their degenerate poſterity, and a ſlothful race of mortals, ſprung up, as it were, from the ſacred brambles of the convents, and, ſanctifying their avarice and idleneſs with the cloak of religion and piety, exhauſted the public treaſure, and pillaged every thing that was left in Spain: inſomuch that this nation, the great plunderer of the world, became, in her turn, an object of devaſtation.

Lewis XIV. of France.

THE French king, Lewis XIV. kept a ſteady eye on all theſe objects. This young prince was the moſt powerful monarch of his age, high-ſpirited, endowed with many virtues and noble qualities, and adorned with the utmoſt dignity of mien and gracefulneſs of perſon. Being captivated, like other kings, with the love of glory, and more intent on the acquiſition of foreign territories, than the improvement of his own, he was anxious to extend his dominions on every ſide.

* A certain rank in the Spaniſh army confers a degree or order of nobility.

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FROM his earlieſt youth, Lewis admired the heroic actions of Cromwell in England, and made him a model of imitation. He had happily concluded a civil war, as well as that againſt Spain; and began to be inflamed at once with a love of military glory, and a paſſion for the lady La Motte. Cardinal De Retz, and other prieſts, out of envy to Mazarine, encouraged the king to give a looſe to his deſires. But he ſent La Motte into a nunnery; and, partly through a natural impulſe, and partly through the advice of his friends, obſerving Spain to be convulſed by ſeditions, like a ſhip toſſed in a tempeſtuous ſea, fixed his eye upon that kingdom, as an object fitted to gratify his ambition of glory, to nouriſh the ardour of youth, and to render his name immortal. Mazarine, who was a man of great genius and fidelity, and renowned for all other virtues, as well as firmly rooted in the king's favour, highly applauded his majeſty's greatneſs of ſoul: but, as he was taught caution by long experience in affairs, and terrified with the frequent threatenings of Cromwell, and his ambaſſador Lockhart, who was a man as well fitted for action as for counſel; ſo was he much inclined to pacific meaſures, being now one of the regents of France. He, therefore, ſhewed the king, that, conſidering the envy of other princes, it would be almoſt impoſſible to accompliſh his deſigns, unleſs his majeſty would lay aſide all thoughts of Mancini, his ſiſter's daughter, with whom he was paſſionately in love, and marry a daughter of the king of Spain; telling him withal, that the ardour of his mind ſhould incite him to glory; that amours were unworthy of a king; and that many things were now to be left off, as his more mature age would convince him. Mancini, informed of this circumſtance, complains to the king of her uncle: "Alas! Sir," ſays ſhe, "is it poſſible for you to love me, and yet "to diſmiſs me from your preſence?" In the mean time, amidſt the correſponding lamentations of both theſe tender lovers, cardinal Mazarine contracted his niece to the conſtable De Colonna, and ordered her to retire from court. He conducted the king to Lyons; whither alſo the princeſs Margaret of Savoy was brought, in expectation of marrying him. Margaret was a fine young princeſs, and both for her perſon and family worthy of a king. But, in the mean while, the princeſs of Savoy being diſappointed, cardinal Mazarine deſired the

Conde de Fuenſaldagna, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, to let his maſter know the French king's intentions relating to the marriage; which the ambaſſador readily undertook to do. Lewis was, not without ſome difficulty, prevailed on to take this reſolution: but, being more deſirous of the kingdom than of a queen, he demanded the infanta Maria Tereſa, the elder daughter of Philip IV. king of Spain in marriage. This diſappointment in her firſt love, by the means of her uncle, made a deep impreſſion on the heart of Mancini to the end of her life. And now the king followed his natural inclination in the purſuit of pleaſures elſewhere; which, together with his debauching her maids, was a great grief to his pious mother: but, ſince wiſdom and virtue ſeldom come to maturity at that age, Mazarine thought ſome allowance was to be made for youth, which, if kept long under much reſtraint, is apt to break out with the greater violence. Thus, with many ſoft words, he comforted the queen-mother.

The Pyrenean treaty.

With a view to effect this marriage, cardinal Mazarine and don Lewis de Haro, ambaſſadors of the two kings, were diſpatched in great haſte to the river Vidaſſoa, which divides France from Spain, and met in an apartment, built on purpoſe, in an iſland. There they treated of the marriage, and other matters of great importance. But nothing was concluded till the French king had, by his ſolemn oath, abſolutely renounced and abjured, for himſelf, and the iſſue of this intended marriage, the ſucceſſion and all manner of right to the kingdom of Spain. This condition was agreed to, and ſolemnly ratified in the parliament of Paris: after which the infanta of Spain was betrothed to the French king.

Character of Cromwell.

On the 3d of September 1658, died Cromwell, the protector of England, who had haraſſed the Spaniards in every part of the globe. The inſatiable ambition of this man was not to be confined within the limits of Britain. He was influenced, not only with the deſire of ſubjecting his fellow-citizens to his tyranny, but of waging war with the neighbouring nations. He preferred the moſt heroic enterprizes with danger, to other purſuits with ſafety. He did not regard dignity of birth, but the merit of actions; and thoſe actions alone he deemed

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deemed worthy of the name of meritorious, which were connected with the cauſe of God and religion. Though this man's death prevented us from diſcovering the ſecret reſolutions he had taken, and his very name was almoſt extinguiſhed by the king's reſtoration, yet the memory of thoſe times will remain to all poſterity. For, amidſt the heats of religious diſputes, which, at that time, had ſet all Europe in a flame, he was not only a protector of the proteſtants, but, by means of his ambaſſador Lockhart, he had ſufficient influence to baniſh king Charles II. from the kingdom of France. Some have aſſerted, that, had he lived, he would have joined his forces with the Spaniards againſt France. When he found death approaching, whether he dreamed, or conjectured, or judged from ſome certain ſymptoms, that his ſon Richard would prove but a very weak governor of the commonwealth, he is ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf in broken words, as if it had been revealed to him by the Lord, with whom he is ſaid to have been very converſant, that Charles Stuart would certainly be reſtored to his kingdom; that he would utterly ruin the republican party; and that a dreadful ſtorm was hanging over their heads. It is reported alſo, that he declared to them what deſigns he had in his head, and exhorted them, as ſoon as the breath ſhould be out of his body, to embark themſelves on board as well provided a fleet as England had ever fitted out, and to tranſport themſelves to the Indies, where, by preſerving their lives abroad, they might be of much more ſervice to their country, than by ſtaying at home to be maſſacred by kings. But either the love of their native country, and the hopes of pardon, or the deſire of eaſe, or a commendable affection for the royal family, reſtrained them from following that advice, as well as from curbing the French king.

THE Engliſh, tired out with a long civil war, and freed from the rigorous reſtraints under which they had laboured on pretence of religion, when Chriſtmas, and other holidays, May-games, and all ſorts of diverſions had been long prohibited, and all natural failings, ſlips of life, plays, jeſts, mirth, and cheerful converſation, how inoffenſive ſoever, were ſeverely cenſured; thought proper to lay aſide their auſtere manner of life, and to exhibit ſhews, to attend plays, and encourage games.

games. To live freely and without controul, was judged to be agreeable to nature, and moſt becoming a free people.

CHARLES, who reſided at this time in Holland, and watched every occurrence, in hopes to recover his kingdoms, diſpatched Sir John Grenville into England, with letters to general Monck; who, on his arrival, intruſted the affair to Mr. Nicholas Monck, the general's brother. The roads by land being ſtrictly guarded, he made his voyage into Scotland by ſea; but could not prevail with the general to promiſe any thing in order to the king's reſtoration.

THE French king, under pretence of a dower promiſed, but not paid, had formed a project of annexing the provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders* to his own kingdom, and demanded the inheritance, according to the cuſtom of the country, by the right of marriage, as if there had been no renunciation made, nor any oath taken to the contrary, alleging that it was not in his power to give up the rights of his wife and ſon. But he took no care how to acquit himſelf of his oath in relation to the marriage, concerning which there were ſeveral writings publiſhed on both ſides. His obſtinate unwillingneſs to deliver up Dunkirk to Cromwell, according to their treaty, and the troubles which enſued upon the king's reſtoration, were looked upon by many people as a ſign how faithfully the French king would obſerve his other treaties. But Cromwell, who was a terror to all that bore the name of king, would not ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon, but kept all the princes abroad in as much awe as the people at home. For, he ſaid, he looked upon ſome of them as friends, and was not afraid of his enemies; but would march to the gates of Paris, and ſet the whole kingdom of France in a flame.

THE queen-mother of France was not ſorry to hear of theſe threatenings from Cromwell; hoping that the headſtrong temper of the king, her ſon, might thereby be the more eaſily reſtrained. But when Cromwell was dead, the French king thought that he had a favourable opportunity to make war upon Spain, as there was neither king nor commonwealth, nor any ſettled form of government in England.

But

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But there were many difficulties in his way to retard the execution of his deſigns; particularly his diſputes with the pope; Dunkirk and Mardyke, with ſtrong garriſons, in the hands of the Engliſh: and, laſtly, cardinal Mazarine, though now freed from his fears of Cromwell, recommended delay, telling the king what commotions were in the kingdom; and how much regard was to be had to times and ſeaſons; that even the fidelity of his commanders, kingdoms themſelves, the effect of counſels, and the events of war, depended upon a very ſmall alteration of affairs; gravely admoniſhing him to reſtrain his youthful ardour for glory, and calling Monſ. Colbert into his council, whom he alſo recommended to the king at his death.

Richard Cromwell acknowledged Protector.

On the death of Oliver Cromwell, the people of all ranks in England, and all the ambaſſadors of foreign princes, congratulated his ſon Richard as ſucceſſor to his father; who, calling his parliament, formed an odd ſort of a motley government, which was alſo changed every day, according to the fancy of the factious ſectaries, who were continually endeavouring by all means to overpower and ſuppreſs each other, quarrelling among themſelves, and never ceaſing to oppreſs the public with new loads of grievances.

Set aſide.

Richard, being too weak a man to hold the reins of government, was not able to keep his parliament within bounds; but at length was deprived of his dignity by their order, and quitted the palace without expreſſing the leaſt concern, except only for one ſingle cheſt full of public addreſſes. For the ſoldiers, as well as the miniſters, whom his father Oliver was wont to moderate and keep under by his affectation of religion, his reſolution, and certain other methods of government peculiar to himſelf, would now break out into quarrels and diſputes about trifling affairs, and words of formality, till they turned all into confuſion, and ſeparated themſelves into various ſects. And now the royaliſts, aſſuming courage, took up arms, under the command of Sir George Booth, whom general Lambert defeated in the firſt encounter. In thoſe perplexing and dangerous times, it was difficult to determine what was beſt to be done, and to know what courſe of conduct to purſue, conſiſtently with the principles of government and juſtice.

After

AFTER Richard was depoſed by his own parliament, Lambert drove them out of the parliament houſe, and ſet up a council of military officers. General Monck ſent letters to this council from Scotland, ſignifying how much he ſhould be concerned, unleſs the parliament were reſtored. In the mean time William Cunningham, earl of Glencairne, whoſe anceſtors had been great ſufferers in the days of Henry VIII. and queen Elizabeth, on account of their zeal for the proteſtant religion, and who was himſelf now a priſoner for his adherence to the king, having now and then had ſome diſcourſe with general Monck (who was Cromwell's lieutenant in Scotland) and his wife, about the ſtate of affairs, privately declared to them the grounds of his actions, and of his faithful attachment to the king. General Monck's brother alſo, by the direction of Sir John Grenville, endeavoured, as much as he could, to work upon his mind by the king's promiſes, and a vaſt ſum of money. But Monck, not ſo much moved by Glencairne's ſpeeches, or his brother's promiſes, as by tranſactions which he obſerved to be carrying on in England, having raiſed money in Scotland for the ſubſiſtence of his army, began to march from thence into England in a very ſevere winter. Having gotten poſſeſſion of Berwick, he lay ſome time at Coldſtream, concerting meaſures with the lord Fairfax, in order to remove Lambert's forces from Newcaſtle, though it was in a deep ſnow. When this was done, and good garriſons left in convenient places behind him, he advanced, and was met by commiſſioners from the parliament.

General Monck's march.

ON his arrival in London he had ſeveral conferences with Richard and the general officers, and men of all parties. In all theſe interviews, however, he carefully concealed his own deſigns. Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, more noted for his eloquence than military valour, favoured the king's return. The French ambaſſador is ſaid to have adviſed general Monck himſelf to aſſume the kingdom. Monck at firſt demanded the reſtitution of the parliament; and afterwards ordered its numbers to be encreaſed; being reſolved, when a favourable opportunity ſhould offer, to bring about the king's reſtoration. In the mean time, the virtue of the nobility, which had been long

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oppreſſed by arms, and lay buried in the country, now that the ſtorm abated, began to ſhine out of darkneſs, and to revive like a new ſpring. Diſcourſes were every where held about the king's return. Sir John Grenville, and Sir William Morrice, one of whom was Monck's kinſman, and the other his old friend, convinced him that nothing could tend ſo much to the public good, or to his own honour, as to call home the king. But this was oppoſed by Monck's wife, who being a covetous and ravenous woman, and in expectation of a greater price from the republican party, would have ſold the king and every thing elſe to the higheſt bidder: nor could ſhe contain herſelf one day from flying in Morrice's face, and with furious threatenings forbidding him the houſe; after which he was wont to come in to the general by a back door. Fleetwood's forces, among whom were many Scots, being, by order of the parliament, removed out of town, general Monck, by the ſame authority, demoliſhed the gates of the city of London: but perceiving the deſign of the parliament, he the ſame night excuſed himſelf, and what he had done, to the citizens, deſiring their protection againſt that rump of a parliament, and demanding a free parliament, which he obtained: after which he correſponded more openly with the king; having deceived and drawn in the preſbyterians by Cooper's aſſiſtance.

All this, and the deſperate ſtate of the republicans, was foreſeen by Mr. Edward Montague, admiral of the fleet, a man of a noble family, and completely adorned with all kinds of virtue and knowledge. Montague obſerving how the hearts of the people of London were inclined, thought it no time for him now to delay, but wrote to the king, then in exile, that he would wait for him on the coaſt of Holland with the fleet, ready to obey his majeſty's commands; the original of which letter is yet extant. I do not find that this was done in concert with general Monck; nor was there any need of it: for Montague was as well aſſured of the affections and obedience of the ſailors, as Monck was of the ſoldiers; as he informed the king in ſeveral letters. And finally, it is ſaid that Richard himſelf connived at all theſe things.

Admiral Montague ſecures the fleet for the king.

K. Charles's ſituation abroad.

FRANCE, all this while, declined to run the ſmalleſt hazard in the cauſe of Charles. And though the Spaniards afforded him a refuge, it is ſaid it was only that they might have the better opportunity to ſtop him in his return, unleſs he ſhould firſt deliver up Dunkirk into their hands. This is certain, that king Charles paſſed with the utmoſt expedition through the confines of the Spaniſh dominions, and came to Breda; where, in the moſt gracious manner he anſwered the petitions of the commiſſioners for maintaining the rights of his ſubjects, as well eccleſiaſtical as civil, and agreed with the Engliſh about their requeſts, and the oblivion of what was paſt, excepting only the regicides; but there was not one word in relation to the Scots, their friends and confederates. After this he went to the Hague; where he took leave of the ſtates general with many honourable profeſſions of friendſhip: and then going on board his fleet, amidſt the loud acclamations of the ſailors, he had a fair wind, which ſoon landed him ſafe in England.

The king's reſtoration.

PEOPLE of all ranks ſtood upon the ſhore to congratulate the king on his arrival. Charles received the nobility graciouſly, and particularly noticed general Monck with ſingular complacence. He alſo, with great ſweetneſs of demeanor, gave free acceſs to the populace. The return of the king happened in the 30th year of his age, in May 1660. It was obſerved, that the reſtoration of Charles was owing more to the iniquity of his enemies, and the humour of the times, than to the exertions of his friends. Now the Engliſh were allowed to keep Chriſtmas and other feſtivals. The voice of joy and gladneſs reſounded through the kingdom.

ON that night the king is ſaid to have firſt reſigned himſelf to the embraces of Mrs. Palmer, as if he had conſidered royalty chiefly as the means of procuring pleaſure.

Character of Charles II.

KING Charles II. was tall of ſtature. His eyes and hair were black: his limbs ſtrong and firm: his perſon and appearance diſtinguiſhed by an air of dignity and majeſty. He was polite, affable, and liberal,

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without being prodigal. He delighted much in hunting, tennis, bowling, bull-baiting, prize-fighting, wreſtling, ſhip-building, and whatever made a beautiful appearance. He was a liberal encourager of chymiſtry, aſtronomy, and mechanic arts; nor did he diſcourage mountebanks, phyſiognomiſts, fortune-tellers, or rope-dancers. He had a wonderful ſweetneſs of temper, and obligingneſs of behaviour; and would often lay aſide majeſty, and converſe familiarly with his friends. He was fond of plays, and frequently exhibited public ſhews, to divert the minds of his people from religious controverſies, in which had conſiſted the foundation and ſtrength of the republic; thinking nothing leſs becoming a prince, than to be a bigot to ſacred rites. He founded the Royal Society for the improvement of natural philoſophy. Though accuſtomed to reſpect the Roman Catholic religion when in France, yet he attended pretty conſtantly the divine ſervice of the proteſtant church eſtabliſhed in England. Though he gave himſelf very much up to the love of women, yet he was never addicted to any unnatural luſts. Though he ſeldom joined in the worſhip of the Romiſh church while he lived, yet, at his death, he profeſſed his mother's religion; which gave occaſion to many controverſies. But whatever diſputes there may be about this in England, it is the univerſal opinion in France, that king Charles, with his brother James, Sir Henry Bennet, and others, were reconciled to the popiſh religion at Fontainbleau, in the preſence of the queen-mother, before his majeſty's going to Cologne; but that the duke of Glouceſter and chancellor Hyde refuſed to do the ſame. But it is not material to us now to know what this prince's religion was, ſince, at his death, the contagion of his religion died with him. This is certain, that all his endowments of body and mind were of very little advantage, either to his own ſucceſſion, or to the tranquillity of his people. For when good men lend too eaſy an ear to evil counſellors, many people are apt to look upon them as evil alſo themſelves.

Promotions at the court of England.

IMMEDIATELY after the king's reſtoration, general Monck was created duke of Albemarle; admiral Montague made a knight of the garter, and afterwards earl of Sandwich; and both of them rewarded with great eſtates: Sir Edward Hyde, an honeſt and able man, earl of Clarendon,

Clarendon, and lord high chancellor of England: the earl of Southampton, a man of old Engliſh virtues, lord high treaſurer; and Sir William Morrice, ſecretary of ſtate. The earl of Glencairne was made lord high chancellor of Scotland; the earl of Middleton lord high commiſſioner. Mr. James Sharp obtained the primacy of St. Andrews, Mr. Douglas having refuſed to accept it. The earl of Lauderdale was made ſecretary of ſtate; and many more, who had deſerved well of the king, were promoted to places; the reſt being either flattered with vain hopes, or fed with empty praiſes and honours.

Execution of the regicides.

When the government was thus ſettled, the regicides were brought to juſtice: and the dead body of Cromwell, who in his lifetime had been a terror to the world, was now dug up, and miſerably inſulted. The republican party diſappeared, like the leſſer ſtars before the riſing ſun. Beſides a great multitude of all ranks, and both ſexes, who frequented the court, many letters were ſent to the king from the nobility out of the country and foreign parts; of which I myſelf have threeſcore: ſome of them entreating the repayment of borrowed money; others in praiſe of the popiſh religion; ſome reminding him of former friendſhip and love; others containing the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of fidelity and duty. There is one from the marquis of Argyle, in which, after wiſhing his majeſty all health and proſperity, he gravely excuſes his abſence, on account of his bad ſtate of health, and the length of the journey. "As to other matters," ſays he, "I refer to my ſon Lorne." The king, on reading this letter, ſpoke to the lord Lorne in a very kind manner; upon which Argyle, conceiving hopes of ſafety, ſet out for London, and came to court to caſt himſelf upon the king's clemency. But, through the interference of Monck, with whom he had held a long and intimate friendſhip in the time of Oliver, he was preſently committed to cuſtody, and ſent back for his trial to Scotland. He endeavoured to make his defence, but, chiefly by the diſcoveries of Monck, was condemned of high treaſon, and loſt his head. At his death, he recommended the ſolemn league and covenant to the bye-ſtanders as the work of God. The memory of this noble perſon has

BOOK I. has ſurvived his death, and poſterity regards him as a victim to the cauſe of his country.

Sir Harry Vane, very famous for his virtue and eloquence, alſo underwent the ſame puniſhment in England, though he had no hand in the late king's death; and many more were either put to death, or heavily fined: general Lambert was condemned to perpetual impriſonment. Thurlo had leave to retire into the country; as had likewiſe Richard Cromwell, who was content with his country retirement, and ſurvived three kings. Many, condemned by the law, through the influence of money, were acquitted by act of parliament. Milton, Latin ſecretary to Cromwell, diſtinguiſhed by his writings in favour of the rights and liberties of the people, pretended to be dead, and had a public funeral proceſſion. The king applauded his policy in eſcaping the puniſhment of death, by a ſeaſonable ſhew of dying.

When the partizans of Cromwell, and their religious diſputes, were ſuppreſſed both in England and Scotland, the hierarchy and the old ceremonies, organs, ſacred veſtments, and other popiſh remnants, were reſtored by the act of uniformity. The biſhops lands were reſtored: but the goods, which had been plundered in the time of war, were purpoſely left under ſequeſtration. Here we muſt not omit to obſerve, that when the preſbyterians were turned out in Scotland, Sharp, whoſe heart and countenance ſpoke very different languages, became a moſt bitter enemy to his own party. After the death of the earl of Glencairne, and the diſmiſſion of the earl of Middleton, the party of archbiſhop Sharp and the earl of Lauderdale governed all Scotland at their diſcretion. The cruelties of thoſe times are too ſhocking to be enumerated, and the ſcandals of the court too flagrant for any modeſt man to relate. Very few of the diſſenters in Scotland conformed to the church; and in England, no greater number than now-a-days. All the public councils aimed at this end, that the preſent reign ſhould begin where king Charles I. had miſcarried; and that the army ſhould be diſbanded. The care of this buſineſs was committed

committed to the duke of Albemarle, who, with great prudence, ſuppreſſed ſome furious zealots who had taken up arms. The earl of Clarendon was intruſted with the courts of law, and the intereſt of the church: the earl of Southampton had the charge of the treaſury: the earl of Sandwich that of the navy: and the earl of Lauderdale, and the duke of Buckingham, who was an unſteady man, attended the king's pleaſure. The duke of Ormond was employed in the recovery and diviſion of lands in Ireland, with Sir George Carteret, and Mr. William Petty, for his ſurveyors; who amaſſed large eſtates for themſelves out of the ſmall fortunes of others. Sir Henry Bennet was at the head of the king's ſecret council, for the management of what was concerted with the French king, for the ruin of the Dutch, and the creating quarrels among the proteſtants abroad and at home. And the parliaments were held, both in England and Scotland, with unprecedented magnificence.

THE king was ſo liberal of his money among his women who accompanied him, that he had ſcarce enough to ſatisfy Bilderbeck his landlord, for the houſe he had lived in at Cologne. However, he paid him the rent; but did not ſend any preſent to his ſiſter, whom he had debauched in his exile. He referred his father's creditors, as well as his own, to the treaſury; and ordered their accounts to be charged as a debt upon him. Among the reſt, the earl of Strafford was reſtored to his eſtate; whoſe father, being lord lieutenant of Ireland, had adviſed the late king to raiſe an army in England, and to lead it into Scotland, which, at that time, was ſet in a flame by the covenant; promiſing that he, with an army of the Iriſh, would paſs over againſt Argyle, whom no laws could keep in obedience; as appears by his own letters in my poſſeſſion.

THE parliament, being ſomewhat irregularly called, enlarged the king's revenue, to furniſh him with money for his pleaſures and daily expences. Not long before that time, the princeſs dowager of Orange, the king's ſiſter, who had come to England to demand the money ſhe had lent him, died at London; as did alſo his brother, the duke of Glouceſter,

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Glouceſter, a moſt hopeful young prince, and the chief ſecurity of the proteſtant religion; who, if he had ſurvived, might have ſucceeded to the throne. The princeſs Henrietta, the king's ſiſter alſo, who had lived in exile, now, when Cromwell was no longer an impediment to it, was, with the pope's licence, married to Philip, the French king's brother.

In September 1660.

The king's marriage.

THE king of England demanded Catherine, the king of Portugal's daughter, in marriage, on the ſame condition of allowing her the liberty of the popiſh religion, as had been allowed to his mother on her marriage with Charles I.; the ſource of thoſe inteſtine diſſentions and conteſts, which the people of England annually commemorate on the 30th of January, when the ſermons are not only full of the king's murder, but the crimes of a few are charged upon a whole party; and kings are ſaid to be ſent down to us from Heaven with abſolute power and authority. The Scots, not approving of ſuch ſolemn rites for the dead, did, therefore, not ſee any reaſon to receive this ſolemnity in honour of the deceaſed king: for they thought the faults of the father were not to be commemorated to the honour of his poſterity. And the now unheard-of prerogatives of kings, with the new terms and oaths, which were impoſed upon the people, were the cauſe of freſh commotions.

IN the midſt of all theſe exceſſive compliments of the parliament, and the congratulations of all ranks, the people would have ſurrendered their civil and religious rights, with the precipitation of unguarded zeal, if the duke of Ormond and the earl of Clarendon had not interpoſed their advice to the king to make uſe of his proſperity with moderation; to make the laws the meaſures of his government; to execute the ſame to the benefit of his people, and not to hearken too much to flatterers. But neither the honour of the kingdom, nor the credit of thoſe noble lords, nor the old Engliſh virtue of the earl of Southampton, nor the entreaties of the people, could diſſuade the king from ſelling Dunkirk. The Engliſh were greatly diſpleaſed, that the king himſelf, from the very time of his reſtoration, ſhould entertain thoughts of alienating the bulwarks of the kingdom.

Sale of Dunkirk.

kingdom. For that port, which, from its ſituation oppoſite to the mouth of the Thames, had formerly afforded protection to the proteſtants of France, being now in the hands of the French king, became a receptacle of privateers and rebels. While it was ſubject to the Spaniards, it was a place of refuge to the Engliſh papiſts, who, on the commencement of the civil wars, fled thither in great numbers, as appears from the Letters of Aremannus, concerning the embaſſy of cardinal Roſetti, and at greater length from the writings of Vittorio Siri. The accounts of theſe writers are confirmed by the records in the Barbarini library; which alſo contain a very juſt deſcription of the ſtate of England at that period, and particularly of the ſanguine hopes entertained by the papiſts. Dunkirk, now annexed to the dominions of France, became not only a great annoyance to the commerce of England, and of the united provinces, but opened an eaſy acceſs to various places in the Spaniſh Netherlands. The earl of Clarendon refuſed a penſion from the French king of ten thouſand pounds a year; and told Charles, that, in a little time, his whole court would be corrupted, cautioning his majeſty to take care, leſt even he himſelf ſhould become venal. Dunkirk was now the common ſubject of converſation. The king affirmed, that to have poſſeſſions in foreign countries, without being of any advantage to him, was a burden to his people: yet he kept a garriſon at Tangier in Barbary. He ſaid, he would paſs his word for the ſafety of the merchants and French proteſtants. But who would have paſſed his word for the ſafety of others, at that time, from the French king, but one who would either expoſe himſelf naked to an armed man, or make no ſcruple to violate his promiſe? In ſhort, he was in want of ready money; and therefore, on the payment of a ſufficient ſum, Dunkirk was delivered up to France, chiefly by the advice of Sir Henry Bennet. Lewis immediately ſecured that port with ſtrong fortifications, and a mole far extended into the ſea. Though the Dutch remonſtrated loudly againſt this ſtep, they were obliged, through the penſionary De Witt, to make propoſals for a treaty with France. But the king of England was before-hand with them, having ſecretly concerted meaſures with the French king for their deſtruction; and plainly ſhewed, that, in the government of his kingdom, he wiſhed rather to follow his own

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inclinations, than to conſult the honour of the nation, or the humour of his people. The earl of Clarendon was now become an object of his hatred. After the ſale of Dunkirk, and the great regard ſhewn to the French king, Charles was looked upon as eſtranged in his affection to his people, ſuſpected to have changed his religion, and to be of a crafty and reſerved cruelty of diſpoſition: hence aroſe fears and jealouſies among the people, which were confirmed by the circumſtance of his entering, in the peſtilential year 1665, into a war againſt the Dutch, on ſlighter grounds than could juſtify ſuch an engagement in ſo calamitous a time; eſpecially on the part of Charles, who was under ſo many and great obligations to that people. The plague carried off great multitudes; and a conflagration in London made ſuch a deſolation among the houſes, that the largeſt, richeſt, and moſt flouriſhing city in the world was, in a very few days, reduced to nothing. Some imputed all theſe calamities wholly to misfortune, and not to deſign; but others were afraid leſt theſe ſhould be followed with ſimilar diſaſters *. One Mitchell, a madman, made an attempt upon the life of archbiſhop Sharp, the primate of Scotland, and ſuffered death, contrary to a promiſe made to him; on which account Sharp, who was the author of great cruelties, was accuſed of perjury, as having had no regard to the religious obligation of an oath; and many thought the ſeverities of all the reſt of his own order put together, were hardly to be compared to the leaſt part of his.

In order to abate the jealouſy conceived againſt him, king Charles paſſed an act of parliament, forbidding any perſon, on pain of death, to ſay that his majeſty was a papiſt. The ſevereſt laws againſt the proteſtants, extolled, in their preambles, the great clemency of the

* The tranſition of the author, from the fire of London, ſuppoſed by many to have originated with the papiſts, to the ſtory of Mitchell, and the cruelties of archbiſhop Sharp, is not unnatural; it may, however, be proper to obſerve, that the hiſtorian here ſteps beyond the bounds of the year whoſe events he relates; a liberty, which is often neceſſary in tracing the connection between cauſes and effects, and which is accordingly taken by the moſt approved hiſtorians. Mitchell made his attempt on the life of the archbiſhop in 1668, and was not executed until 1678.

king.

king. Charles hated the Scotch form of worſhip, and ridiculed that of the Engliſh; and though he did not profeſs any himſelf, yet he ſufficiently diſcovered his own by being preſent with the queen at her vigils. But this did not abate the prejudices conceived againſt him; nor did his proclamations extinguiſh the ſmoking remains of the popiſh conſpiracy*: nay, they ſerved rather to aggravate the evil, and to expoſe the king to the odium of both parties. He was equally hated by the papiſts and proteſtants.

THE ducheſs of York, ſuſpected by her huſband, thought it prudent to embrace the popiſh religion; which was a very great affliction to the earl of Clarendon her father. After this, many things were done at court by advice of female counſellors. The duke of York's two daughters were, by the king's command, committed for their education to the pious biſhop Compton. The earl of Clarendon had the leſs intereſt, that he had an averſion to the king's amours, and all ſuch diſſipation. The king, in order to cover his diſlike of the earl of Sandwich under the appearance of an honourable embaſſy, diſpatched him into Spain. Bennet was now created lord Arlington. This man, being a papiſt, would often falſely turn, to the earl of Clarendon's diſcredit, thoſe very counſels which he himſelf had treacherouſly given, and covered with the maſk of moderation. The earl of Clarendon, therefore, tired out with the ill uſage of his adverſaries, in the ſubſequent year was forced to leave his country, and was undeſervedly driven into exile. To the departure of this great man was probably owing, at once the ruin of all things in England, and the compoſition of the moſt elegant hiſtory of the rebellion that has ever yet been publiſhed. By his fall we may perceive what dependence may be placed upon the favour of princes; which is not to be obtained, without long and earneſt application, but is liable to be loſt, even through the envy of a ſingle buffoon. On the fall of the earl of Clarendon, the duke of Buckingham and the lord Aſhley gained the

* The ſmoking remains, the *reliquiæ fumantes*, of the popiſh conſpiracy, refer to the general ſuſpicion that the fire of London mentioned in the page immediately preceding originated with the papiſts. The author, without declaring his own ſentiments on this ſubject, records the impreſſion it made on a great part of the nation.

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aſcendancy at court; and liberty of conſcience was granted to the people of England in favour of the papiſts, which was vehemently oppoſed by the clergy of the church of England, as being friends to Clarendon. Among the many preſages concerning the comet which appeared about this time in the heavens, I ſhall only mention that of Mr. Iſaac Newton, who foretold that the ſame phenomenon would be viſible in a conſtant revolution of every ſeventy-two years.

DURING theſe tranſactions in England, the French monarch having concluded his marriage at the treaty of the Pyrenees, advanced towards Languedoc to meet his bride. At Tholouſe, according to agreement, he received the prince of Condé into favour; and reduced under his obedience, Marſeilles, Niſmes, and Montpelier. He claimed a right to the principality of Orange, and exerciſed ſupreme authority at Avignon. Having received his bride, he ſet out for Paris with a ſplendid retinue. Wherever they came, the royal pair were received with marks of univerſal joy. They were the moſt accompliſhed couple in France, in the elegance of their perſons, in the dignity of their carriage, and the greatneſs of their minds. The marriage was ſolemnized with the greateſt ſplendour and magnificence. This ſolemnity being over, the king went to Fontainbleau to take the diverſion of hunting. Cardinal Mazarine, grievouſly afflicted with the ſtone, being convinced of his approaching end, thought proper to diſpoſe of his eſtate. He left the whole of it by will to his friends. But great acquiſitions in France being ſubject to a ſentence of revocation, Mazarine, by a fiction of law, appointed the king his heir, on condition that he ſhould make a free grant of his eſtate to his proper heirs. Whatever has afforded men the higheſt pleaſure through life, cauſes the deepeſt concern at death.

Death of Mazarine.

MAZARINE gave the king many inſtructions reſpecting the government of France. He adviſed him, in order to make the Rhine and the Alps the boundaries of his kingdom, to bribe the German princes, and to keep his ſubjects in awe by forts and garriſons.

His advice to the French king.

HE

He adviſed him to preſerve with vigilance the free paſſage which he had opened between his kingdom and Spain; and repreſented the advantages of keeping up an appearance of religious zeal, and the name of the Salique law. The queen, attached to the Spaniſh intereſt, was much offended at theſe admonitions. After the death of cardinal Mazarine, the French king did not ſubſtitute any one into his place in the miniſtry; but ſettling himſelf cloſely to mind his own affairs, by the advice of Monſ. Colbert and Monſ. de Tellier, he founded a ſociety for arts and ſciences, ſettled colonies, cut rivers for navigation from ſea to ſea, and ſhewed himſelf an enemy to the Moors and the pope. Having made a firm alliance with the Swiſs cantons in 1663, he next year perſuaded the king of England to make war upon the Dutch; and while he pretended to join the Dutch fleet with his own, he ſtirred up the biſhop of Munſter alſo againſt them. After he had fortified Dunkirk, being enraged that the emperor had married a younger daughter of Spain, he immediately, on the death of the Spaniſh monarch, marched with the greateſt celerity, in 1667, at the head of an army into Flanders; at this time his mother died, who had always been attached to the Spaniſh intereſt. By this invaſion, Lewis, through the connivance of the penſionary De Witt, eaſily made himſelf maſter of Doway, Liſle, Tournay, and a great many more of the Spaniſh towns, both in the Netherlands and the county of Burgundy; ſome of theſe he kept, and ſome he reſtored two years afterwards, by the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle. After eſtabliſhing the court or chamber of Metz, the French king acted in ſuch a manner, as if he had a juriſdiction over all the world; and, valuing men according to their riches, not according to their merit, ſet the great offices of his kingdom to ſale. Having bribed the Swiſs, who had engaged their honour for the ſecurity of Franche Comtè, he ſeized that province. He invaded Loraine; and joining his fleet with the Dutch, as if he had been at enmity with the king of England, he fancied, that through the mutual loſſes of the maritime powers, he ſhould alſo be able to gain the ſovereignty of the ſeas; for whatever party ſhould be defeated, he would have an opportunity of converting their misfortune to his advantage. But prince Rupert ſcattered the French fleet upon the coaſt of the Netherlands: the duke

French king's reſtleſs ambition.

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of York alſo ſometimes, and ſometimes the duke of Albemarle, defeated the Dutch fleets; but, in one ſmart engagement, both the fleets were ſo ſhattered, that they ſeverally made home into their own ports. Some imputed it to the duke of York, and others to his ſervants, that the Dutch eſcaped out of this fight; but the Dutch themſelves aſcribed it to God's providence *.

NOT long after this, the king being much ſtraitened for money, borrowed a ſum of the goldſmiths company of London at a great intereſt. This he did, in conſequence of being denied a ſupply by his parliament, who were not free from jealouſies concerning the war with the French king. And now the ſtate of the war was changed, and the king haraſſed the Dutch with his privateers; at which they were ſo highly provoked, that they attacked the Britiſh coaſt, and, having broken the chains, ſailed up the Thames and Medway, carried off five ſhips, and attempted to ſet fire to the king's ſtores. The Engliſh, with great bravery, chaſtiſed their inſolence. But now, both ſides grew weary of the war, and Charles, being in want of both money and credit, began to wiſh for peace: this depended wholly on the king of France, at that time the great arbiter of the affairs of Europe. That monarch, after he had, under pretence of a dowry, reduced many towns in the Netherlands, put an end to hoſtilities, by an artful peace at Breda: and the earl of Clarendon being removed from the adminiſtration of affairs in England, he alſo impoſed terms of peace upon the Engliſh, whereby he broke the triple alliance which, for the ſecurity of the Spaniſh Netherlands and the proteſtant religion, had been made between the kings of England and Sweden, and the ſtates of Holland.

Peace of Breda.

THESE tranſactions being divulged, the emperor, the king of Spain, and even the pope himſelf, is ſaid to have given the king of England a caution, not to contribute too much to the encreaſe of the power of France.

* Theſe engagements between the Dutch and Engliſh, although introduced here by a very proper arrangement, happened in 1665.

THE people of England were alſo afraid, that the friendſhip between the kings of England and France would prove fatal to the liberties of Europe: for they were not inſenſible what ſort of a war their king had undertaken againſt France, and what a deceitful peace the French king had artfully made with the Dutch. But all theſe things, and the long experienced artifices of the French, were not ſufficient to prevent the alliance between the kings of England and France. For, by the lord Arlington's advice, the king of England readily gave ear to the French king's propoſals of a yearly penſion, and a partition of the Dutch united provinces; and, after a conference between their ambaſſadors, in the palace of St. Germain's in France, concluded a ſecret treaty to that purpoſe: but, leſt the fickle mind of the king of England ſhould be influenced by the preſſing ſolicitations of the emperor and his allies, and the intreaties of his ſubjects, Lewis endeavoured to delude the Dutch by freſh treaties; and when he had entangled them in theſe, he reſolved to ſend his brother's wife, king Charles's ſiſter, into England, about affairs of the greateſt importance. With a view to conceal the deſigns which he had concerted with the king of England, he reſolved to make a progreſs into his newly-acquired dominions in the Netherlands. Having made an alliance with the Swiſs Cantons, he ſtrengthened his frontiers with fortifications and garriſons. At that time the French court was full of luxury; and the king affected an air of grandeur even in the ſmalleſt matters: he laid out an immenſe ſum of money on his gardens at Verſailles by the advice of Colbert, whoſe counſels were peaceful, and tended to the benefit and improvement of France in commerce and good arts. But the genius of Louvoy prevailed in the council; and the king cauſed his own ſtatue to be erected in the place De Victoire, where, with lamps burning in the midſt of day, after the manner of the ſhrines of the ſaints, he was for ſome time worſhipped while he lived, as if he had been an immortal being.

Alliance between the kings of England and France.

ELATED by the embaſſies which he received from the Indies, and other foreign countries, he grew very haughty, and affected to interfere in all the affairs of Europe. He ſent forces into Candia to aſſiſt the Venetians: but the French refuſing to obey the commands of their general,

general, that iſland was taken in their ſight, and they returned home without performing any military atchievement. This diſhonour to Chriſtianity the Venetians aſcribe to the defection of the French troops, which caſt a damp on the ſpirit and courage of their own forces.

COLBERT adviſed the French king to contract the ſphere of his military purſuits, leſt he ſhould excite the jealouſy and hatred of all the neighbouring princes, whom the united force and revenues of France would be unable to reſiſt. But all the repreſentations of that wiſe miniſter could not prevail with his ſovereign to moderate his paſſion for glory.

THE French king, as before obſerved, went into the Netherlands with a pompous train, to take a view of his frontiers, and ſent the ducheſs of Orleans into England. The object of the negociation, that by means of this lady was carried on between the two kings, was to draw off the Engliſh from their friendſhip and alliance with the Dutch, contracted in the time of queen Elizabeth, and confirmed by their mutual bonds of religion, and to ratify other matters which ſhould be agreed on in the conference. Lewis and Charles clearly foreſaw, that, while the ancient alliance between England and Holland ſubſiſted, the religion and liberty of both nations would be inſuperable; they therefore ſet themſelves to contrive, how thoſe ancient foundations might be deſtroyed. And none was thought ſo proper to operate upon her brother's affections as the ducheſs, a lady endowed with the greateſt accompliſhments of mind, as well as graces of perſon. The king went to Dover to meet her, received her with the greateſt magnificence, and entertained her many days at court, with public exhibitions, balls and banquets. At length, by her earneſt perſuaſion, the king of England confirmed the peace with the French king, and conſpired with that monarch in a league for the ruin of the Dutch. Lewis, having made peace with the emperor, had the addreſs to draw off the German princes from the intereſt of that monarch. He ſtirred up the Hungarians to revolt; gained the elector palatine, and the duke of Newburg, by preſents; and others by hopes: the duke of Zell alone he could not corrupt, nor prevail with the elector of Brandenburgh. He drew the king of Sweden into his intereſt by his

his ambaſſador Pompone, and perſuaded him to make war upon Brandenburgh. The Spaniards alone ſaw through the French king's deſigns, and continued firm to the intereſt of the Dutch. All theſe things were tranſacted by the advice of Louvoy; who affected to render himſelf as famous for his military counſels, as Colbert was for his pacific.

THE ducheſs of Orleans leaving a young Frenchwoman with the king her brother, returned to France, and died ſoon after. Before her death, it is ſaid ſhe ſent for Mr. Ralph Montague, the Engliſh ambaſſador, and diſcovered to him the object of her interview with her brother, ſwearing, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that the ſuſpicion of her having entertained too familiar an attachment to any of her own blood was utterly groundleſs.

AT that time the practice of poiſoning prevailed greatly in France. The perpetrators of this crime either ſuffered death, or, by the king's command, were baniſhed from the kingdom. The king, too, in order to preſerve the lives of his ſoldiers, exhibited a laudable example to princes, by prohibiting all duelling among his ſubjects.

ABOUT this time, the French king's brother, who was now a widower, in order to ſtrengthen the alliance with the palatinate family, married Charlotte the elector-palatine's daughter, on her abjuring the proteſtant religion, in which ſhe had been educated. Whereupon, through the indolence of the proteſtants in Germany, their own religion was every day leſs and leſs regarded in thoſe parts, and the popiſh grew more powerful. The inſolence of the papiſts, from their liberty of conſcience, was a conſtant ſubject of complaint in Britain.

Courts of England and France.

MEANWHILE, no time, or houſe of note, was free from the debaucheries and luſts of the kings of England and France. Their courts were full of infamous women, who publicly, and in open day-light, revelled in banqueting, and all kinds of wantonneſs: and this not only in the public gardens, in the city, and in the bagnios, in walking, dreſſing, company-keeping, ogling, and looſe converſation; but even in embracing, kiſſing, and ſporting with their admirers

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mirers in pleaſure-boats in the ſight of all the people, attended by a ſet of bullies for their guard. And thoſe who did not conform to theſe things, and had not alſo learnt the polite mode of ſwearing, were looked upon as old-faſhioned formal people, and diſaffected to the king. Nor were the apartments of thoſe women open to kings only, but to the luſt of all debauchees.

THE French king's chief delight was in madamoiſelle de la Valiere, and madame de Monteſpan; the king of England's, in the counteſs of Caſtlemain, Nell Gwyn, and the little Frenchwoman. In the midſt of theſe amours the counteſs of Southeſk, who had more beauty than reputation, is ſaid to have communicated a cruel diſtemper to the duke of York his brother. But I forbear to relate the licentiouſneſs of both their courts, the prolific ſource of a new race of nobility. By the example of theſe kings, the maſculine virtue of the age was ſoftened into effeminacy, and good morals were changed into a contempt of all religion, and an avowed practice of every vice. Virgins were robbed of their honour, and young gentlemen of their money: but thoſe female robbers themſelves are ſaid to have been plundered in their turn, by a very handſome youth, who, in his younger days, was much addicted to this kind of warfare *.

FROM the example of the court, the diſtinctions of truth and falſehood were loſt among the people; who for the moſt part reckoned nothing evil but pain, and nothing good but pleaſure. The French king, however, took ſpecial care to have the dauphin inſtructed in the moſt excellent learning. And though, in England, many were infected with the vices of the court, yet there were ſome whoſe virtues ſhone forth with eminent luſtre; men who united probity of manners with vigour of character, and who were not more diſtinguiſhed by natural endowments than by acquired accompliſhments. The courts of law were adorned by an happy union of ability with virtue; particularly the eloquence of Sir William Jones, and the ſteady juſtice and ſingu-

Manners and literature.

* The Author probably alludes to Mr. Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough.

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lar moderation of the lord chief juſtice Hale. Among the ornaments of the church we may record the names of Dr. Stillingfleet, biſhop Leighton, the two Moores, Dr. Cudworth, Dr. Barrow, biſhop Fell, Mr. Charteris, and Dr. Gale, who, with great learning and diligence, explained the monuments of antiquity, and ſhewed us the old Roman roads from the Itinerary of Antoninus. Dr. Bates, Mr. Howe, Mr. Poole, and Mr. Baxter, were diſtinguiſhed by their learning and moderation among the diſſenters. The city of London, after its conflagration, was rebuilt by Sir Chriſtopher Wren. The faculty of phyſic was honoured with Dr. Willis, Dr. Bale, Dr. Sydenham, and Dr. Millington; and natural philoſophy with Rupert prince palatine, and Mr. Robert Boyle, who was a man of noble birth, great learning, and exemplary piety. Nor muſt we here omit Hobbes, who, though he was abhorred by the clergy, was eminent in various ſorts of learning. About this time, that incomparable youth, Mr. Iſaac Newton, communicated to the Royal Society his new-deviſed method of chronology, and alſo preſented to it his reflecting teleſcope, the nobleſt inſtrument hitherto invented for contemplating the heavenly bodies. At the ſame time Dr. Wallis and Mr. Flamſtead attained to great excellence in aſtronomy: and in poetry, Mr. Milton, Mr. Waller, Sir John Denham, Mr. Dryden, Mr. Butler, the earl of Rocheſter, and that great patron of the muſes, and of all good learning, the earl of Dorſet. And laſtly, S. Colvill, and others, ſtrenuouſly defended the proteſtant religion in Scotland.

THE French king, as above related, having gained to his intereſt the German princes bordering upon the Rhine, in order to ſecure himſelf in his march againſt the Dutch, and thinking himſelf ſure of ſucceſs in his intended expedition, invited them to a participation of the plunder. He treated with the cardinal Furſtemberg, who, at that time, was adminiſtrator of the territories under his juriſdiction, ſtipulating, that if he would permit him to put garriſons into Bonne, Dinant, and Liege, he would take care, that Rhineberg, which the Dutch had long with-held from him, ſhould be reſtored. The elector agreed to the propoſal, and quitted the preſent, in hopes of future advantage. The biſhop of Munſter was drawn into his intereſt, partly by money, partly by hopes, and partly through an old grudge againſt the Dutch; he was

Movements of the French king.

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further provoked to adopt this meaſure by a freſh injury occaſioned by the diſputed ſucceſſion of Benthem. The duke of Newburg was gained by a promiſe from Lewis, of the kingdom of Poland. All theſe princes were followed by the archbiſhop of Treves, who was both allured by money, and overawed by fear.

THE French king marched an army into Alſace, and ordered his lieutenants to ſecure with garriſons the whole dutchy of Lorraine. He propoſed to the emperor to obſerve a neutrality: nor did he forget to pay his addreſſes to the duke of Savoy, the duke of Hanover, and the duke of Wirtemberg. Having taken theſe precautions, he haſtened to the Rhine.

WHILE the French king was thus active, the Dutch were in a miſerable condition at home, being broken into factions, and full of troubles. The young prince of Orange was not yet of age to take upon him the authority of his anceſtors; and was, beſides, much oppreſſed by the machinations of an oppoſite faction. For the chief adminiſtration of Dutch affairs being in the hands of the penſionary De Witt, the prince was, either through deſign or by accident, neglected, and even betrayed by the friends of the penſionary. The army was weak, and not ſufficiently to be truſted; their ſtrong-holds were ill provided with men and proviſions; their frontiers were careleſsly guarded; nor had their garriſons what was uſeful in war, or neceſſary for defence in caſe of a ſiege.

ABOUT this time, the emperor, having diſcovered a conſpiracy of his ſubjects, put to death count Serini, the marquis of Frangipani, and count Nadaſti; men of diſtinction, who had long appeared as aſſerters of the public liberty, but were found guilty of high treaſon. Others were caſt into priſon: nor could Leopold, in thoſe difficult times, reſtrain the petty princes of Germany, after they had taſted of the French king's bounty, within the bounds of their duty.

CHARLES, equally deſirous with Lewis, of overturning the proteſtant religion and the Dutch republic, ſecretly ſought an occaſion and pretext

text for making war againſt the United States. The Dutch tried all the ways they poſſibly could to pacify the mind of the French king, who burned with an ardent deſire of glory and everlaſting fame. But his deſign was, utterly to root them out; and therefore, the more eaſily to ſwallow them up by ſurpriſe, he amuſed them with ſpeeches and negociations. They ſent the prince of Orange to make their peace with the king of England. The prince found it a very difficult matter to get acceſs to the king, every avenue to his majeſty being beſet by the courtiers. At laſt, however, he obtained an audience by means of the little Frenchwoman, who had been left with the king, the laſt year, by his ſiſter the dutcheſs of Orleans. But he was obliged to return to Holland, without being able to negociate a peace: nor could he recover from the king the money formerly lent him. The prince was magnificently entertained by the citizens of London, among whom his memory will ever be dear and famous.

State of religion in Great Britain.

THE papiſts became, every day, more and more elated; and, in order to conceal their own diſſentions, made heavy complaints of the diſſenters. They were full of boaſting, and often maltreated their adverſaries; laying their own crimes to the charge of others. However, the London diſſenters ſupported themſelves by their own integrity, and the rights of citizens. Nor was the king himſelf unfriendly to them, requiring nothing more, than that their miniſters ſhould remain quiet, and not diſturb the peace and order of ſociety: nay, many of them ſhared of his majeſty's bounty. For, beſides divers miniſters among them of great reputation, Mr. Birch, formerly a carrier, and who had been a colonel in the time of the commonwealth, but now a conſiderable member of the houſe of commons, was the king's penſioner, and ſecretly did his majeſty ſervice, though he never betrayed his own party.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the preſbyterians in Scotland were very roughly treated. Dr. Leighton, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, who was much afflicted at the diſſentions of the Scots, ſent twelve clergymen into the country to perform holy offices, whom they called Apoſtles. Among theſe Mr. Gilbert Burnet was one, who was a young man of a froward

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ward diſpoſition, but of a ſpecious appearance of piety. Being ſent, ſometimes to Saltown, and ſometimes to Fenwick, he was wont to interrupt the reapers, and other labourers in the fields, with ſtrange and unuſual prayers and ſermons. Wherever Burnet came, the country-people ſhunned him: for the Scots are taught to worſhip God with pure minds, in their own plain words and manner; and every thing that ſeems novel in religion is apt to alarm the common people. Mr. Burnet made bitter complaints of their obſtinacy; and, as he was a great reader of the fathers, he did not ſpare the biſhops themſelves, to whom, how venerable ſoever for their age, he would not have allowed the uſe of a coach, as being a vehicle unknown to the antient fathers. But he particularly cenſured archbiſhop Sharp, who would have chaſtiſed him for his freedom, if the other biſhops had not interceded for him. At length, through the patronage of Duke Hamilton and biſhop Leighton, Dr. Burnet became profeſſor of divinity at Glaſgow. There he blended together many of the oppoſite doctrines of Dr. James Arminius and Mr. John Calvin, with great eloquence and reputation, to the no ſmall admiration of the vulgar. He preached much, and in pompous ſtrains, concerning the contagion of original ſin, and the ſtrict preſervation of virginity and widowhood, after the example of St. Jerome. In the mean time, he himſelf married a lady of the noble family of Kennedy, and thereupon fled into England; where, having no eſtate, no hopes, no certain ſettlement, he caſt himſelf upon God's providence, and, through the patronage of the duke of Lauderdale, acquired ſome reputation at court, by occaſionally celebrating the praiſes of the king, and exalting beyond bounds the royal prerogative. He afterwards, growing weary of the court, by the perſuaſion of Dr. Stillingfleet and Dr. Lloyd, employed himſelf in compiling an hiſtory of the reformation. But at laſt, intermeddling too much with the affairs of the ſtate, he fell into diſgrace at court; and had not the duke of York interceded for him, the king would have puniſhed him according to law. And now, after the death of his wife, he forgot St. Jerome, keeping his widowhood no better than he had done his virginity. He became a witneſs, even againſt his patron, Lauderdale.

When Lewis had made all the neceſſary preparations, Bernard Van Ghaler, biſhop of Munſter in Germany, encouraged by the two kings, raiſed forces, marched into the Dutch confines, and advancing by Deventer and Zutphen, along the Yſſel Dort, he invaded the united provinces on that ſide, and laid ſiege to Groningen. The king of France thereupon, without any other cauſe of quarrel with the Dutch, than their having ſtruck certain obſcene medals, which repreſented his criminal attachment to Madame de Monteſpan, by a female figure*, either from revenge, or according to the fooliſh paintings of Le Brun, for the promotion of his glory, declared war againſt the republic.

The king of England having raiſed forces both by land and ſea, gave the command of his army to his ſon the duke of Monmouth, and appointed the earl of Dunbarton his lieutenant general. Theſe commanders were accompanied with a great number of volunteers. The command of the navy was given to the duke of York, and under him prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich were appointed admirals. When every thing was ready for action, and the ſhips had put to ſea, the Engliſh and Dutch fleets met. The French were in the rear. Them the Dutch firſt attacked in a ſlight engagement, to provoke them to fight. Both ſides ſtrove hard for the wind. After many diſcharges of their ordnance, a profound calm followed, and they were forced to make uſe of their oars. At length, a gale aroſe, and the Dutch, by De Ruyter's order, under the command of admiral Van Ghent, attacked the earl of Sandwich. Thrice they were repulſed: but at laſt they burned the ſhip, together with the vice-admiral; for there came not up one ſhip in time for his aſſiſtance, nor had he any of the men of war's tenders near him. The fight grew general: Van Ghent and Van Brakel were killed. But the deputy general, Van Paten, renewed the engagement, which was maintained with great courage on both ſides. The duke of York's ſhip being diſabled, and the captain killed in the heat of action, and himſelf obliged to change ſhips three times, he contented himſelf with the glory he had

* Inſcribed Captum Belgium, the reduction of the Netherlands.

obtained,

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obtained, and for that day put an end to the fight. The next day he brought off the fleet, fighting, with the loſs of Mr. Boyle, the earl of Winchelſea, and many other perſons of note, with four ſhips. But the moſt general ſubject of grief and lamentation was the earl of Sandwich, a perſon not more illuſtrious by birth, than renowned for abilities and virtues.

And now the Dutch did not, as formerly, inſult the Britiſh coaſt; but humbly ſued to the king, with an offer of a ſum of money to recover his favour. The earl of Mulgrave returning ſafe to court after the fight, highly extolled the duke of York's valour, not forgetting his own; and though he was ſhort-ſighted, he took upon him to deſcribe how ſwiftly the bullets flew; for which he was heartily laughed at by the courtiers: nor had he ſo much as a ſplinter to ſhew of the earl of Sandwich's ſhip that was blown up, to ſoften their reproaches. But, without regard to the earl of Mulgrave's applauſes, it is certain the courage and military conduct both of the duke of York and prince Rupert, in this fight, juſtly deſerved the higheſt praiſes; as did alſo the gallant actions performed by the earl of Oſſory, through this whole war, both by land and ſea. The untimely death of Oſſory, as well as that of the earl of Sandwich, was a great loſs to England, and all the arts. War being declared againſt the Dutch alſo by land, the French king, attended by the prince of Condé, and the marſhal Turenne, and joined by the duke of Monmouth, marched in four bodies, by way of Flanders and Brabant, towards the Rhine, and made himſelf maſter of all the towns in his way, leaving only Maeſtricht unattempted. The prince of Condé took Weſel. Being made acquainted with the fords of the Rhine, he concerted meaſures with the French king, and ſent ſome troops acroſs that river. But theſe were inſtantly repulſed by numbers, whom the prince of Orange had diſpatched for that purpoſe. At length, diſſentions ariſing in the prince's camp, the French made a ſecond attempt to paſs the Rhine on the twelfth day of June; which, at laſt, they performed where the waters were moſt ſhallow, partly in boats, and partly on horſeback. After a ſlight ſkirmiſh, the French king took the Dutch troops on the other ſide the river priſoners, and carried them along with

with him, as if they had been reſerved to adorn his triumph. The duke of Longueville, the prince of Condé's nephew, fuller of wine than courage, raſhly falling upon ſome of the Dutch troops, to whom the prince had promiſed his protection, was there ſlain; whereupon the prince immediately haſted thither, and, in violation of his promiſe, ordered the Dutch to be put to the ſword.

THE French king, haſtening towards the heart of the Dutch provinces, took Utrecht into his protection. The preſident, Dyckvelt himſelf, preſented him with the keys, and the ſubmiſſion of that city; whoſe cowardice the prince of Orange highly reſented. But the people of Nimeghen, though not provided for a long ſiege, yet refuſed to ſubmit. Lewis having received the ſubjection of the territories of Zutphen, and ſome other places, encamped near Utrecht, ordered Fort Schinck to be ſtormed, ſurpriſed Naerden, and filled the whole country with his troops. In order to effect a diviſion of the ſtates with the king of England, according to agreement, by means of the count D'Eſtrades his ambaſſador, he entered into treaty with John De Witt, penſionary of Holland, a man of great reputation and authority among his countrymen. It was in this treaty his aim to ſurpriſe the prince of Orange, and to obtain immediate poſſeſſion of the province of Holland. He endeavoured to draw over De Witt to his views, by the moſt munificent offers of protection and poſſeſſions in France. De Witt being related to Barnevelt, and ſuſpected of a deſign to revenge the death of his kinſman, who had ſuffered unjuſtly by the violence of faction, was in a very dangerous ſituation. This dark affair is elucidated by count D'Eſtrade's letters. By command of the ſtates, ambaſſadors were ſent to the French king to treat of peace. That monarch would not hearken to any other terms, than that he ſhould keep all he had taken in the courſe of the war; that they ſhould every where allow the free exerciſe of the popiſh religion; that the knights of Malta ſhould be reſtored to their rights; that they ſhould pay him twenty millions of livres for the charges of the war, ſurrender the towns of Nimeghen, Bommel, and other places upon the Maeſe, and ſend to him every year, by envoys extraordinary, a medal, as a memorial of the peace he had granted them.

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THESE hard conditions of peace, ſigned by Louvoy and Pompone, ſo highly provoked the Dutch, that they reſolved rather to die than ſubmit to ſuch ſlavery. In this deſperate condition they ſent ambaſſadors into Germany and England; but Charles would hardly vouchſafe them an audience. At laſt, being prevailed on by the loud cries of his people, and the entreaties of the prince of Orange, he told them he would ſend an ambaſſador to intercede for them with the French king. Amidſt all theſe dangers, the penſionary De Witt, who was certainly a very great man, but much embarraſſed with the difficult affairs of his brother, remained ſtill in ſuſpenſe, and gave no direct anſwer to the French king's demands. Lewis, however, ſtill proceeded on his march. At length, a tumult being ſuddenly raiſed among the people of the Hague, while John De Witt, without any apprehenſion of danger, was conſulting about his brother's intereſts in priſon, he was deemed an enemy to his country, and, together with his brother, moſt cruelly treated, and barbarouſly torn in pieces by the furious rabble. The people at the Hague approved of this unwarrantable deed, and extolled it as a moſt glorious exploit. It is a fixed principle with the Dutch, that all authority is originally derived from the people, and that it ought to be exerciſed ſolely for their good; though the contrary is held in Britain, as if kings had deſcended from heaven: a piece of ſuperſtition which is an object of ridicule, not only to the Dutch and Italians, but almoſt all other nations. The prince of Orange's party now thought fit that he ſhould take the government into his own hands, though the prince himſelf ſeemed ſomewhat backward. To this the people of Amſterdam, between hopes and fears, made ſome oppoſition; remembering the attempts againſt the liberties of their city formerly made by William, prince of Orange, the ſecond of that name. Marſhal De Turenne, who had newly conformed to his king's religion, beſieged and took Nimeghen; and all the diſtrict of Betewe ſubmitted to his forces.

THE earl of Shafteſbury, now lord high chancellor, having with great eloquence ſaid many things in parliament in praiſe of the king, and in juſtification of the war and the neceſſity of a ſupply, and declared that Amſterdam, which he called Carthage, ought to be

be deſtroyed, warm debates aroſe in the houſe of commons. Many ſpoke to this effect: "That there was ſuch a near conjunction between "us and the Dutch, that they could not ſuffer, but we muſt in ſome "meaſure participate in their diſtreſs; and that if they ſhould be ruined, "we muſt expect to fall." For theſe members conſidered Holland as the ſtrongeſt bulwark that Britain had on the continent. The king having in his neceſſity ſhut up the exchequer, public credit ſunk to nothing, and moſt of the bankers who had truſted the king with their money, ſtopped payment, and involved their friends in the ſame ruin. They complained of the king, on this account, to the parliament, but to no purpoſe. The houſe of commons anſwered, That they had not intermeddled with that affair; neither would they now engage their credit for the king. During theſe difficulties, Charles, either ſuſpecting that the French king would not allow him a ſhare in the conquered provinces, or elſe moved by revenge, or the want of money (which, as well as the management of the treaſury, the parliament had denied him), making a ſhew of gratifying the wiſhes of his people, ſent the duke of Buckingham, the deſtroyer of his own private eſtate, not to ſay of that of the public alſo, and others, on an embaſſy to the French king. They were openly to declare to the king, that if he did not immediately depart, and deſiſt from his invaſion, his majeſty would no longer look upon him as a friend, but an enemy.

THESE commands from Charles were formally delivered to the French king, and ſeriouſly confirmed by the lord viſcount Halifax; the earl of Arlington, in private, telling him a quite different ſtory. Lewis, who was not only formidable of himſelf, but who derived additional ſtrength from the weakneſs of other princes, brake up his camp, as if he had been afraid of the king of England; and being inflamed with the love of Madame De Monteſpan, returned to Paris.

IN the mean time, as ſoon as the marſhal Turenne had intelligence that the elector of Brandenburg was marching with 25,000 men to aſſiſt the Dutch, he reſolved to advance towards him, and to ſtop his progreſs with fair promiſes. A great number of the Dutch towns,

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which had ſurrendered, by the advice of Monſieur Louvoy, and againſt that of marſhal Turenne, were ſtrongly garriſoned. But now the French king being in want of ſoldiers, came over to the opinion of Turenne, and ordered many of thoſe towns to be evacuated. And being alſo offended at the king of England, he threatened to withdraw his penſion; and, in order to render him odious to his people, to give information about it to the parliament. Some thought this manner of acting below the dignity of kings and great men. But, on the other hand, it was ſaid to be very common, and approved by numberleſs examples; and that hence, thoſe who come off conquerors in time of war, are often found to be overcome in time of peace. In thoſe diſtreſſing times the ſtates-general, ever attentive to the good of their country, inſtructed Mynheer Van Lewen, their ambaſſador to the king of England, concerning the conditions of peace he had propoſed, which they thought even harder than thoſe of the French king. They implored his majeſty to lay aſide his diſpleaſure againſt their republic. Yet neither was Charles's ſucceſs this war ſo great, nor the courſe of his victories ſo ſwift as that of Lewis.

Amſterdam in danger.

THE duke of Luxemburg, the French king's lieutenant, having a garriſon at Utrecht, took away from the proteſtants their principal church, and treated the citizens with great cruelty: and taking the advantage of a very froſty winter, in concert with ſome of the diſaffected citizens, he had well nigh ſurpriſed Amſterdam. For the authority of the burgomaſters could hardly keep the inhabitants of that city in obedience. In this critical juncture the burgomaſters, Falconer, Hope, and Flagel, men held in the higheſt eſtimation by the people, ruſhed from the ſtadt-houſe, and made a ſuitable addreſs to them on the near approach of the enemy, and their own immediate danger. Upon this alarm the walls were manned, the dykes were cut, and the whole country laid under water. While the French were making their approaches towards Ghent, the ice began to thaw. Whereupon their attempts being rendered abortive, in order to eſcape the inundation, they marched off by the way of Bodegrave, towards Leyden, and fell upon Zulenſten's quarters. The commander being ſlain, the ſoldiers fled, and the French, in purſuit of them, loſt many of their men

men in the waters: the reſt took the town of Woerden by ſtorm; where the ſoldiers ſpared neither the women, nor the new-born babes hanging on their breaſts. After this ſlaughter, the French returned to their winter quarters.

A CERTAIN colonel, named Stoupe, born in Switzerland, but of no note in his own country, who had formerly acted as a ſpy, a preacher, and in various other profeſſions, in order to make the Dutch more odious to all the world, and to juſtify the French king's proceedings, wrote a libel concerning the religion of the Dutch, of whoſe principles no good man needs to be aſhamed: it is trifling in any one to upbraid others with their religion; but in a Swiſs, and a preacher, it is even ſcandalous. The count De Schomberg excuſed himſelf from conforming to the king's religion.

THE prince of Orange, who was poſthumous, and born, as it were, to be an enemy to the power of France, was now the only man in whom the Dutch could place any hope of ſafety. He had been appointed general of the army before the murder of De Witt. After the death of that miniſter, and the repeal of the perpetual edict, he was advanced to the dignity of ſtadtholder, and took upon him the ſupreme authority of the united provinces. Diſdaining the terms of peace offered by France and England, he thought it moſt adviſable, when he found himſelf not ſtrong enough to overthrow them, to force the enemy into their own country; and therefore reſolved to carry the war towards Tungres.

Prince of Orange made ſtadtholder.

IT is ſaid, the French king at laſt, the better to impoſe on the prince of Orange, offered to make him king of Holland. But the prince had a ſenſe of true glory from his youth, and made anſwer to the French king, who was ſo prodigal of what was not his own, "That "he had rather maintain the people in their liberties, obtained by the "virtue of his anceſtors, than accept of a kingdom offered to him with "diſhonour."

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THOUGH the prince of Orange was naturally reſerved, yet he wanted neither quickneſs of parts, nor readineſs of expreſſion, nor a competent ſhare of learning: even De Witt himſelf, who was an exquiſite judge of men, acknowledged, that he had in his youth attained to great maturity in every virtue. He was prudent in council, bold in all his undertakings, and fierce in action. There is little reaſon, at this day, to mix every ſmall failing with the high praiſes of ſuch a youth. No man in his opinion lived up to the dignity of his nature, whoſe whole life was ſpent in acquiring the gifts of fortune, or in gratifying his various appetites and paſſions. He alone, in his eſtimation, deſerved the name of a man who performed actions worthy of being held in everlaſting remembrance. It was his ambition in reality to be what others are proud to ſeem. He delighted in nothing more than the exerciſe of genuine benevolence, and the defence of the liberties of mankind. He conſulted the intereſt of his country in matters of religion, though he himſelf was moſt attached to the Voetian ſect. As to other ſects, he thought them all tolerable, even the papiſts themſelves, the Jeſuits alone excepted. He looked upon Monday as an unfortunate day to his family; and therefore would never undertake any buſineſs of importance on that day. In all accidents of human life, he aſcribed much to divine providence, without excluding liberty: but right reaſon, as being implanted in us by God, was to him the ſupreme law. He conformed himſelf to the manners of the Dutch, being reputed ſparing of his money; though he would oftentimes contribute to the relief of the public neceſſities by his own example, and out of his own pocket. When he had quenched the flames of ruinous diſſentions at home, he contracted alliances with the neighbouring princes. He reſpected the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Zell as if they had been his parents. And, to ſum up all in a few words, all the aſſerters of liberty, and the patrons of the proteſtant religion, had their eyes at that time upon this young prince: nor was his uncle, the king of England, diſaffected to him; being continually importuned by his ſubjects, the complaints of all good people, and the entreaties of his parliament, to put an end to the war againſt the Dutch, and to eſpouſe the proteſtant intereſt according

cording to the triple alliance. The prince of Orange, now in the bloom of his age, and full of ardour for military glory, left his ſpirits ſhould ſubſide before he had done any public ſervice to his country, having inſpired his ſoldiers with courage, ſtormed Naerden, a bulwark of Amſterdam: and after he had raiſed a fortification, called after his own name, on the frontier of Holland, he took divers other places, and haraſſed the enemies guards wintering in the fields, though he himſelf was in great want of ſoldiers. Emulating the glory of his anceſtors, he drew his army out of their winter-quarters early in the ſpring, as he had before reſolved to do; and marching towards the Maeſe, made war upon Tungres, and threw proviſions into Maeſtricht. He afterwards beſieged Charleroy, and ſtruck great terror into the French at the Sambre.

THE duke of Luxemburg having intelligence of the prince of Orange's march, levied money of the towns and the country, and returned back into the inner parts of the Netherlands: at the ſame time the French king laid ſiege to Maeſtricht; and general Montal ruſhing out of Tungres, by his activity relieved Charleroy.

THIS year, the king of England, paſſing by his brother, gave the command of his fleet to prince Rupert. Admiral De Ruyter ſteered his courſe to the mouth of the Thames, in hopes, if poſſible, to ſink ſome of the enemies ſhips in the channel of the river, and thereby hinder the reſt from getting out. But when, notwithſtanding all his endeavours, the Engliſh got out to ſea, the two fleets met, and engaged on the coaſt of Holland with equal loſs. But the Dutch vice-admiral Evertzen committed depredations upon the Engliſh plantations in America; of which the merchants made loud complaints.

AFTER the French king had bombarded Maeſtricht twenty days together, the town fell into his hands, rather through a tumult of the inhabitants, than the valour of his ſoldiers. In this ſiege the Duke of Monmouth gained much applauſe for his military conduct. He was accompanied by Douglas, Mr. John Churchill, the lord Rocking-

ham,

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ham, and other young Britiſh volunteers. Admiral van Tromp treated ſecretly with the chevalier De Rohan, to favour his making a deſcent at the mouth of the Seine.

THE prince of Orange, reinforced with a few Spaniſh troops, inſulted the French on the Maeſe; and after the emperor's forces had joined them, took Huy, Grave, and Bonne. The French king, receiving intelligence of what paſſed in Germany, went himſelf into Alſace, and commanded Colmar to be demoliſhed, being doubtful of the fidelity of the inhabitants. About this time, the king of England became more favourably inclined than formerly to the Dutch. And, as if he had been affected to all religious ſects alike, he not only uſed moderation in the execution of the laws, but even by a declaration of indulgence, diſpenſed with the penal ſtatutes, and allowed the open meetings of the diſſenters.

THE emperor, perceiving the French king's deſigns, not only joined his forces with the Dutch, but iſſued an imperial edict, commanding all the princes of Germany to make war againſt France: whereupon the biſhop of Munſter, the archbiſhops of Cologne and Treves, and the duke of Lunenburg, forſook the French intereſt. No ſooner did the French king receive intelligence of theſe things, than he ordered his troops immediately to leave Holland. And now the French retreated with the ſame ſpeed with which they had marched thither. The biſhop of Munſter was forced out of Frieſland by the prince of Naſſau. The French king, ſuſpecting the fidelity of the citizens of Treves, made himſelf maſter of their city. The prince of Orange being reinforced with the Spaniſh auxiliaries, engaged the enemy with various ſucceſs at Genapp. William, in the heat of action having advanced too far, was ſurrounded by the enemy. The moment he perceived this, with great preſence of mind, as one of their own generals, he gave the enemy the word of command to follow him. But at length, putting ſpurs to his horſe, he eſcaped to his own party, through the midſt of the fire of the enemy. The king of England, partly through want of money, and partly in compliance

with the intreaties of his houſe of commons, came to terms with the Dutch, and was inclined alſo to make a peace between them and the French king.

THE German troops being defeated on the Upper Rhine, marſhal Turenne advanced into Franconia; where, as he was taking a view of count Montecuculi's camp, he was killed by a cannon ball. His body was, by the French king's order, interred at St. Deny's, with magnificent funeral honours, among the kings of France. The duke of Loraine overthrew the French king's army, commanded by his brother, in a battle fought in the territories of Treves: upon which he forced the city of Treves to ſurrender, and ſent the marſhal De Crequy on honourable conditions home to France. The chevalier De Rohan's treaſon being now diſcovered, the French king was alarmed at the audacious conſpiracy of his ſubjects with Van Tromp, and, concerned for the ſafety of his provinces, ordered De Rohan, Villars, and a certain ſchoolmaſter, and others who had conſpired with the Dutch, to be put to death. The Spaniards having put the French to flight in Rouſſilon, made an irruption into Languedoc, which was interrupted by an inſurrection of the people of Meſſina in Sicily, who, raiſing a tumult, put themſelves under the protection of the king of France. The Dutch, out of gratitude to the Spaniards, who had been the beſt friends to their republic, ſent their admiral De Ruyter with a fleet to Sicily; where De Ruyter himſelf, fighting gallantly, and having firſt defeated the French, was ſlain. The old duke of Loraine died, content with the victory he had obtained; and was ſucceeded by his nephew Charles, renowned for all princely virtues. On the death of marſhal Turenne, his nephew De Lorge, who had brought off the army, and croſſed the Rhine, with the loſs of only 3000 men, was made a marſhal, contrary to the advice of Monſieur Louvoy, who ſtill retained a grudge againſt Turenne. The prince of Conde now commanded the French army on the Upper Rhine; and the French king, in revenge to the elector of Brandenburg, poured his troops into the duchy of Cleve, and miſerably deſtroyed that beautiful country. After the loſs of Turenne, he found himſelf unable to contend with ſo many and ſo powerful enemies. He therefore reſolved to put an

Marſhal Turenne killed.

De Ruyter killed.

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end to the war, after taking Ypres and Valenciennes. The king of England having about this time concluded a peace with the Dutch, in compliance with the humour of the houſe of commons, which was in great heat on account of the French king's triumph, ſent the duke of Monmouth with forces to their aſſiſtance: and therefore Lewis, intimidated by the ſupport offered to the Dutch by the Engliſh, ſeaſonably liſtened to terms of peace. Cambray and St. Omer being reduced under his power, the prince of Orange engaged the enemy with great ſucceſs at Mount Caſſel, but was repulſed by the French under the command of the duke of Orleans, and many of the Dutch were ſlain. At this time the duke of Loraine, commander in chief of the German forces on the Rhine, attempted to enter France on that ſide, in order to draw off the French from Flanders and the prince of Orange.

THE king of England and the ſtates-general had agreed to reſtore the peace of Europe. In the mean time, by the mediation of the king of Sweden, a treaty of peace had been ſet on foot at Cologne, which, after ſeveral fruitleſs conferences, was broken off, on account of the intercepting of prince William of Furſtemberg, the ſeizing the French ambaſſador's clothes by the collectors of the revenue, and their violation of the law of nations. And when the emperor had refuſed to give the French king ſatisfaction, juſtifying what he had done by the municipal laws of the empire, and neither of them would yield the leaſt point to the other, ſo that the conferences had been long intermitted, the king of England, ſeeming to undertake the prince of Furſtemberg's cauſe, treated with the French king by the mediation of Furſtemberg's brother, for the purpoſe of renewing the negotiations for peace at Nimeghen. At this very time the prince of Orange, in open violation of the peace, unexpectedly attacked the French camp near Mons. Being aſked the reaſon of ſuch an unheard-of action, he only returned this artful anſwer, "That the concluſion of the peace had not yet been notified to him by the lords of the ſtates-general, whom alone he was bound to obey, and to whom alone he was anſwerable for his conduct." How ſlight ſoever this excuſe might be, the French king thought fit to accept it: and the articles of peace were ratified.

Peace at Nimeghen.

Battle of Mons.

Peace

Peace being thus concluded, the French king became arbiter of all the affairs of Europe, and aſſumed the title of Lewis the Great. He changed his miſtreſſes, and ſlighting Madame De Monteſpan, placed his affections on Madame De Fontaigne. The neglected Monteſpan, in a fury, threatened to tear the king's children in pieces, but was prevented by Madame De Maintenon their governeſs. At the ſame time that this monarch indulged his unbridled luſts, he impoſed very hard terms of peace upon the king of Denmark and the elector of Brandenburg; and acted as if he had been the ſole interpreter of all treaties between ſtates and princes. He derived greater advantages from the peace of Nimeghen than from the war that preceded it. The French king now perſecuting his ſubjects at home, and ſtirring up wars abroad, ſeemed to have laid aſide all regard to juſtice. For, on pretence of his brother's dowry, he wreſted certain territories from the elector palatine, who, in order to prevail with the French king to put a ſtop to his ravages, granted freedom of religion to papiſts as well as others. From this indulgence, the zeal of the papiſts, and the indolence and good-nature of the elector palatine, the proteſtant religion daily loſt ground in Germany, and was no longer ſupported according to the treaty of Munſter: neither did the king of Sweden make good to the proteſtants what his anceſtors had engaged to perform in that treaty, nor requite the obligations he owed to Lewis on account of his ſervices reſpecting Livonia.

Outcry of popery.

In Britain, heavy complaints were made about the propagation of popery. But the king eluded the murmurs of his people with jeſts and diverſions, and ſet the proteſtants at variance among themſelves. All this while, the whole kingdom of Scotland, through the management of a few men who were called the king's council, was full of murders, robberies, and lamentations, on account of different opinions in religion; the chief of the council were the primate of the kingdom, and the duke of Lauderdale. And now the highlanders, to the number of 10,000, aſſembling into one body, preyed upon the open country; and when they had robbed the fields, and plundered the houſes, they carried away the very bolts of the doors; nor did they ſpare any thing that might aggravate the calamities they inflicted.

Rebellion in Scotland.

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The want of rain cauſed a great ſickneſs, which carried off a multitude of people: and at laſt the great variety of religious ſects inflamed the minds of men to a degree of madneſs. Under the conduct of one Welch, their preachers, who made their own advantage of all theſe things, ſtirred up the country people to revolt, and corrupted the principles of their aſſemblies. Among the ſwarms of the other religious ſects, certain popiſh preachers ſtarted up; among whom was one James Canaries, and another, Thomas Nicolſon, who intruded himſelf into the college of Glaſgow.

CAPTAIN GRAHAM, who had acquired great reputation by his courage in the Dutch wars, returned to Scotland, in order to diſtinguiſh his extraordinary zeal for the king's ſervice; and, joining himſelf to the duke of York's party, committed ſeveral acts of cruelty. But at length he was repulſed, and many of his horſemen were ſlain by a party of the country people at Loudon Hill. Then followed the ſlaughter of the peaſants at Bothwell Bridge, which was ſtopped by the duke of Monmouth, who, having uſed much clemency in his victory, was, on his return to England, cenſured by the duke of York's friends, and the reſt of his enemies, in their invidious diſcourſes, as a favourer of the rebels. The enmity excited between theſe two men by the earl of Mulgrave, became every day more and more embittered.

AFTER the rebellion in Scotland was ſuppreſſed, new judgments, daily executions, fines, and other puniſhments enſued. Many outrages were alſo committed by an armed band of Cameronians. Cameron himſelf, and his brother, ſetting back to back, and fighting bravely, as if they had been aſſured of immortality, and everlaſting glory, were ſlain by the royaliſts. Dr. James Sharp, lord primate of Scotland, was barbarouſly murdered by a party of wicked and ſacrilegious aſſaſſins, on a moor not very far from St. Andrews. They mangled him with many wounds, not ſo much on account of religion, as becauſe he was ſaid to have deprived Balfour, who was one of them, of his eſtate. It is not to be denied, that ſome were poſſeſſed with ſuch a furious zeal as to juſtify that action as lawful; even as Moretus,

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at Rome, publicly defended, and with all the eloquence he poſſeſſed, wrote a juſtification of the horrid maſſacre of Paris, agreeably to the principles of his ſociety propagated among us, ſince the time of Mariana the Jeſuit, but equally abominable to all good men, as well papiſts as proteſtants. The example of Maffeus and Sigonius is very commendable, who, as Lazarinus tells us, left that ſect and ſociety, to avoid the converſation and reproach of homicides.

In England, the people were filled with jealouſies of popery; and great contentions aroſe about the rights of the ſubject, and removing evil counſellors from the king. Theſe originated from the earl of Shafteſbury, who about this time was removed from the office of lord chancellor. In the year before the concluſion of the peace at Nimeghen, the prince of Orange aſked of the king of England the lady Mary, daughter of the duke of York, in marriage. This was vehemently oppoſed by her father and the popiſh party. But, by the advice of the earl of Danby, the king gave his conſent to the prince of Orange; and the contract was approved of, againſt the inclination of the duke of York, who, without conſulting the king, had treated with the duke of Modena for a marriage with his daughter. This propoſal alſo was accepted, and the duke of York went to Flanders to meet her. The king ſeemed to be angry with his brother: but as ſoon as he ſaw the bride he was reconciled to him; and this was the firſt time that he approved of that marriage, and his brother's affection for her.

The French king, in order to ſtrengthen the intereſt of the elector of Bavaria in Germany, demanded his ſiſter in marriage for the dauphin. This requeſt was complied with. Whereupon the emperor Leopold reſolved to marry his daughter Antonia, whom he had by Margaret, a daughter of Spain, to the elector of Bavaria himſelf, to keep him firm to his intereſt. But theſe marriages afforded freſh cauſe of quarrel. For the princes of the preſent times, by joining in mutual intermarriages, which were formerly looked upon as bonds of friendſhip, ſeek occaſion the more advantageouſly to make war againſt one another. But we muſt not here forget the duke of Orleans's

daughter,

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daughter, by the princeſs Henrietta, who being eſpouſed to the king of Spain, choſe rather to be ſhut up in a nunnery in France, than to be ſent to Madrid to her huſband. The lord chancellor Finch ſaid, "Our enemies themſelves could not have wiſhed any thing worſe for "us than the peace made at Nimeghen." The ſame thing indeed was confeſſed by the king himſelf, before that peace was made.

When the hatred of popery, and the humour of the times, had alienated the hearts of the people of England from the king to the prince of Orange, the king commanded the prince forthwith to depart the kingdom. William, who did not always declare his thoughts, obeyed the king's command, without diſcovering his own reſolutions. From the very time that the earl of Shafteſbury was turned out of his office and the king's council, he ſet himſelf to ſtudy alterations. The earl of Danby, on an accuſation laid againſt him in parliament, by Mr. Ralph Montague, the king's ambaſſador in France, was committed to the Tower: and innovations were deſigned, by a proceſſion made in popiſh habits; it having been an old cuſtom for the mob every year to burn the pope in effigy. Shafteſbury filled the minds of the people with fears of the increaſe of popery; and moved in parliament for a law to exclude papiſts from all hopes of the ſucceſſion. While Shafteſbury was engaged in this deſign, that the aſſiſtance of a prieſt might not be wanting to promote the ſame cauſe, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, now fallen into diſgrace at court, undertook that part. He acted it with great applauſe, and corrupted the minds and the principles of the people. After he had tired out Sir Harbottle Grimſton with his imprudence and tattling, and ſunk ſo low as to accuſe the duke of Lauderdale, he rendered himſelf hateful to many good men, and deſpicable even to his own friends: for there was no man who did not look upon theſe things as proofs of the greateſt profligacy.

The king, now wanting advice, conſulted Sir William Temple concerning the humour of the times. This miniſter, although inſtructed by long experience in the ways of men, and had reſided long in the character of an ambaſſador at foreign courts, yet gave his majeſty unfortunate advice with regard to the adminiſtration of affairs at

home. By Temple's advice, Charles called the earls of Sunderland, Eſſex, Shafteſbury, and Halifax, into his privy council, of which he afterward repented. A quarrel ariſing between the duke of York and the duke of Monmouth, the former went abroad, as it were for his pleaſure, or to ſeek a wife. The French king took his part: but that of Monmouth was favoured by the king of England and his parliament, whoſe paſſionate zeal againſt the duke of York muſt have utterly excluded him from all hopes of the kingdom, if the king had not changed his mind, and put a ſtop to the bill of excluſion. This bill was much favoured by the earl of Sunderland, though he was then ſecretary of ſtate. Sunderland is alſo ſaid to have perſuaded the Dutch to uſe all their intereſt with the king to give way to the humour of the parliament.

THE duke of Monmouth, who had been high in the king's favour, on account of his ſuppreſſing the rebellion in Scotland in 1678, began now to decline therein, on the ſuſpicion of his being under the influence of the earl of Shafteſbury and the parliament. The duke of York receiving advice that the king was ſeized with a dangerous ſickneſs, returned home to England; and, in a few days, by the aſſiſtance of Halifax and Eſſex, who laid all the blame of the new council on Sir William Temple, wholly removed Monmouth out of his majeſty's favour. The bill of excluſion was warmly debated in parliament, but was at laſt, in ſpite of all Shafteſbury's intereſt, thrown out of the houſe of peers. The earls of Sunderland and Eſſex were diſmiſſed from court, and ſucceeded by Mr. Lawrence Hyde, and Mr. Sidney Godolphin. The parliament was alſo diſſolved, and a new one called. This parliament not being yet diſpoſed, any more than the laſt, to grant ſupplies, nor yet rendered conformable to the king's will, proſecuted the popiſh party, which was then full of violence and inſolence on account of Oates's plot; in which the innocent, through the matchleſs impudence of that informer, were involved with the guilty. The papiſts were accuſed of the death of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey. The lord viſcount Stafford, Mr. Coleman, and others, were executed. The king, in hopes to appeaſe the minds of his people, and to divert them from diſinheriting his brother, propoſed this expedient,

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expedient, that, in caſe the natural right of ſucceſſion ſhould devolve on a papiſt, the prince of Orange ſhould be appointed regent of the kingdom by act of parliament, But he thought it a wicked thing to violate the right of ſucceſſion in the blood royal. This expedient is ſuppoſed to have been ſuggeſted to his majeſty by the earl of Halifax, who was a ſubtle man, of great experience, and who ſuited himſelf to the king's temper and the humour of the times; but who could neither live without the king, nor yet with the royaliſts on account of their different principles in religion. But this expedient did not ſatisfy the houſe of commons of England. Many ſaid that it would be all to no purpoſe, if once the duke of York had the crown as his inheritance. Neither would they raiſe any ſupplies for the king, not even ſo much as for the defence of Tangiers: whereupon the king gave orders to level the works there with the ground.

In the mean time, a proceſs was commenced againſt the duke of York, in the ordinary courts of juſtice, upon the ſtatutes againſt popiſh recuſants. This was proſecuted by the earl of Shafteſbury, and the lord William Ruſſel, who had brought in the bill of excluſion: but the grand jury preſently let it drop. The houſe of commons addreſſed the king to remove the earls of Clarendon, Feverſham, and Halifax, and Mr. Hyde, from his council and ſervice; and forbad their fellow-ſubjects to advance money to the king on any account whatever. The papiſts, in defiance of the law, went about in arms, behaving with inſolence, and boaſting of foreign aſſiſtance. The ancient laws paſſed againſt them, through the king's connivance, were not put in execution. Hence they became ſo audacious, as even to make preparations for war. Whereupon the commons made loud clamours againſt the artifices of the court; ſaying, The king himſelf was not ſufficiently ſecured; and that his perſon was now in danger: and the popiſh lords were by a new law deprived of their ſeats in parliament. The duke of York returning to London, and being coldly received by the people, was ſent into Scotland in the character of the king's lord high commiſſioner. That the paſſions of the commons, ſo intent upon the baniſhment of his brother, might have time to cool, he diſſolved that parliament, and called another, by the advice of the earl of Halifax.

This

This nobleman, who poſſeſſed his favour, perſuaded him to make at leaſt a ſhew of quarreling with the French king. Charles, not knowing which way to turn himſelf, perſuaded his brother, by the duke of Lauderdale's advice, to uſe moderation in the government of Scotland, and made many fair promiſes alſo to the Engliſh.

At the time of the new parliament meeting in England, the members aſſembled at Oxford, according to the proclamation: but neither the genius of the place, nor the liberal arts, could moderate the minds of the members. And when they came together in arms, for the purpoſe of procuring the duke of York's baniſhment, the king, reſuming his care for the intereſt of his kingdom, came to them unexpectedly, diſſolved the parliament, and ſent the members into their ſeveral counties to keep holiday. He now reſolved to caſt himſelf wholly upon the affectionate ſervices of his loyal ſubjects, and depend upon the terms of the Oxford decree.

After the rebellion in Scotland, the king's miniſters had enriched themſelves with the plunderings and fines of the people, as if they had been open enemies, ſo as to give almoſt a juſt cauſe to render both their own adminiſtration, and the king himſelf, odious. Captain Graham, in order to approve his fidelity to the king, left no ſort of cruelty unexerciſed. When the duke of York arrived in Scotland, he reſtrained the ſeverity of the miniſters. He called a parliament, where every thing paſſed according to his deſire: his lenity and moderation in not giving his aſſent to the judgment of the miniſters, were generally applauded. At length he returned to England, to ſuccour the papiſts who laboured under the ſuſpicion of a conſpiracy; and intreated the king's clemency in behalf of thoſe who were condemned. But the king adhered to his reſolution, and refuſed to pardon thoſe under ſentence of death, ſaying, "He would not be forced to travel "abroad again." The duke of Lauderdale, who had long been devoted to the king's will, but was now worn out with age, declining in the king's favour, died unlamented, even by his own party: as did alſo the duke of Rothes, who had long been united with him in the ſame views, but was more happy than Lauderdale, in regard to his

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lady's piety, as well as her reputation for chaſtity. Dr. Burnet being ſent for to John Wilmot earl of Rocheſter on his death-bed, publiſhed a book upon that ſubject, wherein he betrayed the ſecrets of confeſſion, to the great diſhonour of God, by reaſon of the monſtrous principles of Spinoza therein diſcovered. The duke of York, ſailing for Scotland, on board one of the king's ſhips, ſtruck upon the ſands in Yarmouth Road; but the duke, with a few of his companions, removing to another veſſel, eſcaped ſafe out of the ſhipwreck: and when he found himſelf out of danger, he gave thoſe whom he left behind the conſolation of good words. In this dreadful hurry, the earl of Middleton, and the laird of Touche, were ſaved by their own preſence of mind: but the earl of Roxburgh, and the laird of Hoptoun, with the far greater part of the paſſengers and ſailors, periſhed.

The Scots teſt.

When the duke of York arrived in Scotland he called a parliament; and after the ordinary affairs of the ſtate were ſettled, a motion was made for a new oath to be impoſed upon the people, called the Teſt. The parliament was ſomewhat backward to gratify the lord commiſſioner in this matter; but at length it paſſed according to his own deſire. It was referred by the parliament to the lord Stairs, a man of great ſubtilty of genius, and an excellent lawyer. Stairs, being well verſed in the ancient laws, either out of averſion to the papiſts, or in regard to the ſolemn league and covenant, or a foreſight of what the duke of York intended by it, drew up ſuch an oath, as was neither conſiſtent with itſelf, nor with his own principles, nor ſuch as could be taken without the guilt of perjury. Whatever it was, it had the approbation of parliament, for every thing paſſed according to the duke of York's will. Hence aroſe new pretexts for the miniſtry to plunder the country, particularly to the earl of Aberdeen, who was now made lord chancellor, in the place of the duke of Rothes. Though this affair required deliberation, yet many took the oath; but there were more of both religions who could not be prevailed with to comply; among whom was Sir John Cuningham, as eminent as any of his countrymen for integrity of life, for eloquence, knowledge, and polite manners; and who, both in buſineſs and converſation, had a due mixture of gravity and complaiſance. The earl of Argyle refuſed

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to take it without making an exception; for which he was profecuted by Sir George Mackenzie, the king's advocate, with moſt bitter language: for men of this claſs derive both pleaſure and profit from the blood of the innocent. He was profecuted upon the old obſolete laws againſt leaſing making, indicted for high treaſon, and committed to Edinburgh caſtle; where, having no hopes of pardon, he eſcaped out of priſon in a diſguiſe, and fled to Holland. His enemies among the nobles ſeized his lands, either under the name of a forfeiture, or on pretence of debts. This oath, and every thing elſe in thoſe times, had a view to money. When the duke of York perceived what offence he had given to the papiſts by paſſing the teſt, he was enraged: he did not however attempt to make amends for it by an act of repeal, but ſtudied revenge. The lord Stairs, who had drawn up the oath, went over to Holland, to avoid the duke's reſentment: and his ſon, Sir John Dalrymple, who was an eloquent lawyer, if he did not make good his father's cauſe againſt Mr. Graham, ſtrenuouſly defended, at leaſt, his lands and poſſeſſions; and ſhewed that he was in no reſpect inferior to his opponents, being equally ready in council and action.

About this time *, a comet of vaſt magnitude, paſſing through nine ſigns of the zodiac, was ſeen for the ſpace of four months. A new ſtar likewiſe, as if reſerved for this extraordinary period, appeared to the Engliſh mathematicians. Newton, who had obſerved the excentrical courſe of this ſtar, as well as the elliptical orbit of the comet, demonſtrated, on the mathematical principles of natural philoſophy, that theſe luminaries were neither prodigies, nor meteors, ſo far as human reaſon could determine, but that they formed a part of the ſolar ſyſtem, and uniformly obſerving a certain courſe in the heavens, would return at their fixed periods.

The French king, not regarding the articles of the peace, ſought for new occaſions of quarrel with Charles, duke of Loraine, and the elector palatine; the former of whom he drove out of his country,

* 1681.

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becauſe he would not ſubmit to his juriſdiction. The duke thereupon had recourſe to the emperor, who immediately gave him the command of his forces, and took him into his protection. The French king fortified many places, on the confines of Flanders and Swiſſerland, with new works: he bought the town of Caſal, upon the Po in Italy, of the duke of Mantua; ſtirred up the Turks to arms againſt the emperor; and privately furniſhed count Tekeli, and the remains of count Serini's conſpiracy, with money. Slighting all the letters and monitory decrees of the diet of Ratiſbon, he took upon him the direction of every thing on pretence of the ancient title of the kings of Auſtraſia. He pronounced judgments, and iſſued decrees to his ſubjects at home, as an arbitrary lawgiver, and uſurped the rights of others abroad. He took the imperial city of Straſburg by ſurpriſe, ſending Monſieur Louvoy thither, on pretence of hunting. On the death of Fontaigne, he took Madame de Maintenon as it were for a wife. When this monarch ſeemed once more to menace Germany, and, from his taking Straſburg, to obſerve no terms of peace, the king of Sweden, enraged at his faithleſs ambition, abandoned his intereſts, and formed an alliance with Germany and Holland. This the French king took very ill of the Swede, whom he had of late ſo effectually ſupported againſt the elector of Brandenburg, and for whom he had procured ſo many territories in Pomerania. To this the king of Sweden anſwered, That he ought to have regard to the common ſtate of affairs, and the ſafety of Europe, and not to be ſubſervient to the French king's ambition, contrary to the terms of the treaty of Nimeghen. But the French king, being well experienced in buſineſs, and the tempers of kings, forbore controverſies, and took care to mollify his mind with money. This year the dauphin had a ſon born, who was ſtyled duke of Burgundy. The king alſo practiſed great ſeverities upon the people of Treves: he cannonaded the city of Luxemburg with red-hot balls, and bombarded the town of Tripoli, which was refractory to the Grand Signior.

The next year, while Vienna was beſieged by the Turkiſh army, the French king endeavoured to annex the German empire to the kingdom of France. The conditions he offered were, That he would ſet

Germany free, raiſe the ſiege of Vienna, and reunite to the empire the other places which he had taken from the Germans upon the Rhine: and that ſo ſoon as ever they ſhould declare the dauphin king of the Romans, he would alſo deliver up Loraine, Metz, Alſace, Straſburg, and all the ancient rights to the empire of Germany. By this declaration the French king clearly ſhewed that he aimed at nothing leſs than the empire of the Weſt. And finally, when the Turks were marching through Hungary, to lay ſiege to Vienna, he ordered 60,000 men to march to the confines of Germany, and lay ſiege to Luxemburg. The emperor, not knowing which way to turn himſelf between ſuch enemies, on ſight of the front of the Turkiſh army, retreated to Lintz, without hazarding a battle, and left the garriſon of Vienna under the command of count Staremburg; who defended himſelf gallantly againſt the Turks, now aſſaulting the very walls of the city. The Scots college being ſet on fire, there was found a treaſure of great antiquity, hidden under ground. In the mean time, the duke of Loraine, at the head of the imperialiſts, haraſſed the beſiegers; and John Sobieſki, king of Poland, coming up to join him in the moſt critical ſeaſon, defeated the Turks in a memorable battle, with great ſlaughter, and removed the ſeat of war into Hungary. He took Vicegrad, and other ſtrong towns. The reſt ſubmitted to his authority. After divers other ſucceſsful engagements, he carried the war into the Turkiſh dominions; and on the taking Newhauſel in Hungary, he was acknowledged the deliverer of the empire and the houſe of Auſtria.

Raiſed by Sobieſki, king of Poland.

Amidst all theſe ſucceſſes in war, both in Germany and France, the proteſtant intereſt miſerably declined. For the conquerors, wherever they came, demoliſhed their churches, and oppreſſed them with heavy taxes. The French king alſo, by degrees, revoked the edict of Nantes, and even cannonaded the city of Genoa, with his great guns and red-hot balls, for three days together. In order to gratify his vanity, he commanded their doge, with four of their ſenators, to attend him as ſuppliants; without which he declared his anger was not to be appeaſed.

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At this time, the queen of France, and Colbert, the Mecænas of that kingdom, died. Colbert was of Scotch extraction: he was not inferior to the greateſt characters of the age in which he lived, but far ſuperior to all cotemporary miniſters of ſtate in polite literature, and the arts of peace. He was an ornament to the court, and an honour to the king of France.

In the mean time king Charles, in order to defeat the conſpiracy in Britain, took occaſion, from a diſcovery of certain conſpirators, to caſt into priſon many men of great eſteem for their quality and virtue. An indictment of high treaſon was preferred againſt the earl of Shafteſbury, but thrown out by favour of the grand jury. When the earl had thus got his liberty, obſerving how the rights of the people were oppreſſed, their officers changed, and the commonwealth attacked by more forces than there were to defend it, he fled into Holland. The duke of Monmouth, and Mr. John Lock, who had long lived in friendſhip with Shafteſbury, followed him. Lord William Ruſſel, and Algernon Sydney, convicted of treaſon, were beheaded; both much lamented. The earl of Eſſex, impriſoned in the Tower, was found with his throat cut; but whether by himſelf or others, I cannot ſay. Mr. Baillie, a juſt man and reſolute, was hanged in Scotland. The earl of Loudon, and Campbell of Leſſnock, both of them of the family of Argyle, were heavily fined. Some were hanged, others faſtened to ſtakes ſet up in the ſea, and puniſhed with all ſorts of death and torments. They bore the cruelty of thoſe times with the conſtancy of martyrs. Women alſo endured the ſame with a joy ſurpaſſing their pains. The ſoldiers were, by proclamation, permitted to live at diſcretion upon the country people, who would not pray for the king.

Fled to Holland.

In this ruinous condition of all things in Scotland, huſbands ſuffered puniſhment for their wives. A certain perſon was forced to go over to Ireland, leſt he ſhould be obliged to become a witneſs againſt the earl of Dundonald. The univerſity of Oxford having eſtabliſhed the king's royal prerogative by a famous decree, as if they had been the parliament's delegates, debauched the minds of the youth with their

Oxford decree.

their ſlaviſh doctrines, and pronounced a ſevere judgment againſt Mr. George Buchanan, a Scotchman, for his book in vindication of the rights of the kingdom. Amidſt all theſe tranſactions, the king, tired out with his brother's importunities and religious zeal, had reſolved, as it is ſaid, by the advice of the marquis of Halifax, if he had not been prevented by death, to have ſent him away to Scotland. His majeſty being afflicted with great pains, and ſeized with convulſions in his head, died on the 6th of February 1685. When he was dying, Mr. Huddleſton, a prieſt, being called in with the hoſt, he gave certain proofs of his having embraced the popiſh religion; which was afterwards confirmed by the teſtimony of his brother, and many others, as well as by his own letters. Although his ſubjects entertained their own private ſentiments of him, yet he always poſſeſſed their allegiance and dutiful affection. Whatever ſenſe of his loſs he left behind him, it was much increaſed by his brother's imprudent government. Some think there was poiſon given him in his potions or powders: this conjecture derived a certain degree of probability from the authority of the king's phyſicians, particularly that of Dr. Brady. But ſince there are different opinions about this matter, as well as about the report that the duke of Monmouth was ſoon to have been brought back to court, I ſhall not preſume to determine it. This, however, is certain, that when the king died, the poiſon of his religion died with him.

On the revival of learning and the liberal arts in Italy, after the taking of Conſtantinople, which were improved by the induſtry of learned men, and the protection of princes of both ſexes, there aroſe a great paſſion for the reformation of religion, which accordingly ſpread itſelf throughout all Europe, being in ſome places eſtabliſhed by laws, and in others tolerated. This at firſt gave the Romaniſts a great deal of trouble. But diſſentions among the proteſtants gave a great check to the reformation, as well as to the improvement of the liberal arts. Afterwards, by the tranſactions both of peace and war, as well in Hungary as in Germany, the proteſtant intereſt was greatly oppreſſed, and even betrayed, through the defection of princes in other places. It was expoſed to the utmoſt danger in Britain, by the marriage of Charles. The

State of religion.

BOOK I.

The parliament remonſtrated, without ſucceſs; which brought on an obſtinate war in defence of civil and religious liberty. But, through the fierceneſs of war, all liberal arts were loſt, and religion itſelf was defiled with the madneſs of prophecyings and enthuſiaſm. After the reſtoration of king Charles II. the proteſtant intereſt here was utterly deſtroyed, and all religion made to conſiſt in pompous ceremonies, opinions, and an hierarchy. In France it was ſuppreſſed by force of arms, and its profeſſors cruelly perſecuted. In Germany it was eſteemed only a matter of intereſt. And what the ſtate of affairs was afterwards in Britain, will be ſeen in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK II.

Acceſſion of the Duke of York.——Shafteſbury's Death.——Monmouth's Rebellion;——and Argyle's.——Bigotry and Cruelty of the King and his Prieſts.——Popiſh Controverſy.——Court of High Commiſſion.——Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.——Operations and Deſigns of the French King.——Tranſactions in Scotland.——Election of a King of the Romans.——Confederacy formed againſt France by the Prince of Orange.——A Nuncio ſent to the Court of London.——Attempts of the King to eſtabliſh the Romiſh Religion.——Oppoſed by the Clergy and Univerſities.——Birth of a Prince.——General Diſcontent at the arbitrary Proceedings of the King.——Expedition of the Prince of Orange into England.——Diſembarkation of his Troops in Torbay.——Diſtractions in the King's Councils.——Defection of the royal Army.——Declaration of the Prince of Orange.——Aſſociation in his Favour.——And general Inſurrection.——Retreat of the King to London.——The Princeſs Ann puts herſelf under the Protection of the Earl of Devonſhire.——The King ſends a Meſſage to the Prince of Orange.——Flight of the King.——The King ſeized and brought back to London.——Eſcapes to France.——Adminiſtration of public Affairs ſeized by the Prince of Orange.——Artifice of Sunderland.——Various Fortunes of the King's Adherents.——King's Reception in France.——Meeting of Parliament.——Debates concerning the Vacancy and Succeſſion to the Throne.

——*Act*

——Act of Succeſſion in favour of the Prince of Orange.——Proclamation of King William and Queen Mary.——Debates in the Scottiſh Parliament, and Tender of the Crown to the Prince of Orange.————Inſurrection headed by the Viſcount Dundee.——The People of Scotland indulged with the Choice of their ſpiritual Paſtors.——New Oaths.——Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.——State of Learning.

BOOK II.

Acceſſion of the duke of York.

ON the death of Charles, his brother, James duke of York, a man naturally upright, honeſt, of the higheſt reputation for fortitude, temperance, and juſtice, and who had acquired renown by many great atchievements and victories in his youth, though a papiſt, aſcended the throne, without any delay or oppoſition. He was congratulated on his acceſſion by his ſubjects, from all parts of his dominions. Ambaſſadors were alſo diſpatched by him to the ſeveral princes abroad: the earl of Middleton to the emperor, and the lord Churchill to France.

THE king promiſed to his people, that he would never invade any man's property; that he would defend the church of England; and in all other reſpects diſcharge the duties of his ſtation.

WHEN the officers of the houſehold were ſettled according to cuſtom, the earl of Rocheſter was appointed lord high treaſurer; the earl of Sunderland ſecretary of ſtate; the earl of Feverſham, a Frenchman, general of the army; the earl of Melford and Murray were made ſecretaries of ſtate for the kingdom of Scotland: I omit the reſt; and ſhall briefly relate the meaſures of his majeſty's government.

AT firſt the king made fair ſpeeches to the biſhops, but almoſt every day frequented the Romiſh worſhip, to which he was zealouſly attached. Together with the royal qualities already mentioned, he had imbibed the doctrine of the Jeſuits, far more rigid than either truth or nature can bear. He looked upon thoſe men as the teachers of all virtue, and the fitteſt directors of councils. The principles

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of this famous order are ſuch as theſe: "That faith is not to be kept "with heretics; that it is an honour to kings to be ſlaves to the "pope; on no account to act by an impulſe of ſpecial favour; never "freely to pardon any one's offence; nor to have any opinion of "their own: to be won to compaſſion by entreaty, they reckon a "crime; to be compaſſionate, a heinous offence; and that, if one be "moved to do any thing through pity, he ought to make atonement "for it before a prieſt by confeſſion and penance: laſtly, that nothing "is a greater ſin than diſobedience to the prieſt, or a defect of due "obedience to his injunctions; while they themſelves refuſe obe-"dience to any other than the pope, and will not be bound by human "laws."

Now how much regard ſoever may be due to religious matters, yet even religious matters ought to be kept within bounds of moderation. There is alſo ſome reſpect due to human ſentiments, ſome honour to dignities, and ſome reverence to the laws.

At the ſame time the king had for an object of imitation in his own family, the example of his father and grandfather, and their precepts for his inſtruction. But what maxims of government were the moſt agreeable to him, will be ſeen hereafter.

Shafteſbury's death.

The earl of Shafteſbury, who was a fugitive from his own country, died at Amſterdam, which he had lately devoted to deſtruction, like another Carthage: and he had been deſtitute of any home to reſt in, if that city had not afforded him a refuge while he lived, and a grave when he died. In the mean time the duke of Monmouth, elated with popular applauſe, and the hopes of a crown, was raiſing hoſtile arms againſt king James in Holland: the prince of Orange did not oppoſe him, though he both offered his ſervice to the king, and diſſuaded Monmouth from his enterpriſe. The king, though apprehenſive of danger, only recalled his own forces out of Holland: he refuſed the aſſiſtance of the prince of Orange.

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INTELLIGENCE being received of the preparations which were making in Holland, parliaments were called both in England and Scotland. Great revenues were ſettled upon the king for life in both kingdoms; and large profeſſions made, in each parliament, of their duty and zeal for his ſervice, againſt Monmouth and the diſſenters. The church of England now declared her ſteady reſolution, and inviolable loyalty; and entertained vaſt hopes, that this reign would fully gratify all her wiſhes.

THE French king became every day more and more ſevere in his perſecutions of the profeſſors of the reformed religion. Dr. Burnet, who on his mother's ſide was related to the puritans, but on his father's to the royaliſts, took part ſometimes with the one party, and ſometimes with the other. Therefore, being by nature double-minded, he thought it not out of character for him to ſhew himſelf a man of both ſides through the whole courſe of his life; and by his officious intermeddling in the ſecrets of ſtate, now drew upon himſelf the king's hatred and ſuſpicion. After he had, in England, written a book in behalf of the rights of the crown of France, and in the preface ſet forth the lofty praiſes of the French king, he went into France, where he was graciouſly received by that monarch. Thence he proceeded to Rome and Naples. And now, not well knowing which way to turn himſelf, he withdrew to Geneva; where, underſtanding how the times were like to turn in England, he wrote an account of his travels in Italy, to the no ſmall danger of Joſeph Valletta and Anthony Magliabecci. I ſhall ſay nothing of the catacombs, or bridge of Caligula, and other monuments of antiquity, which he did not well underſtand. In England, Titus Oates ſuffered cruel whipping. The king publiſhed his brother's papers, in order to prove that he alſo was a papiſt: for James was far from any diſſimulation in matters of religion.

Monmouth's rebellion;

IN the beginning of the ſummer 1685, the duke of Monmouth, having embarked in Holland, arrived in a few days on the coaſt of England; and having landed the few ſoldiers who followed his for-

tune, on the 11th day of June, at Lime, applied himſelf to his new adventure; which was no ſooner divulged, than the countrymen, attracted by the novelty of the thing, flocked to him from all parts, with their ſcythes, and ſuch other ruſty arms as they had left among them. Monmouth encamped himſelf, and exerciſed the ruſtics in arms. Fletcher, one of Monmouth's ſoldiers, on ſome great provocation ſlew a townſman; for which he was immediately forced to fly into Portugal. Monmouth, who was more remarkable for the comelineſs of his perſon, than for the ſtrength of his judgment, liſtening to very unhappy counſel, gave too haſty orders for himſelf to be proclaimed king: and though he poſſeſſed great reputation for military conduct himſelf, he appointed the lord Grey his general of the horſe. On this news, the king's forces immediately advanced, and pitched their camp near the enemy. Monmouth was ſo far from avoiding a battle, that he briſkly attacked the royaliſts before break of day, and very narrowly miſſed ſurpriſing the earl of Feverſham, by the royaliſts having ſhifted their quarters in the night. The king's forces alſo made an obſtinate reſiſtance. At length the ruſtics, being deſerted by the horſe under the command of the lord Grey, gave ground, and were put to flight. And Monmouth himſelf being ſoon after taken and brought before the king, humbly begged his life, and pardon of his crime, as an everlaſting example and monument of his majeſty's royal clemency. All his ſupplications were vain. So that having been attainted by act of parliament, without any other judgement, he loſt his head. His neck and ſhoulders were cruelly mangled: nor durſt any one preſume to mourn, or to ſhew the leaſt token of reſpect to his memory. On the contrary, his very picture was diſhonoured, and burnt at Cambridge, by the decree of the univerſity. The lord Grey was ſpared. The earl of Stamford, who had been concerned in the Rye-houſe conſpiracy, had the benefit of the royal pardon. The lord Delamere was acquitted by the judgement of his peers. The earl of Danby, who had been long confined in the Tower, was diſcharged; to the great diſguſt of Mr. Montague, between whom and the earl there was a mortal enmity.

Before theſe tranſactions happened in England, the earl of Argyle had fled to Holland. This nobleman being as ſolicitous to avoid his

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and Argyle's.

his father's death, as he had always been to differ from him in the tenour of his life, had joined himſelf to the royal party; but now, as it were, by unavoidable deſtiny, becoming an aſſociate with Monmouth, he came over with an armed force from Holland into Scotland in the month of May. There making a deſcent, he ſummoned together his clan and countrymen: and to prevent his being ſurrounded both by land and ſea, and to avoid the king's ſhips in the Frith of Clyde, he left his own caſtles and country, and marching through the moors of Lenox, and the bye-paths between Dunbarton and Stirling, met the king's forces. At the town of Killerne he halted one night. But leſt he ſhould there be ſurpriſed, or ſtarved for want of all neceſſaries, he made a long march before day, in which he was deſerted by his own men: and, having paſſed the Clyde, he was himſelf taken, without any reſiſtance, as he attempted to paſs the river Carte near Paiſley. Being conveyed to Edinburgh, he was put to death without any new trial, in execution of his former ſentence on account of the teſt. Both the heads of Monmouth and Argyle, ſo cut off, are repreſented on a medal of king James, with this motto:

Aras et ſceptra tuemur.

And on the two poles upon which the two heads are ſet, are alſo theſe words inſcribed:

Munmut.——Argal. 1685.

Each of their declarations was indeed an open inſult upon the king's right of authority; but that of Argyle had alſo aſſerted the ſuperior obligation of the ſolemn league and covenant, above all the laws made ſince the reſtoration of king Charles II. For this he was unworthily reproached by Sir George Mackenzie, as if rebellion had been hereditary in his family. But it is unjuſt to ſuppoſe that men derive their morals only by deſcent from their anceſtors; for theſe are alſo produced by the cuſtomary manner of our living, climate, particular accidents, and thoſe things with which we are fed and nouriſhed. However, it is certain that Argyle bore all that came from the ſcurrilous lips of Mackenzie with entire patience.

COLONEL

COLONEL AYLOFFE, an Engliſhman, being taken in Scotland, was immediately carried to Glaſgow. Having made an attempt upon his own life in priſon, he was, by the king's command, removed thence to London. When he was examined about many particulars, he refuſed to give any plain anſwer. And when the king himſelf, putting him in mind of his danger, adviſed him to conſider that it was in his power either to put him to death or pardon him, he boldly replied, he knew all that well enough, but withal that it was never in his nature to pardon: he was convicted of high treaſon, and ſuffered death with undaunted reſolution.

SIR JOHN COCHRAN, another of the rebels, in his flight met with the king's ſoldiers under the command of his kinſman, the lord Roſs, whom Cochran and his followers repulſed. But being deſtitute of all neceſſaries, and deſerted by his party, he concealed himſelf at his uncle's houſe, where he was betrayed by his aunt. From thence he was carried to Edinburgh, where he was at length ſet at liberty, by means of his father's money and affectionate ſolicitations, joined with the intereſt of the earl of Melfort. Rumbold, who had formerly been in the Rye-houſe conſpiracy in England, being now alſo convicted of rebellion in Scotland, ſuffered death there without the leaſt change of countenance. The laird of Polwart, Wiſhart, and others, made their eſcape by night through deſert places, with which they were before acquainted, and fled into Holland. Monmouth's widow was committed to the Tower. The great prudence of this lady preſerved herſelf and her children. The lord Lorne, making profeſſion of the popiſh religion, received ſome ſmall tokens of the king's favour, to whoſe humour he conformed himſelf for a long time; but being neither reſtored to his ancient honours, nor his eſtate, and deeply reſenting the fate and misfortunes of his family, he withdrew himſelf three years afterwards into Holland.

ALL this time the eloquence of the church of England was diſplayed in the loftieſt ſtrains in favour of the king's prerogatives, and great pains were taken in reproaching the diſſenters, which afforded great ſatisfaction to the Jeſuits. But Dr. Tillotſon, and ſome other grave men, who had learned experience in the late times, as if they had

BOOK II.

had been endowed with a foreſight of what was to happen, made ſtrenuous oppoſition to this complaiſance of their brethren.

THE French king being aſked by the elector of Brandenburgh the reaſon of all his ſeverities againſt the proteſtants, returned only this for anſwer; "That he governed his own people as he thought fit him-"ſelf, and not according to the directions of any other perſon."

AFTER this, the king of England, ſuppoſing himſelf at liberty to govern at diſcretion, had given up the lives, not of the rebels only, but alſo of ſome good ſubjects, into the bloody hands of cruel butchers.

Bigotry and cruelty of the king and his prieſts.

AT every hour ſo many were hanged up as the clock ſtruck its numbers. Even women, for no other crime than that they concealed ſome, or pitied the ſufferings of others, were themſelves burnt alive.

IN ſhort, I wiſh the king had conquered himſelf, as he did Monmouth, in this cruel condemnation of the innocent together with the guilty, by Kirke and Jefferies; for then the victory had been much more joyful to the ſubject, and probably more happy alſo for the king. For, through the cruelty of thoſe times, not only the bloody reign of queen Mary was recalled to mind, but even the wounds in the conſtitution, which had been made by the two Spencers of old, but had been almoſt healed and forgot through the merits of their family in the latter times, were now laid open, and made to bleed afreſh. But the king, who perhaps did not want mildneſs of diſpoſition, was not allowed by his prieſts to make a moderate uſe of his proſperity; for, in a ſort of wantonneſs of power, by which the minds of men are ſo apt to be corrupted, he would now and then order ſome to be whipped; others to be kept in priſon, in order to entertain the mob with a freſh whipping every half year; and to make many public examples of unheard-of cruelty, without any regard to the church of England, or any diſtinction of the ſeveral ſects of proteſtants. Sir Samuel Bernardiſton, and others, were heavily fined, beyond the proportion of their eſtates and circumſtances. Such was

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the piety of the times; ſuch the king's regard to his promiſe; and ſuch the mode of defending the church, that ſo naturally occurred to eccleſiaſtical bigots.

When the war was ended, prieſts of all orders, and from all parts, flocked into Britain in great numbers. They were not only well acquainted with the king's humour, but were alſo aware that his yearly revenue amounted to two millions. This was a ſum very formidable to the church of England; being every year to be diſtributed among ſoldiers and prieſts, who were neither her friends, nor ſatisfied with the blood ſhe had already ſhed. But becauſe all this was not thought ſufficient for the Jeſuits alone, all the other mendicants were rejected: witneſs Flaminius, the head of a religious houſe in Germany; who coming into England, could not obtain any thing of the king, not even ſo much as might ſuffice to adorn an altar, according to his requeſt, at Ratiſbon. New buildings were added to the royal palace; new ſhrines ſet up for the ſaints, and old ones repaired; and a vaſt number of conſecrated furniture and veſſels was provided, together with a choir of muſic brought over from Italy, under the direction of Signior Siphacio: and the king undertook to diſpatch great matters in a ſhort ſpace of time. At length there aroſe a ſharp controverſy concerning the uſe of reaſon and faith in matters of religion; which was carried on with ſuch ſubtlety, that there was little either of reaſon or faith left. For by the word Faith, thoſe prieſts mean nothing elſe but an implicit acquieſcence in their doctrines. In this diſpute the extraordinary learning and ſteadineſs of the church of England gained much applauſe. The Jeſuits, who had undertaken the management of this controverſy, endeavoured to bring the truth of our ſenſes, and every thing elſe, into queſtion, as matters of doubt, without the pope's authoritative determination, according to the method of father Harduin. The church of England writers followed the holy ſcriptures, the councils, the judgment of the fathers, and the ancient records of hiſtory; and would neither ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon with ſophiſtical fallacies, nor yield up the uſe of their ſenſes. The like defence was alſo made by the diſſenters, who adhered only

Popiſh conſpiracy.

BOOK II.

to the holy ſcriptures, and the firſt of their own reformed writers, upon whom they rely, inſtead of the ancient fathers.

In Scotland, a great conteſt happened between the duke of Queenſberry and the earl of Perth, which of them ſhould be the king's chief favourite. At length Perth, who was much inferior to his adverſary in natural parts, privately reſolved with his brother to embrace the Romiſh religion. When on this ſubject they conſulted the marquis of Halifax, he wittily anſwered: "Ye will certainly be "ſaved by faith, though not by your merits." Perth was made lord chancellor, and his brother ſecretary of ſtate; and Queenſberry was laid aſide; who now began to make an atonement for his former miſcarriages by new merits. He not only became an aſſerter of the religious obligation of the teſt, but thereby alſo engaged to his party all who had taken that oath.

Upon the earl of Perth's return into Scotland, after he had long violated another man's bed, he married the lady Anne Gordon, with whom he had a long time lived in great familiarity. He drew in Dr. Sibbald, a phyſician, to the popiſh party, and gained a great many others into his meaſures, by preſents and expectations. But Sibbald, ferioufly ſtudying the controverſy, forſook the papiſts, and thereby loſt Perth's favour. Drummond was made commander of the army. About this time Forbes, the chief of the family of Colbert, procured from Scotland the records of his pedigree, which the duke of Lauderdale had, through envy, denied to the great Colbert.

The dreadfulneſs of the popiſh religion being perceived now in England, the people, with one conſent, came to a reſolution not to depart, in thoſe dangerous times, from the laws by which they were ſecured in their liberties and properties. After the king had reſolved arbitrarily to introduce new judges and new judgments into his courts, he uſed all his intereſt corruptly, to take off the ancient penal laws. This was alſo earneſtly ſolicited by the king's miniſters both in England and Scotland, which was a ſubject of general diſcontent: and a bill for the repeal

repeal of thoſe penal laws being brought into the parliament of Scotland, was thrown out with indignation by the votes of the commons. The king, being highly enraged at theſe proceedings, reproached the peers; who excuſed themſelves, both on account of the teſt, and alſo that they had no dominion over their vaſſals and tenants in matters of religion. On this the king, in deep reſentment, by the advice of Perth and Melfort, publiſhed a proclamation, diſannulling the laws of Scotland, and commanding that the diſſenters ſhould be more gently treated.

To raiſe the royal authority in England above the law, he ſet up a court of high commiſſion for matters of religion, which was very formidable to the church. Among the commiſſioners of this court were the lord chancellor, Jefferies, the earls of Sunderland and Mulgrave, and the biſhop of Durham. By their authority Dr. Sharp was ſuſpended from his paſtoral function; Dr. Compton, biſhop of London, for having favoured him, was inhibited from all exerciſe of his epiſcopal juriſdiction; father Francis was forced upon the univerſity of Cambridge. By the king's mandate, papiſts were alſo admitted both into the courts and the council. So that the church of England, which had been well-pleaſed to ſee the greateſt hardſhips put upon the diſſenters, perceived that ſhe muſt now take freſh meaſures; and began to complain that the king was harder upon his friends than upon his enemies. One party of the churchmen, repenting now of their extravagant ſtrains of eloquence, began to wiſh for a ſort of an union with the diſſenters; while another, whoſe principles were nearer to the popiſh ſuperſtition, endeavoured to unite in worſhip with the Gallican church, though widely different from our own.

THE French monarch, having congratulated king James upon his happy acceſſion to the throne, not only began to declare his ſentiments more openly and freely than formerly, but even thought himſelf able, without any trouble or danger, to accompliſh whatever wars he ſhould think fit to engage in. Nay, depending upon the friendſhip of James, he had ſolemnly diſannulled the edict of Nantes in 1685, and triumphed over the Genevan doctrine, whoſe profeſſors were now

Revocation of the edict of Nantes.

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reduced to a ſmall number, as if it had been utterly extinguiſhed throughout his dominions. This conduct he juſtified, by the principle, "That faith is not to be kept with heretics." What hard and dreadful times followed the revocation of this edict, many writings, and ſcars, and even the gates of the cities in France, bear witneſs.

Operations and deſigns of the French king.

LEWIS, confiding now in his own ſtrength, by the advice of Monſ. Louvoy, ſtopped payment to ſome of the German princes, who had long been his penſioners. In the mean time, the prince of Orange paſſed much of his time in Germany; and, under colour of hunting, made it his buſineſs to engage thoſe princes in his intereſt: he alſo enliſted ſuch of the French refugees in Holland as were fit to bear arms, and ſhewed much kindneſs to the reſt, even to thoſe who were diſabled by old age. But the French king, wholly abſorbed in thoughts of univerſal empire, had raiſed numerous forces; and, having provided all the frontiers of France with ſtrong garriſons, committed the provinces all around him to the care of the chamber of Metz, adjudging them to be ſubject to his own juriſdiction.

HE had, ſome time before, driven the duke of Loraine out of his country. He had found means to introduce a garriſon into Straſburgh, through the treachery of the archbiſhop Furſtemberg. In violation of the peace of Nimeghen, he took Luxemburgh, with the connivance of the king of England, and kept ſtrong guards on all the paſſes into Holland, Germany, and Italy. The ducheſs of Savoy, who then was regent of that country, and her friends, were attached to his intereſts by many obligations: and, to retain the fidelity of the Italians, he added new fortifications, and a ſtronger garriſon to the town of Caſal, in the very heart of Italy, which he had five years ago purchaſed of the duke of Mantua. Thus he put a bridle upon the Italians; and either forced the neighbouring princes into his meaſures, or reduced the greateſt bulwarks of the German empire to his obedience, by pouring in his forces upon them on every ſide. But leſt he ſhould alſo grow dangerous even to the Roman ſee itſelf, pope Innocent XI. oppoſed him with all his power. Innocent was by birth

birth a Milaneſe, and in his youth had followed the profeſſion of arms. Being now raiſed to this height of power, and highly provoked by the ambition of Lewis, he refuſed his bulls to the Gallican biſhops, and reſolutely aſſerted his rights againſt the pretenſions of France. When the Jeſuits admoniſhed him not to be too peremptory in exacting obedience from princes, his anſwer was: "Let them mind their "own devotions and ſtudies; he did not want them to direct his "councils." When thoſe religioniſts claimed an exemption from all public duty in holy offices, the pope did not think fit any longer to diſpenſe with their attendance on public worſhip and proceſſions at Rome, becauſe they were more attached to the French king than to him. And, as before God there is no difference in reſpect of perſon between a king and a ſubject, he thought obedience was due from both alike; nor would he ſuffer the cure of ſouls, and the rights of God, to be wreſted out of his hands by any contempt whatſoever: but laying the French ambaſſador under an interdict from all holy ordinances, he well nigh proceeded to condemn the French king himſelf to hell by excommunication.

BESIDES all this, great injuries were done to private perſons in France at home. The goods of ſome were confiſcated without any trial; ſome were baniſhed, and others ſent to the gallies: nor was any one allowed to breathe the common air of France againſt the king's will and pleaſure.

ABOUT this time the prince of Condé, worn out in military ſervices, and now confined to his country ſeat, died. The king endeavoured, as much as he could, to check the ardour of the prince of Condé, in his firſt campaign in Hungary. He denied a troop of horſe to prince Eugene, who from his childhood had been ambitious of warlike glory; whereupon the prince engaged himſelf to ſerve in the emperor's army. The French king alſo, inſtead of training his own brother to arms, bred him up as if he had been a girl, in all the ſoftneſs of female education; and would not ſuffer any of his own blood to be concerned in affairs of ſtate, as if he had been afraid of them. To gratify his pride, he commanded the magiſtrates of Paris, whenever they paſſed in proceſſion,

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ceſſion, to ſalute his ſtatue erected in the Place de Vendome. And as the people were guilty of unheard-of flattery to their king, ſo the mind of the monarch was elated with the moſt extravagant pride and vanity. He was even heard to ſing his own praiſes in the theatres. Thus, after he had been a long time grievous to his ſubjects at home, and intolerable abroad, and that the neighbouring princes could neither any longer bear his power, nor any of them ſingly oppoſe it, they all of them, by the authority and at the inſtigation of the emperor, ſeconded by the prince of Orange, entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence.

In Britain, every thing ſeemed to go on ſmoothly according to the king's mind. The earl of Powys, and the lords Arundel, Bellaſis, and Dover, popiſh peers, were admitted into the council; and the earl of Caſtlemaine was ſent ambaſſador to the pope; not only to reconcile the church of England to the ſee of Rome, but alſo to mitigate the holy father's reſentment againſt the French king and the Jeſuits, and to draw him off from the intereſt of the emperor.

Tranſactions in Scotland.

When the king's intentions were diſcovered in Scotland, many who had before been devoted to him, now oppoſed his meaſures. The duke of Queenſberry, and Sir George Mackenzie, were turned out of their offices; and the latter was ſucceeded by Sir John Dalrymple, who ſeemed to obey the king abſolutely and without reſerve. In this diſſolution of all the laws and judgments, both in England and Scotland, the king did not ſeem to meet with any great interruption, though the duke of Queenſberry's party ſtood up firm for the teſt oath.

In England, the earl of Rocheſter, refuſing to embrace the popiſh religion, was removed from the office of treaſurer; and the miſdemeanors committed in the treaſury by others were, out of party-prejudice, imputed to him. The duke of Somerſet was alſo turned out; and all who did not comply with the king's religion loſt his favour.

THE duke of Ormond died: the earl of Devonſhire was fined: the marquis of Halifax was coldly looked upon by the king: and all things were ordered according to the humour of the prieſts. Nor was any more regard ſhewn to the church of England than to the ſeveral ſectaries: all were marked with the common brand of heretics.

IN the mean time, nothing was ſo much talked of as the unity of the church: the praiſes of Mary queen of Scots were celebrated, and pictures of her carried about in every place; as if the beauty of her perſon could have expiated the deformities of her mind. For, as to that matter, how averſe ſoever any one may be to give credit to Buchanan, I do not know what anſwer can be given to the writings of the abbot Pignerol.

THE laws being now abrogated by royal authority, the king, in order to defend his proceedings by the writings of men learned in the law, recalled Mr. James Stuart, a man of ſhrewd underſtanding, then an exile in Holland, declaring his reſolution to afford equal protection to all religions. Mr. Stuart, not thinking himſelf obliged to adhere to his former diſſent, but to comply with the preſent command, and for the ſake of concord, came over to the king, and ſet himſelf to write in juſtification of his proceedings; as if any one durſt at that time to arraign them. He entered into a controverſy with the penſionary Fagel; ſome points of which related to matters of fact, and others to law: and this learned man, though ſomewhat inconſiſtent with himſelf, raiſed the king's prerogatives to the heavens, and defended them by the laws. "We may," ſaid he, "be grieved at many "things, of which nevertheleſs we have no right to complain." On account of this conduct he is ſaid to have given up theſe, and other controverted points, to the king; and in a manner to have quite deſerted the old cauſe, which he had ſolemnly proteſted was the moſt dear to him. There was much diſputing about many things, which neither tended to the credit of religion, the improvement of morality, or quieting the fears of the people.

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Election of a king of the Romans.

THE emperor Leopold, in concert with the prince of Orange, convened the ſtates of the empire, to provide for their common ſafety; and took care, at the ſame time, to have his ſon Joſeph, who had before been declared king of Hungary, now alſo choſen king of the Romans, at Augſburgh. The Dutch, as well as the king of Spain, immediately ſent embaſſies of congratulation on his acceſſion to this dignity: and, being made acquainted with the prince of Orange's other deſigns, they alſo readily adopted the meaſures of his imperial majeſty concerning the ſucceſſion of Spain. The duke of Savoy, and the elector of Bavaria, at the time of the carnival of Venice, were united in the ſame confederacy.

THE French monarch was ſo highly offended at theſe proceedings, that he would neither acknowledge Joſeph king of the Romans, nor that the ſtates, inaſmuch as the circle of Burgundy was not preſent at the election, had been duly convened. On this ſubject a great controverſy was carried on in writing. Lewis, not ſatisfied with having wreſted ſome of the fineſt provinces of Germany from the empire, thought he had thereby acquired a right of dominion over the reſt.

IN the Eaſt, the Venetians having taken Napoli, and the elector of Bavaria ſtormed Buda in Hungary, at the ſiege of which were preſent the prince of Hanover, the duke of Mantua, the duke of Berwick, natural ſon of the king of England, and others, in purſuit of military glory, the Turks ſolicited the emperor for peace. But this prince, whoſe character it was to improve to the utmoſt all the advantages of fortune, under the pretence of propagating the Chriſtian religion, was as ambitious to lord it over the empire of the Eaſt, as the French king was to domineer over that of the Weſt.

THE Venetians, under the conduct of their captain general Moroſini, and count Coningſec, having taken Corinth, the whole Morea ſubmitted to their authority. Thence they paſſed into Scio, and alarmed Cyprus, Rhodes, and the reſt of the iſlands in the Ægean ſea. At laſt they threatened to break through the Dardanelles at the mouth

mouth of the Helleſpont, and even to reduce under their power the ſeat of the Turkiſh empire, provided the pope would abſolve ſome religious houſes from their vows, and annex them to the republic, in favour of the common cauſe of Chriſtianity, as had been uſual in ſuch caſes. But this condition, the pope, who was more attached to the emperor than to the Venetians, refuſed to grant. After Niſſa was taken, and Belgrade upon the Danube ſtormed, the French king, to prevent the imperialiſts under the duke of Loraine from penetrating into the Lower Hungary, and thereby drawing off the Turk from his intereſt, immediately ſent his ſon, the dauphin, with an army to the Rhine: and having taken Heidelburgh, commanded him to attack Philipſburgh, deſtroying all the country in his march. After this he attempted to raiſe to the ſovereignty of Cologne the cardinal of Furſtemberg, who had done him ſingular ſervice in the ſurpriſal of Straſburgh. The cardinal was firſt promoted to the ſee of that city. It was then propoſed that he ſhould be appointed co-adjutor of Cologne. The chapter was divided into parties, and a fierce and obſtinate diſpute aroſe among the canons, many of whom had been gained over to the intereſts of France by corruption.

When the French king's forces were admitted into the towns of the Cologneſe by Furſtemberg, that part of the chapter which had long contended for the elector of Bavaria's brother, had now been overpowered, if they had not been ſupported by the Dutch. This controverſy in the chapter was, according to cuſtom, referred to the pope. Innocent favoured the Bavarian; but the French king complained loudly of the pope's injuſtice, and forcibly invaded both the papal demeſne of Avignon, and all that the prince of Orange had any title to in France. The Pope laid the marquis de Lavardin, and the other Frenchmen who were then at Rome, under an interdict; and was far from ſhewing any favour to the Engliſh embaſſy.

The prince of Orange, diſregarding his own loſſes in France, when they came in competition with the common cauſe and public liberty, contracted alliances with other princes, levied forces, and procured

Confederacy againſt France formed by the prince of Orange.

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others to be raiſed in Germany at a vaſt expence. And having concerted meaſures with the elector of Brandenburgh and the duke of Zell, in whoſe friendſhip he principally confided, he reſolved to enter upon action.

But Erneſt duke of Hanover, was at that time very averſe to the Dutch, having ſhared of the French king's bounty: and the Jeſuits alſo entertained hopes of eſtabliſhing themſelves in his country. The elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Heſſe, heartily favoured the deſign of the prince of Orange. That prince, ſeemingly intending to make an irruption into the territories of Cologne, where, as well as at Mentz, the French king had filled all the towns with garriſons, prevailed with the elector of Brandenburgh to ſend him the marſhal de Schomberg; who, being made governor of Weſel, alarmed the French in thoſe parts with various rumours and marches, while the prince of Orange was intent upon his expedition into England, that the grievances of the Britiſh government might either be amicably redreſſed in a parliamentary way, or elſe that he might, at his own hazard, cut off the ſource of the evil by force of arms. Neither piratical ſhips, nor the threatenings of the French king, nor the ſeizure of the Dutch merchants effects in France, were able to retard the prince's proceedings. For matters, through the cloſe friendſhip between the kings of England and France, cemented by a common zeal for their religion, were now come to ſuch a criſis, that he muſt of neceſſity either purſue this undertaking, or they deſtroy the common liberty of Europe, and particularly the rights of Britons, civil and eccleſiaſtical. The Engliſh, therefore, reſolved to meet together privately, in order to conſult their common ſafety: for both the kings purſued the ſame end, by like means, though with different ſucceſs.

With what religious zeal king James was inflamed, after he had taken off the duke of Monmouth, has been already ſhewn. He not only ſent an ambaſſador to the pope, contrary to the laws, but deſired alſo to have a nuntio diſpatched from the pope to him: in compliance with which requeſt, the pope ſent over hither Signior Dada, one of his own

A nuntio ſent from Rome to the court of London.

own prelates, a Milaneze of a noble family, and a man of great abilities. The nuntio was honourably received by the king, and publicly entertained, together with a great number of the nobility, at a feaſt of the lord mayor of London, to the great diſſatisfaction of the people. On this occaſion I muſt not forget the reſolution of the biſhop of Durham's coachman, who refuſed to drive his lord's coach thither that day. For there was a wonderful averſion of the common people againſt popery, which was no ſmall ſupport to the tottering cauſe of religion.

THE laws being now deprived of their authority, the king refuſed their natural rights to his people. Mr. Samuel Johnſon, a clergyman, who had written the life of the emperor Julian the Apoſtate, and other libels, to ſhew that both ſacred and civil rights were now in danger, was ſentenced to be ſeverely whipped from the priſon of Newgate in London, to the common gallows at Tyburn. But I ſhall paſs over the cruelties of thoſe times, the ſufferings of Dangerfield, and the puniſhments of many others.

THE univerſity of Cambridge made a legal oppoſition to a royal mandate for conferring a degree on father Francis, and ſent deputies about it to the king: among whom were, Dr. Stanhope, and Mr. Iſaac Newton; who very much encouraged the reſt, whoſe courage had almoſt failed them, through the awfulneſs of the king's preſence, and the flatteries of the courtiers. All the deputies therefore formally declared the object of their deputation, and firmly and faithfully diſcharged the office they had undertaken. The lord chancellor Jefferies, enraged at their ſteadineſs, ſaid to them: "Begone from hence "forthwith, leſt you bring upon yourſelves ſome greater trouble." Thus were they diſmiſſed with an ill grace; though from their ſteady conduct in this cauſe, others alſo took courage, and withſtood the royal mandates.

THE king endeavoured, by his prieſts, to overthrow the religion eſtabliſhed by law, and openly, by his own authority, to eſtabliſh that of Rome, which had been forbidden and aboliſhed. Great controver-

Attempts of the king to eſtabliſh the Romiſh religion.

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ſies were now carried on; in which the eloquence of the church appeared in its brighteſt luſtre. Great ſhews were alſo made in public of the habits of the prieſts; but little or none of their morals.

AND now, as if the laws had been repealed, the king advanced papiſts to judicial offices, both in England and Scotland: nor did he only put them into eccleſiaſtical offices, but preferred them alſo in his army and fleet. He ſent the earl of Tyrconnel, his deputy into Ireland. In England alſo, chapels were conſecrated according to the popiſh forms; and lands were allotted to the prieſts. At length, when diſputes aroſe concerning the reſtoration of lands formerly granted for religious purpoſes to the papal ſee, it appeared that many, both in England and Scotland, had, before this time, had tranſactions with the pope. The earl of Shrewſbury, who had renounced popery five years ago, went now to the king, to whom he ſold all the lands which he had of that kind; and, mortgaging all the reſt of his eſtate, reſolved to withdraw himſelf into Holland.

WRITINGS were publiſhed on both ſides; and the principles of popery were controverted, as well as the rights of the crown. The biſhop of Oxford, and biſhop Watſon, who were devoted to the king, endeavoured to confound the rights of colleges. Obadiah Walker fell off to the popiſh party. At Cambridge, Dr. John Montague, Dr. Colvil, and Dr. Beaumont, maintained the cauſe of the true religion with a manly fortitude, as Mr. Charles Montague, and Matthew Prior, two young men, alſo did in their poems. At Oxford too, violence was done to Magdalen college; many good and learned men being turned out of that houſe. Seven biſhops of the moſt venerable characters were, by the king's command, ſent to the Tower of London: and, in ſhort, the rights and liberties of all orders of men were ſubverted, by new and unprecedented judgments.

Oppoſed by the clergy and univerſities.

THE king commanded the army of Iriſh and Scots to be drawn together towards London, and encamped in the country near it; which ſtruck as great a terror into all ſorts of people, as if their houſes and churches had been doomed to be burned and plundered: and James acted openly, what many people thought Charles II. would have

effected ſecretly and by degrees. When he endeavoured to procure the prince of Orange's approbation of theſe proceedings, that prince excuſed himſelf; ſhewing, by letters written in the name of another perſon, that they were neither in his power, nor agreeable to his judgment. The king alſo would have perſuaded the princeſs of Orange to embrace the popiſh religion: but ſhe pled in excuſe the authority of her huſband, as well as her having been educated in the church of England from her childhood. When the king objected to the earl of Shrewſbury, that he had forſaken the religion of his anceſtors, he anſwered: "Your father would not have reproached me for having em-"braced the doctrine of the church of England." Soon after this the earl went over to the prince of Orange.

Men who had uniformly profeſſed the popiſh religion, were of opinion, that the reſtoration of popery in England was a matter which ought to have been carried on leiſurely, and with moderation: and even ſome of their preachers, taking this text, "We have toiled all "the night, and have taken nothing," ſharply inveighed againſt the unreaſonable precipitation of the Jeſuits. The lord Petre, brother to father Petre, who was now admitted into the privy council, refuſed the office of lord lieutenant of his county, excuſing himſelf by the laws, and entreating his majeſty not to throw himſelf upon hazardous enterpriſes, leſt he ſhould involve himſelf and his friends, and the whole popiſh intereſt in England, which had hitherto been gently treated, in one common ruin.

But the new converts, and the natural eagerneſs of the Jeſuits, powerfully urged the king, who was now advanced in years, to proceed. And laſt of all, the queen, being with child, preſſed him ſtill more forward, although he needed not any ſuch incitement. At the ſame time, ſome of the imprudent prieſts, to gain the more credit to their religion, as well as to the birth, unadviſedly pronounced that the queen was with child of a ſon, and aſcribed it to the ſingular favour of Heaven, obtained through the intereſt of our lady of Loretto, whoſe praiſes were highly celebrated in England. The king alſo, in the queen's name, before her delivery, ſent an image of gold, as an offering which

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which ſhe had vowed to make to Loretto. But the common people, who were apt to judge of every thing according to their own prejudices, could hardly be perſuaded now, at the time of her delivery, to believe that the queen had indeed brought forth a child. To the cauſes of doubt juſt mentioned, was added the natural baſhfulneſs of the queen, and the abſence of the princeſs Anne, the king's daughter.

Birth of a prince.

ON the 10th day of June 1688, the queen's delivery being every where publiſhed at home and abroad, while the king thought himſelf ſecure amidſt the congratulations of his people, and his friends were feaſting in the camp, and the whole court was diſſolved in mirth and revelry, many plauſible reports were ſpread abroad concerning the delivery, a ſuppoſititious birth, and the artifices of the prieſts: and any thing, which carried in it the leaſt degree of probability, paſſed currently for truth, when it chanced to confirm the prejudices of the people.

A general diſcontent at the arbitrary proceedings of the king.

IN the mean time, ſuch a conſpiracy was formed amongſt all good ſubjects, as no violence could break, nor any efforts afterwards overturn, and ſuch as had never before been ſeen in Britain. The king, who was naturally religious, and had imbibed, from ſome of the clergy of the church of England, the dangerous doctrine of paſſive obedience, did not perceive the ſtorm that was ready to burſt upon his head. The reſentment of all men having been a long time ſmothered and concealed, broke out at laſt with the greater violence. For James, ſlighting the advice of his wiſer counſellors, and giving ear to the counſels of prieſts and women, ruled his kingdom according to his own will, and the example of the French king; while his nobles retired into the country. And now the courtiers, who never want a feigned complaiſance in their ſpeeches, humoured the king in every thing; perſuading him that the laws, and all the rights of the kingdom, were now ſubject to his pleaſure; that every thing was done according to his wiſh; and that by the force of his arms he was able to do what he would. The French refugees in England alſo fawningly applauded thoſe tyrannical meaſures; and Dr. Ales approved the ſame, in his prefatory addreſs of a book to the king: ſo

that

that Engliſhmen were afraid leſt theſe foreign inmates ſhould, with their ſlaviſh doctrines, corrupt the principles of the people here as in France. In thoſe difficult times, children were taken from their parents, and ſent to be educated in popiſh ſeminaries. The young nobility were ſent over to France for the improvement of their manners, and oftentimes returned thence more fooliſh and vain than before: for ever ſince the reſtoration of king Charles II. the natural Engliſh virtues were deſpiſed at court, and every thing was grown degenerate.

About this time Dr. Burnet arrived in Holland; where he married, and employed himſelf in writing libels againſt the king of England: and, intermeddling in all people's affairs, ſeemed to think of himſelf as if he had the care of all the churches, and had alſo been able to manage the public affairs of all Europe. He told the prince of Orange, that he had provided forces for the ſecurity of his frontiers, and had written to the princeſs Sophia on that ſubject. The prince replied to Burnet, in an ironical manner: "Well done! you have "provided well for us indeed!" for he knew that the German troops are not wont to move without ready pay; not through the perſuaſions of women, and much leſs for the tedious harangues of a chaplain.

Expedition of the prince of Orange into England.

The prince of Orange, obſerving what paſſed, and having concerted his meaſures with ſome of the moſt conſiderable men in Britain, haſtened his expedition thither; having firſt ſent over his declaration, which was immediately tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr. Burnet, in order to have the rights of the kingdom and the birth of the prince examined in parliamennt. But the care of providing ſhips, and tranſporting the troops, was entruſted to a very few men in Holland; among whom were Fagel and Alewyn, both men of great learning, as well as approved truſt and experience in public affairs. Nor was there any want either of reſolution in their diſpatches, or of diſpatch in their reſolutions. The king of England, receiving intelligence of theſe things, endeavoured by writings, and the depoſitions of witneſſes, to put the genuine birth of a prince out of all queſtion; but all to no purpoſe: others anſwering the ſame in pamphlets and poems. For at that time

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England was full of poets, a circumſtance to which the general humour of the times greatly contributed. The prince of Orange ſaw, in the preſent juncture of affairs, a proper opportunity for his expedition. The French king's army, worn out with the fatigue of ſieges, were diſperſed in winter-quarters, and could not eaſily be drawn together; and his ſhips were employed againſt the Algerines. He therefore reſolved to ſet ſail in the month of October, with the approbation of the emperor and king of Spain; and not without the connivance alſo, as it was reported, of the pope, who was highly provoked by the injuries of the French king, whoſe power was dangerous both to the grandeur of the papal power and the liberties of all Italy.

The Dutch fleet, well furniſhed with ſtores and all ſorts of proviſions, lay ready at anchor. Their land forces, to the number of about thirteen thouſand, were ordered to march to the Maeſe and the Ulir, that ſo being carried down the ſtream in boats and barges, they might be put on board the tranſports, of which there were a fleet of five hundred. But as an affair of importance could not always be kept a ſecret, nor ſuch a fleet be fitted out without a great hurry and noiſe, king James had notice of it: he thereupon alſo got his fleet ready, drew his forces together, and commanded his militia to be raiſed. He likewiſe demanded of the prince of Orange, and the ſtates general, the cauſe of their making ſuch preparation for war in a time of peace; and is ſaid to have offered the prince of Orange a large ſum of money to deſiſt from his undertaking. The prince put him off with excuſes, alledging many reaſons, but concealing more: for as he himſelf ſaid, he would not diſcredit his cauſe, by telling a neceſſary lie, and much leſs give it up for a ſum of money.

As ſoon as the churches and church lands came to be in danger, neither oaths, nor the doctrine of paſſive obedience, were any longer a ſecurity to the king. For now the clergy, having recourſe to reſerved caſes, cried out, that religion and all things were in danger, and made a ſort of a union with the diſſenters, imploring their aſſiſtance.

In

In the mean time, James, who had very little confidence in the affections of the proteſtants, had endeavoured, by ſolicitations and promiſes, to draw many of them over to popery. Some complied with him: others, to make a ſhew of compliance, ſuffered their children and relations to go to which church they liked beſt. Some deſired the king to allow them time to conſider and inform themſelves: among theſe was the earl of Middleton. But the earl of Mulgrave had been beforehand with them; having immediately, upon the king's acceſſion to the throne, done voluntarily what was now required of him. The earl of Sunderland, who by his obſequiouſneſs had ſo far inſinuated himſelf into his majeſty's favour, that none could poſſibly be more dear to him, and by whoſe authority all things were abſolutely managed, finding, ſince the queen's delivery, that he had no time to loſe, publicly embraced the king's religion. Admiral Herbert flatly refuſed him: and ſo did major general Kirk; who pretended he was pre-engaged to the emperor of Morocco. The marquis of Halifax, who did not much regard matters of religion, anſwered only, that there was the ſame reward for thoſe who came late as early into the vineyard. The earl of Dorſet, who was a man of wit and univerſal knowledge, ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the religion and laws of his country in different poems. On the other hand, Mr. Dryden, the moſt learned of the popiſh converts, wrote againſt him. The earl of Devonſhire, having been fined and ill-treated by the king, lived at that time retired in the country: for he was not only deſcended of a moſt noble family, and allied to many more, but, beſides the advantages of birth, he was adorned with the moſt excellent endowments both of body and mind, an object of general applauſe, and eminent for learning. When he was invited to court, he refuſed to come, and ſaid, that favour to him came now too late. The marquis of Wincheſter, to prevent his falling into the king's hands, counterfeited madneſs, and reſolved not to come to himſelf again till the kingdom had recovered its rights. Sir Roger L'Eſtrange's old-faſhioned doctrines were now no more heard of. The Oxford decree lay by neglected: and all good people, in this diſſolution of the laws, had recourſe to the law of nature, which they had received, and imbibed as it were, from the breaſts of their anceſtors, and impatiently waited for the arrival of the prince of Orange.

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ABOUT this time, James wrote to the French king, to keep a ſtrict eye upon the coaſt of France: to which that monarch, after making ſuitable acknowledgments, anſwered, That he would take care of his own *glory*, and would adviſe him alſo now to provide for his own *ſafety*. For Lewis was informed of all, as it is believed, by the marquis de Rouvigny, formerly his ambaſſador, who having placed one of his two ſons with king James, and the other with the prince of Orange, had exact intelligence of every thing that paſſed, both in England and Holland.

AT this time, Monſieur de Saignelay adviſed the French king to keep forty ſhips of war at anchor, ready for all events: but Monſieur de Louvoy, out of envy to Saignelay, diſſuaded him from it. Though the French king had a powerful fleet, and was renowned for naval diſcipline, yet he did not ſend one ſhip to the aſſiſtance of the king of England: for Louvoy thought it would tend more to his glory to give refuge and protection to a diſtreſſed king, than to preſerve him in ſafety, at the hazard of his fleet. The French forces, therefore, in the beginning of the ſummer, marched to the Rhine, and made the greateſt efforts of the war on that ſide. For the propoſals which had paſſed between the two kings concerning mutual aſſiſtance in caſe of danger, and the formation of a league between them, came to nothing, through the diſagreement of their counſellors. But, if the French king had demanded Portſmouth, Dover, and other ſea-port towns, to be garriſoned by his ſoldiers, he had demanded much more than either king James could grant, or the French king himſelf was able to keep.

AT this time, the eloquence of Mr. John Somers, and other lawyers, preſerved the biſhops, who had been committed to the Tower; and they were acquitted with great applauſe upon a public trial.

THE Jeſuits now ſaw the fruitful harveſt which the king was about to reap for them blaſted. But, in order to preſerve it, the French king is ſaid to have been willing, at the requeſt of father la Chaiſe, his confeſſor, to ſend over twenty thouſand ſoldiers into England. And it

was alſo reported, that this was oppoſed in the Engliſh council; but whether by the earl of Sunderland, or Don Pedro Ronquillo, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, is controverted: nor can I poſitively affirm whether the king of England himſelf did approve of the deſign. Whence many people thought he truſted too much or too little to the French king's friendſhip. But if he had been willing to admit them, no Briton was ſunk ſo low either in wickedneſs or want, but that he would rather have died in battle, than that the French ſhould have ſet a foot in England. The earl of Shrewſbury, major Wildman, the lord viſcount Mordaunt, admiral Herbert, the two Cuttſes, brothers, and others, went to Holland, and reported that things were not only ripe in England, but that they ſeemed to many people to be deſperate and paſt remedy: that many of the ſoldiers had declared they would not bear arms againſt the prince of Orange: that the ſailors would not fight, but threatened to throw the popiſh prieſts into the ſea: laſtly, that Scotland was all in a flame with diſputes about religion, and the inſurrection of the Cameronians.

All things being now in readineſs in Holland for the expedition, the prince of Orange, accompanied by marſhal de Schomberg, embarked his ſoldiers, and ſet ſail. The fleet of which he made Mr. Herbert admiral, conſiſted of near fifty men of war, and ſix hundred tranſports. Beſides the ſoldiers, there was a great number of exiles on board, whom either the love of their country, or poverty, or the ſeverity of the late times, had reduced to the neceſſity of taking arms. Beſides theſe already named, were Mr. Henry Sidney, the earl of Argyle, the lord Stair, the laird of Cardroſs, and his two brothers, the laird of Polwart, Mr. George Bailey, Mr. Fletcher, with many others. Theſe alſo were accompanied by miniſters of different principles; William Carſtairs, an honeſt man; Ferguſon, a knave; and Gilbert Burnet, doubtful; of all of whom the prince of Orange made his own uſe.

The ſeaſon at that time happening not to be very favourable for ſailing, the clergy of both ſides were very inſtant in their prayers and ſupplications to God; and all good men wiſhed that the public ſafety

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be preſerved till the prince of Orange's landing. For that fleet carried all the ſtrength of the proteſtants, and the hopes of Britain. But they were ſcarcely out of ſight of the coaſt of Holland, when a ſudden tempeſt drove them back to the ſhore; and one or two of the tranſports were taken by the Engliſh privateers, and many others alſo damaged. The prince of Orange, who wanted neither courage nor reſolution, ſoon refitted his ſhips, and hoiſted his ſails again, on the firſt day of November 1688.

About this time, the earl of Nottingham, ſuſpected of being in concert with thoſe who were engaged in aſſerting the public liberty, had been in danger of his life, if the earl of Danby had not interceded for him; for concealment is treaſon. And the Scots biſhops, hearing of the damage ſuffered by the fleet in the late ſtorms, in lofty ſtrains ridiculouſly congratulated the king that the necks of his enemies were at his mercy; that he might completely ſubdue them by this victory, and maintain the ſecurity of Britain: as if the mountains would have ſunk, and the ſeas been dried up by the favour of Heaven, through their interceſſion.

The king, who had now no doubt that the prince of Orange would perſiſt in his reſolution, gave thanks to the biſhops, and put off the day appointed for the meeting of parliament; and underſtanding that the earl of Sunderland's lady had gone to Holland, he, for the firſt time, began to ſuſpect that nobleman: and the king's friends thought that the firſt thing to be done, was to remove him from his councils. After this, neither the people nor the courtiers had any longer any confidence in the king.

The prince of Orange coming upon the coaſt of England, and not being able to reach his intended port, on account of contrary winds, ſhifted his ſails, and made for another; throwing himſelf, with unbounded confidence, on the affections of the people whereſoever he ſhould come, and ſupporting himſelf alſo with the conſcience of a moſt honourable undertaking, and his knowledge of the diſpoſition of the ſoldiers. In his paſſage between Dover and the Iſle of Wight, he reſolved

ſolved to have attacked the king's fleet, if he had met with any oppoſition from them. But lord Dartmouth, the king's admiral, deſerved well of the prince of Orange, and laid the blame of his inactivity upon the contrary winds.

THE prince of Orange's fleet entered Torbay on the fourth of November, which was his birth-day. The next day, which is a great holiday in England, he landed but a few men, on account of the roughneſs of the ſea: but on word being brought to him, that there was no concourſe of people, and that the coaſt was all clear, he landed the whole army in the days following. From thence he advanced to Exeter; having previouſly diſperſed manifeſtoes into all parts, to aſſure the people that their ſafety was dearer to him than his own life. For ſome days very few came in to him, though he had been made to believe that when the people had ſeen him, they would have ſhewed that they thought all their ſecurity depended on him alone. For the Britons are not apt to take up arms raſhly, nor to lay them down again baſely. Dr. Lamplugh, biſhop of Exeter, an artful man, to make the greater ſhew of fidelity to the king, poſting away to court with all ſpeed, as if he had fled from the prince of Orange, came to his majeſty, and told him what he had ſeen. The king, highly commending his ſteadineſs, tranſlated him to the vacant archbiſhopric of York. In a ſhort time after, this prelate requited the king's favour, by countenancing the coronation of king William.

ON the news of the prince of Orange's landing, the council being called, ſome of the king's friends thought it neceſſary for him to make ſome attempt immediately. Others could not tell what to adviſe, ſince raſh undertakings have often ſucceeded better than thoſe which have been deliberately concerted. The king got together an army of three and thirty thouſand men, either to obſerve the prince of Orange's motions, or to force his camp on the firſt fair opportunity, before ſuch as were inclined to revolt could come to his aſſiſtance.

SOME biſhops, and other noblemen, among whom were the dukes of Grafton and Ormond, the earls of Clare, Clarendon, and Burlington,

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ton, and the lords Paget, Chandois, and Newport, and petitioned the king, in order to prevent a bloody war from breaking out in the bowels of the kingdom, without delay to call a free parliament: admoniſhing him of the miſeries of war, and the uncertainty of events, where fortune often prevails over the wiſeſt counſels.

THE marquis of Halifax is reported to have ſaid, That counſel was to be ſought for of God, who alone knew what every one ought to avoid, and what to follow, in particular caſes.

To all this the king anſwered: "That he would have ſuch a parliament as they requeſted, ſo ſoon as the prince of Orange had quitted "this realm."

THE ſame day he ſent for the lord Churchill, Trelawny, the duke of Grafton, and Kirk; repeating to them the promiſe he had before made to the lords: adding, "If you deſire any thing more, I promiſe "you, on the word of a king, that I am ready to grant it; and, after "all, if any are deſirous to go over to the prince of Orange, paſſes are "here ready, which I am willing to grant them, that they may not "hereafter lie under the ſhame and diſgrace of deſerting their lawful "ſovereign."

THE king was alſo offended with the biſhops, becauſe they would not bind themſelves by any new oath. They put it off with delays and excuſes, ſaying, they would conſult with their brethren about it; nor could the king obtain any more at their hands: upon which he told them, in anger, That he would truſt to the fidelity of his army more than to their oaths; and made a ſhew as if he had been reſolved to fight the enemy.

ON the 17th of November, being the day before mentioned, the king ſet out for Saliſbury. Having arrived thither, and having formed his camp in a place fit for battle, the earl of Feverſham, his general, reported to him, what he was deſired to declare from the officers

officers of the army under his command: "That they were always "ready to ſpill the laſt drop of their blood in the king's ſervice; but "yet, that they could not in conſcience fight againſt a prince, who "deſired nothing but a free parliament for the ſecuring of their reli-"gion and liberties; nor turn their arms againſt their own country "and its laws." By which the king, finding that he could have no ſure dependence either on oaths or paſſive obedience, put many of them in mind of the benefits they had received from him in times paſt, and promiſed them ſtill more; nay, it is ſaid, that in this very camp he had ſigned a commiſſion for promoting the lord Churchill to the office of lieutenant general.

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Defection of the royal army.

BUT from theſe tranſactions it plainly appears, when a king has once loſt the affections of his people, with how ſmall a puſh his majeſty falls away to nothing.

AT this time, a fall of ſnow, four feet deep, filled up the hollow ways, and making the road almoſt impaſſable, concurred, with other circumſtances, to retard the advances of the people to the aſſerter of their privileges.

WHEN the prince of Orange came to Exeter, he iſſued a declaration, inviting all who were deſirous of recovering their liberty, to join him; aſſuring them, that he came into Britain only to ſuppreſs popery and eccleſiaſtical tyranny: but that there might be no occaſion for hoſtilities, he deſired a free parliament, whereby the laws, religious and civil rights, the privileges of corporations, and the judgements which had been illegally over-ruled, and every thing elſe, might be reſtored to their juſt and lawful conſtitution, and all the diſtempers of the nation be healed: and that the forces he had brought over with him were too few to raiſe a ſuſpicion of his having a deſign to offer the leaſt violence; to all which he added ſomewhat alſo concerning an examination of the queen's delivery. Other declarations were likewiſe handed about, adapted to the humour of the times; which, though not publiſhed by the authority of the prince of Orange, nevertheleſs did much ſervice to his cauſe.

Declaration of the prince of Orange.

AT

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AT this time all England was eager and intent upon the recovery of her liberties; and all ranks of people gave their voice for the prince of Orange. Even Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, approved of his cauſe, as moſt acceptable both to God and man: for he, arguing from warts, with other ſpots and marks on the royal infant, inſiſted that this child was an impoſition upon the blood royal of England, and inſinuated, as from certain proofs, that the boy was ſuppoſititious.

SIR EDWARD SEYMOUR, a man of great authority both in his county and parliament, came in to the prince of Orange's camp; and having made his compliments, immediately deſired to ſee the bond of aſſociation. Being told that there was none, he ſaid it was neceſſary for his countrymen to have one; and inſiſted, that if there was not one prepared before the next day, he would leave them, and obey neither the authority of the parliament, nor the orders of the prince of Orange, but in ſhort would have recourſe to king James's mercy. Anſwer was made to him, that they wanted ſuch a man as him to ſet the thing on foot. The very next day, therefore, articles for aſſociation were drawn up for the defence of the prince of Orange, and of all thoſe who were willing to unite with him in maintaining their religions, and laws, and liberties. This was immediately ſigned by all preſent, and copies of the ſame tranſmitted to London and the ſeveral counties, to be ſubſcribed in all parts of the nation. In the mean time, the horſemen in the van of the king's army, led by the lord Cornbury, went over to the prince of Orange's camp; and were ſoon followed by the duke of Grafton, the earl of Drumlanrig, the lord Churchill, and other perſons of diſtinction.

Aſſociation in his favour;

DR. BURNET, who underſtood but little of military affairs, aſked the prince of Orange which way he intended to march, and when? and deſired to be employed by him in whatever ſervice he ſhould think fit. The prince only aſked him what he now thought of predeſtination? and adviſed him, if he had a mind to be buſy, to conſult the canons.

ABOUT

About the ſame time, the prince of Orange received advice that the earl of Danby had taken poſſeſſion of York. With Danby was Mr. Sidney Montague, a zealous patriot in thoſe days, and a great concourſe of other perſons of all ranks. The lord Lumley, joined by a great number of neighbouring noblemen and gentlemen, ſeized Hull, Durham, and Newcaſtle. Sir John Lowther, a man of great authority in Cumberland, took Carliſle, and likewiſe intercepted a parcel of arms in the port of Newhaven, which the king had ordered to be ſent to Ireland. For his ſingular fidelity and zeal for the prince of Orange's ſervice, he was afterwards created viſcount Lonſdale. Plymouth and Portſmouth ſubmitted to the prince of Orange; and all England was up in arms.

In Scotland, the earls of Lothian and Annandale, the lord Roſs, and Sir James Montgomery, the earl of Dundonald, and others, were in arms for the prince of Orange. In Clydeſdale, —— Carmichael rendered moſt effective and faithful ſervice in this cauſe, as the earl of Sutherland did in the North. The prince of Orange, who was more vigorous in mind than in body, neglecting no opportunity which induſtry and good conduct might improve to his advantage, wrote to many in Scotland, both of the nobility and clergy, and particularly to Mr. Gabriel Cuningham: and alſo ſent Argyle, Cardroſs, the two Erſkines, brothers, and other military men, into that kingdom.

and general inſurrection.

In England, Mr. Thomas Wharton, and other men of diſtinction, went over to the prince of Orange's camp, and reported to him what paſſed at London. On this intelligence, having kindly entertained the deputies of many cities, he began his march from Exeter thirteen days after his arrival there; and leaving Oxford on his left hand, advanced towards London, where all things were in confuſion. For all England is apt to move according to the example of the Londoners. In ſuch commotions the zeal for liberty, and the noiſe and novelty of arms, generally predominated over ideas of avarice. For as the Britons are not eaſily moved to take up arms, ſo they are generally ſucceſsful if they do ſo; and moderate and temperate, if the public good

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can but be properly ſecured in the uſe of them. Neither have the common people any notion that kings are ſent down from heaven. Authority is gained by good actions, and loſt by bad ones. If any man is of another opinion, I ſhall neither envy nor oppoſe him.

Retreat of the king to London.

KING JAMES, upon this diſcovery of the diſaffection of his ſubjects, and the deſertion of his ſoldiers, finding himſelf as it were in the midſt of conſpirators, left his camp; and, without having tried the courage of his army, returned with all ſpeed to London. Prince George of Denmark deſerted the king by the way, and went over to the prince of Orange: on this intelligence, all the king's comforts failed him; and he complained bitterly of his own fleſh and blood. But notwithſtanding all this diſaffection in the army, and the declarations in ſeveral counties, it is certain there was ſtill in the army, and all parts of his dominions, many firm proteſtants, who would have ſpilt their blood for the king. For ——— Douglas, the viſcount Dundee, all the Iriſh, and the greateſt part of the Engliſh in the army, had exhorted the king to march on the firſt opportunity to Exeter, and without delay to hazard the ſucceſs of a battle, before the prince of Orange, who was the darling of the populace, ſhould be able to get ſtrength, and the revolters acquire courage through confidence in their numbers. But the king, whether through want of courage, or an apprehenſion of the fury of the people, and that ſome dire misfortune might befal him in caſe of an engagement, as had formerly happened to his father, excuſed himſelf from riſquing a battle; and, by a letter to the earl of Feverſham, commanded him to diſband the remaining part of the army, leſt a victory ſhould coſt the lives of ſo many brave men. This was certainly the firſt time that king James had met with public diſgrace. It cannot indeed be denied, that the army was at that time as deeply immerſed in luxury and idleneſs, as ſoldiers can poſſibly be ſaid or ſuppoſed to be. But it is ridiculous to pretend, that the ſoldiers were corrupted by the lord Churchil's liberality, a virtue which was indeed very foreign to his nature.

The princeſs Anne protected by the earl of Devonſhire.

THE day before the king returned to London, his daughter, the princeſs Anne, withdrew from court; and, leaving letters full of piety

towards her father and other near relations, and of duty to her husband, made a quick journey, by the way of Oxford, to Nottingham, attended by the lady Churchil, and conducted by the biſhop of London. Here ſhe put herſelf under the protection of the earl of Devonſhire, in whom ſhe placed great confidence, and became the head of all the revolters in the neighbouring diſtricts. But I have not been able to diſcover what thoſe ſecret tranſactions of the court were, of which ſhe is ſaid to have given an account under her own hand.

THE zealous church of Englandmen began now to invent a doctrine for the defence of their conduct. They ſaid, that they poſſeſſed certain *natural rights*, which could not be alienated or taken from them by any ſyſtem of religion, or any law whatever. As the eloquence of the clergy had lately been diſplayed in exalting the royal prerogative to the ſkies, ſo now the virtue and good ſenſe of the nation at large ſhone forth with brighter luſtre in diminiſhing it. It is juſtice to obſerve, that the extragavance of the clergy in their doctrines concerning prerogative, was always oppoſed by Tillotſon, Teniſon, Stillingfleet, Lloyd, Compton, and other learned men, worthy of everlaſting fame.

IN this contagious ſituation of affairs, the king ſent the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Nottingham, and the lord Godolphin, to the prince of Orange, with orders to declare, that his majeſty would have called a parliament before this time, if the circumſtances of the times would have permitted him: and that he would yet call one, on condition that the prince's army ſhould advance no nearer than it then was to London. This declaration was made to him on the 8th of December.

THE prince of Orange, in this critical ſeaſon, paſſing by Oxford, advanced to Windſor; and, by the general advice of his followers, to the king's propoſals returned for anſwer: "That all he deſired was, "that ſuch perſons as by law were not qualified to bear arms, ſhould "be immediately diſarmed: that ſuch proclamations as reflected upon "him, ſhould be recalled: that, for the ſecurity of the city, the Tower

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" of London, and Tilbury Fort, ſhould be put into the hands of the " citizens: that no new forces ſhould be admitted into the kingdom " from abroad, nor thoſe already landed permitted to come within " forty miles of London: that if his majeſty ſhould think fit to reſide " in London, the prince ſhould have liberty to reſide there alſo: " and laſtly, that a part of the public revenue ſhould be aſ- " ſigned to the prince of Orange, for the maintenance of his " troops; and that Portſmouth ſhould be made a common garriſon, " for the ſafety of them both." To all this the king, who found that his all was at ſtake, made no other reply, than that he would conſider of it.

In the mean time, by letters to the earl of Feverſham, dated the 10th December, he ſignified to him, that he had that day ſent his queen and ſon to France. He ordered him to diſband the army; and exhorted the ſoldiers to retain their allegiance to him, and to keep themſelves free from aſſociations with the enemy. It is ſtrange, that the king ſhould imagine the diſbanded ſoldiers would continue more faithful to him than his own courtiers!

James, not knowing now what to do, took the great ſeal of England, revoked the proclamation for calling a parliament, and immediately followed the queen. The whole kingdom was now in arms; and the king, who was ſtopped in his flight not far from Rocheſter, ſuffered great indignities from the inſolence of the rabble. Notwithſtanding this, ſo fickle is the humour of the vulgar! he was brought back to London, amidſt the acclamations of his people. Intelligence of this being brought to the lords, his horſe-guards went to attend him, and ſome of the peers to meet him.

The violence done to the king, gave great offence even to the prince of Orange: nor was any thing omitted, which might prevail with him to remain with his people. When the king withdrew from the adminiſtration of government, the peers of the realm, among whom were the two archbiſhops, ſeveral biſhops, the earls of Pembroke, Dorſet, Saliſbury, Burlington, Suſſex, and Rocheſter, the viſcount Weymouth,

mouth, the lord Wharton, &c. having ſent for the magiſtrates of London, acquainted the prince of Orange with the king's flight, and implored his aſſiſtance in that dangerous conjuncture. In order to prevent all occaſion of error, they declared for a free parliament: and laſtly, for the purpoſe of obtaining this, they undertook to aſſiſt the prince with all their authority, intereſt, forces, power, and life, inſiſting, at the ſame time, on the danger of delay.

About this time, the prince of Orange arreſted the earl of Feverſham, who was ſent to him with a letter from the king. Being invited to London, he diſpatched the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Shrewſbury, and the lord Delamere, to his majeſty, who had by this time returned, to make his compliments to him, and to declare his intention of coming to town immediately. They were inſtructed to intimate to him, that he might retire to Ham, or any other houſe at a reaſonable diſtance from London, leſt the meeting of their guards ſhould occaſion a tumult on the road, or in the city; and to deſire a treaty, for the purpoſe of adjuſting all matters, if poſſible, in an amicable manner. Theſe things happened on the 17th of December. But James choſe to go to Rocheſter, to conceal, as long as he could, his deſign of flying abroad. With the ſame view, he requeſted of the prince of Orange to have a guard. He told the meſſengers, that the parliament could not be free, ſo long as the prince of Orange had his army at London; and he made no doubt but when the parliament met, he ſhould recover his authority: that if the prince would deliver England from its fears, he ought firſt to lay aſide his arms, and diſcharge his forces: and laſtly, he complained of his being ſo much miſtaken, as to have been firſt of all betrayed by ſome of thoſe very men from whom he had the beſt hopes of fidelity and victory. The meſſengers earneſtly entreated him to call a parliament, alleging that the prince of Orange aimed at nothing elſe but the public good, nor kept his forces about the city with any other deſign, than for the quiet of the kingdom and his own ſafety, till affairs ſhould be ſettled by a free parliament.

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The king eſcapes to France.

WHILE matters remained in this ſituation, many were of opinion that it might have been eaſy to adjuſt them. But when the king heard with what an univerſal joy the prince of Orange was received into London, he, either through fear of the preſent army, and apprehenſion of his being called to account, or prevailed on by the entreaties of his friends, whether through neceſſity or choice, on the 23d day of December, withdrew from England into France, leaving neither council nor regent behind him to take care of the adminiſtration of the kingdom. He was attended by a party of the prince of Orange's horſe-guards even to his very ſhip. Theſe horſemen were commanded by one Thorpe, a Dutchman, but a papiſt, in whom the king on that account placed great confidence. This man, according to his ſecret orders from the prince of Orange, took care that no violence or injury ſhould be offered to the king or his attendants; and that whereſoever he went, he ſhould not want for any aſſiſtance or accommodation.

IN this unhappy ſtate of the king's circumſtances, many of his ſervants are ſaid to have made their own fortunes; among whom were, colonel James Graham, and Mr. Charles Duncombe.

WHEN Thorpe returned to town, he gave Mynheer Bentinck, the prince of Orange's favourite, an account of the king's attendants, the diſcourſes which paſſed on the road, and the treaſures which he carried with him into France, to the value of 500,000 guineas: which, though contrary to ancient laws, the prince of Orange connived at.

THE prince of Orange, now aſſured of the king's flight, on the 25th day of December, at the deſire of the peers and others, taking upon him the adminiſtration of public affairs, both civil and military, and the diſpoſal of the public revenue, publiſhed a proclamation for ſummoning a convention of the ſtates to meet on the 22d day of January 1689. Many were of opinion at that time, that the prince ſaid one thing and meant another: but he did not think fit to take any thing upon himſelf, without the conſent of the peers.

WILLIAM

WILLIAM having his eyes intent upon every object that demanded his care, that Scotland might not ſuffer any damage by the king's retreat, ſent for ſuch of the Scots peers as were at London, who entreated him to ſummon a convention of the ſtates of that kingdom. Neither was this at all oppoſed by that good and prudent man the duke of Hamilton; who, though he was himſelf of the blood royal, yet, being provoked by the ſeverity of the late times, now joined himſelf to the prince of Orange and the peers, and was appointed preſident of the convention. There was a great deal of good fortune in the king's retreat, but more of the goodneſs of God; whoſe providence is conſpicuous, as in all events, ſo more eſpecially in thoſe which could not be brought about by the wiſdom of man. The prince of Orange did not want either prudence or virtue in the midſt of difficulties: and I wiſh king James had alſo governed his kingdoms with as much moderation and temper, as he diſcovered of a raſh unadviſed zeal for his religion.

WHILE the kingdom was in this diſorder, a ſudden report, by the contrivance, as it is ſaid, of Schomberg, was ſpread throughout all Britain almoſt in one night, that the Iriſh were at hand, deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword; which recalled to the minds of men that cruel and dreadful maſſacre of all the proteſtants in ſo many cities and provinces of France and Ireland, committed by the papiſts, and defended and praiſed by Muretus and other writers. When the dread of this rumour had alarmed both city and country, all ranks and conditions had every where recourſe to arms. All was in confuſion in the towns and in the open fields. The affrighted multitude could ſee nothing for ſeveral days but preſent death. Many fled with their wives and children to places of ſafety; while others broke into the houſes of their adverſaries, and made bonfires of maſs books, and the other plunder of the papiſts at London.

IN Scotland, the epiſcopal clergy, with their wives and children, were violently turned out of doors by the village ruſtics, in the depth of a moſt ſevere winter.

DURING

BOOK II.

Outrages againſt papiſts.

DURING the time of this interregnum, the dregs of the London mob not only demoliſhed the popiſh maſs-houſes, but alſo tumultuouſly plundered a part of the houſe of Don Ronquillo, the Spaniſh ambaſſador; the reſt was preſerved by an ingenious artifice of that nobleman. Ronquillo, well underſtanding the humour of the giddy multitude, ordered his prieſt to pray for ſucceſs to the prince of Orange, under the penalty of being hanged within two hours. The prieſt excuſed himſelf, by the difference of religion, and ſcruples of conſcience. The ambaſſador replied, That he was ſatisfied as to the point of conſcience, there was nothing in it that any one needed to fear; and that we are to be governed by the times, and not by opinions: whereupon the prieſt ſubmitted. Thus the ambaſſador appeaſed the rage of the multitude: the Engliſh had a proof how the Spaniards ſtood affected to the prince of Orange; and the damage done the ambaſſador, was ſoon after ordered to be overpaid to him out of the public money. Ronquillo gave in an account of his own debts, among the article of his loſſes.

IN thoſe times of general jealouſies and fears, while others fled into France, the earl of Sunderland thought fit to retire into Holland; for the common people were full of audacious madneſs againſt the king's miniſters. As ſoon as Sunderland arrived in Holland, he was ſeized by ſome licentious ſailors, and carried before the chief burgher of Rotterdam: and, being preſently diſcharged, he went forthwith to one Jervies, who was in thoſe parts looked upon as a prophet. This prophet, as it happened, was much eſteemed by the princeſs of Orange. He therefore was the only man by whom the earl of Sunderland deſired to be inſtructed, and was accordingly now, for the firſt time, inſtructed by him in matters of religion. In order to ingratiate himſelf ſtill further with the people, he took care, as a ſhew of religion, to have a bible carried with him to church, and whitherſoever he went. By his addreſs and affectation of piety he inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of Jervies, through whoſe influence with the princeſs of Orange he returned in a ſhort time to England, thoroughly inſtructed in religion, and in full poſſeſſion of popular approbation. He not only eſcaped puniſhment, but even became a favourite with the prince of Orange. When he left Utrecht, he committed his ſon to the

the care of Trimnel, a pious clergyman, to be inſtructed in the laws and religion of the Dutch republic. The ſon in genius and diſpoſition, which are ſo often tranſmitted with blood, perfectly reſembled his father. This youth devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of letters, and collected an excellent library.

DADA, the nuntio, and divers other foreign miniſters, in thoſe times of danger, for the ſafety of their lives, fled from the country. A more confuſed ſcene than this flight of both the king and his adherents, cannot be imagined. Certain prieſts, of the order of the Jeſuits, were intercepted by a band of robbers; who, having ſtripped them of what they had, ſent them away with a joke. They did it, they ſaid, that the ſcripture might fulfilled: "Naked ye came hither, and naked ye go hence;" and ſo wiſhed the poor Jeſuits a good journey. Dada found ſafety, not in any reſpect to his character of Nuntio, but in the protection of the prince of Orange.

IN this diſſolute and unreſtrained fury of the people, the lord Jeffries, lord high chancellor of England, a man of unbounded inſolence, was not only diſmiſſed from his office, but being carried by the mob before the lord mayor, and committed to the Tower, he died there, either through terror, or exceſs of drinking: at the ſight of which the lord mayor died through fear.

THE biſhop of Durham fled into Holland, and found protection, when abroad, in the ſingular goodneſs of Mr. James Montague: but at home, Mr. Sidney Montague, and Mr. Charles Montague, who were of kin to the biſhop, prevailed with the prince of Orange to grant him a pardon. They owned all that they reported of him to be true; but declared that none could be more heartily ſorry for thoſe things than they were: whereupon the prince of Orange pardoned him.

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THE earl of Mulgrave being afraid of his houſe, in thoſe licentious times, let it to the earl of Devonſhire. He abandoned king James, and returned to the church of England for his own ſafety, rather than out of regard to religion.

WHEN James arrived in France he met with a very kind reception; the palace of St. Germains was allotted for his reſidence; and the French king promiſed to reſtore him to his throne, and to do every thing becoming his grandeur. King James, writing to his Engliſh ſubjects, exhorted them to retain their allegiance to him till his return. At his departure from England, he had given orders about his horſes and dogs, and ſuch other things as he left behind him, as if he had been ſoon to return to his kingdom; by which appearance of reſolution, many were perſuaded to believe that he would come back again in a ſhort time. In the mean while there were many who exhorted the people not to forget the oath they had taken to the king, and to give him their aſſiſtance.

SIR GEORGE MACKENZIE, not being acceptable to the prince of Orange retired to Oxford: where, either through the mortification of his being ſlighted at court, or remorſe of conſcience at former cruelties, he died not long after. The viſcount of Dundee being ſlighted by the prince of Orange, haſtened into Scotland.

DOUGLAS, together with many of the commanders of the army, ſubmitted to the prince of Orange. But the time would fail me to relate all the proofs which the people gave of their zeal for the prince of Orange. All the heads of colleges highly applauded his virtue and piety, which it had pleaſed God to make uſe of for completing this glorious work of their deliverance. But the eloquence of Mr. Francis Atterbury, then a young man of Oxford, was inceſſantly diſplayed there, and the indefatigable endeavours of Mr. Charles Leſlie in Ireland were exerted in defence of the royal cauſe.

In the mean time the prince of Orange, well knowing that the ſucceſs of his whole undertaking depended on expedition, and reſolute to ſurmount all difficulties, employed his mind upon ſettling the kingdom; for the French king was already at the gates of Holland: a fierce war was ready to break out, both in Ireland and Scotland, under the conduct of the earl of Tyrconnel, and the viſcount Dundee; and many people were concerting meaſures with the king in order to his reſtoration.

Meeting of parliament.

On the meeting of the convention, the prince of Orange acquainted them, that he would not be wanting to them in their endeavours for healing the wounds of the nation as ſoon as poſſible; but if they neglected this opportunity, it would be in vain for them afterwards to aſk his aſſiſtance, how much ſoever they might ſtand in need of it. If he had any deeper deſign he thought fit to conceal it.

The members being aſſembled, as I have already ſhewn, began to ſpeak of the praiſe and glory of this nation, the reſolution of their anceſtors, and the violation of their religious and civil rights by king James. They enumerated the grievances of popery and ſlavery; and very ſharp ſpeeches were made againſt the king, who, without a battle, without being moved thereto by any hardſhips or judgement paſſed in parliament, had choſe to abdicate the kingdom, and put himſelf into the hands of the ancient enemy of this nation.

In the houſe of peers, archbiſhop Sancroft propoſed a thorough examination of the queen's delivery, before they proceeded to any thing elſe; and inſiſted on the marks upon the child. Some ſaid, while the king was abſent, all their laws and judgements were at a ſtand; and that this was not a convention of the ſtates, but a multitude of furious rebels aſſembled together. Others were of opinion, that king James and his miniſters ought to be ſeverely treated, and to ſuffer ſome exemplary puniſhment: but the prince of Orange deſired that the queſtion for any puniſhment of the king might not be propoſed. He thought, that ſince his meaſures had been ſo fortunately and providentially broken and defeated, they ought not to add any

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farther load of miſery to thoſe ruins under which he was now overwhelmed; but might ſatisfy themſelves with not raiſing him up again who was already down. Some of the lords inſiſted that the throne was not vacant; others, that it was full by law: but they all readily agreed in this, that in a mixed government the conſtitution cannot fall to pieces through the king's default, nor the ſociety be now diſſolved.

SOME propoſed to declare the prince of Orange king, as being both the next ſucceſſor to the throne, and the actual deliverer of the nation; others that he ſhould be appointed perpetual regent of the kingdom. On the other ſide, ſome thought they owed the ſame duty to king James when abſent as preſent; and therefore would not have had the prince of Orange made king, but guardian of the kingdom for the time. This propoſition was warmly oppoſed.

Debates concerning the vacancy and ſucceſſion to the throne.

IT was ſaid, that it was big with ruin to all concerned in the cauſe of liberty and of their own deliverance, as it would, in fact, if agreed to, involve them in the crime of high treaſon. It was alſo argued in the convention, that the king's religion was an inſuperable objection to his claim of ſovereignty, upon the ſame principles that were maintained in the diſpute concerning the right of Henry IV. of France, who being bred a proteſtant, profeſſed a religion different from that of the French nation. The king of England, it was urged, was in a ſituation preciſely ſimilar to that of the French monarch; and that the rights of both were therefore alſo ſimilar. This reaſoning, it was alleged, derived additional force, from the conſideration that, in the opinion of the Jeſuits, who governed the counſels of the king, no "faith was to be kept with heretics." And it was farther inſiſted, that if the religion of the Gallican church, prevailed over the hereditary and natural rights of kings, much more ought the church of England, which was the beſt in the world, to be allowed the ſame prerogative. But, to paſs by the arguments and opinions of many different ſpeakers, the houſe of commons at laſt agreed unanimouſly in the following reſolutions, which were accordingly carried up to the houſe of lords: "That king James II. having endeavoured to ſub-

" vert the conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original con-
" tract between king and people, and by the advice of Jeſuits,
" and other wicked perſons, having violated the fundamental laws,
" and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, hath abdicated the go-
" vernment; and that the throne is thereby vacant." It was alſo reſolved, " That it ſhall not be lawful, from henceforth, to commit " this kingdom to any popiſh king."

To theſe reſolutions the lords readily aſſented: only they inſerted the word *deſerted* inſtead of *abdicated*; and left out the words, " *and* " *that the throne is thereby vacant.*" On this a long and warm debate aroſe. The peers inſiſted that the word *abdicated* is not a word known to the common law of England; and that the throne was not *ſo* vacant, as if the king had made a formaal renunciation of his right, and excluded himſelf from the power of ever returning to the throne.

THE commons replied, That both the words *abdicate* and *vacate* are well known, as they occur both in the moſt approved authors, and in the law of nations; for which they produced many authorities of antiquity: that ſince they had agreed about the thing, it was to no purpoſe now to differ about words. " Did not your lordſhips," ſaid they, " lately deſire the prince of Orange to take upon him the admi-
" niſtration of the vacant kingdom? And why did you ſo? Becauſe
" the king had exerted his utmoſt endeavours to ſubvert the laws and
" religion of the country; had abdicated the government, and his
" right to the crown; and laſtly, had put himſelf into the hands of
" a foreign enemy, thereby renouncing, at once, the right of the
" kingdom and his own liberty. For, could he be his own maſter,
" and retain his authority over you, who was not himſelf at liberty?"

To ſay nothing of the repartees, and pointed expreſſions of Sir Charles Sidney, and the wrangling of the crowd of ſpeakers, after long debates, the populace, who very reaſonably think they have a right to ſpeak their minds when their all is at ſtake, petitioned the convention, declaring their general inclination in favour of the prince of Orange. At length, the peers agreed to the abdication: and the kingdom which king

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Act of ſucceſſion in favour of the prince of Orange.

king James had abdicated, by withdrawing himſelf from England, was, by a new law, ſettled upon the prince of Orange; which reſolution was immediately carried to him, with profeſſions of all duty, on the 13th day of February 1689. And now, for the firſt time, the Engliſh nation, by a ſolemn declaration, eſtabliſhed the boaſted rights of their anceſtors. Papiſts, or thoſe who married a papiſt, were utterly excluded from all right of ſucceſſion to this kingdom: and laſtly, the authority of judging peers was transferred to the houſe of peers; which gave great offence to the commons. But the great preparations of the French, both by land and ſea, and the inſurrections, both in Scotland and Ireland, made it neceſſary for the convention to diſpatch thoſe things with all imaginable haſte.

THOSE who were attached to king James, in their diſcourſe freely cenſured thoſe proceedings as full of wickedneſs and violence; and, in their libels, reproached the prince and princeſs of Orange with a breach of that duty which children owe to their parents. To this it was anſwered, on the other ſide, that our duty and reſpect is in the firſt place due to God, and in the next place to our country, which is our common parent, and whoſe good we are all obliged to conſult: that though both the king and people may be liable to miſtakes, yet none can be miſtaken, either in the abdication or the deſigns of king James. But if ſome things have paſſed diſorderly, and in a hurry, in the convention, it is no wonder; ſince, when all things are in danger of ruin, there is not leiſure and opportunity, neither is it always fit to obſerve exactly the fundamental maxims of the kingdom, and the various examples of antiquity; for, in the diſtraction of men's minds, and the noiſe of arms, occaſioned by the king's flight, the words of the law could not be attended to. And, if there was any thing extraordinary in this determination, the Engliſh have ſomewhat to plead in their own defence, in the hiſtory of many other countries; for, in all unforeſeen incidents in public affairs, new reſolutions muſt be taken according to the new emergencies. Neither are we the firſt nation that has deſtroyed an unworthy prince; nor is this the firſt time that, when one king has failed, we have ſet up another in Britain.

THE

THE day before this act of ſucceſſion paſſed in England, the princeſs of Orange, in obedience to her huſband, arrived from Holland in very tempeſtuous weather. The princeſs was a lady of a majeſtic appearance, tall of ſtature, full of affability and courteſy, with a becoming gracefulneſs of behaviour in every action. They were ſolemnly proclaimed by the title of king William III. and queen Mary, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people. Dr. Burnet, who thought himſelf a perſon of no ſmall conſequence, after this ſolemnity, had the preſumption to find fault with the behaviour of the new queen, and to endeavour to correct it according to his own fancy; taking upon him, as if he had been her tutor, to direct the whole of her manners and deportment, and inſiſting that ſhe ought to put on an air of ſorrow, amidſt all the public rejoicings, out of regard to her abdicated father. He alſo adviſed Mynheer Bentinck to give the like directions to the new king: but William, who needed not any inſtructions on this ſubject, ſaid, "That Dr. Burnet might put on what "air he thought fit; as for himſelf, he would act conformably to his "own rules, and thoſe of his heralds."

Proclamation of William and Mary.

IN Scotland, where the rights and liberties of the kingdom are determined and fixed by multiplied examples of the puniſhment of kings, and where the conſtitution is ſuch, that the ſovereign is not leſs ſubject to the penalties of the laws, than authoriſed to enact them *, the ſettlement of the crown was a leſs difficult matter. The duke of Hamilton, preſident of the convention, that every thing might paſs in a more regular and orderly manner, directed the members to ſpeak according to their reſpective ranks and dignities, and to ſhorten their ſpeeches in proportion to the urgency of the time. And firſt of all, after returning thanks to the prince of Orange, the queſtion was propoſed concerning the biſhops right of voting; which was carried againſt them, on the principle that it was an uſurpation, and not agreeable to the goſpel of Chriſt. It was in vain here to appeal to the judgment of the fathers, and the decrees of councils. The laws of Scotland did not authoriſe the biſhops to vote: their cuſtomary right

Debates in the Scottiſh parliament, and tender of the crown to king William and queen Mary.

* As Buchanan has fully proved in his treatiſe "De Jure Regni apud Scotos."

of

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of voting was ſolely derived from kings; and thoſe being removed, all their right of voting fell of courſe; eſpecially with regard to the making and depoſing of kings. Charles II. in his firſt parliament, ſubjected the privilege of the biſhops to the ſovereign authority: ſo that nothing was due to them, on pretence of a divine right, or any other claim whatſoever: all depended on the favour of kings, and the royal prerogative; which was wound up to the higheſt pitch by the duke of Lauderdale. And laſtly, the Scots biſhops were ſo rigid, and ſo zealouſly devoted to king James, as appeared by their late congratulation, that at this time the people could not endure them.

GREAT pains were taken in this affair, by Sir James Montgomery and Sir John Dalrymple, men of the higheſt authority in the Scots convention, on account of their great parts and eloquence. At laſt, the biſhops were voted out of the convention, as having plainly demonſtrated, that they were enemies to the common cauſe, and averſe to the humour of the times. In the mean while, a tumultuous rabble was aſſembled, the city filled with arms, the country full of inſurrections, and the epiſcopal clergy every where treated with barbarity. In the midſt of this licentiouſneſs, the prince of Orange, thinking that matters of religion were not within his province, permitted the Scots to chuſe for themſelves, according to their own opinion and judgment; deſiring them only to forbear all revenge and cruelty on account of religion, and to maintain their liberty obtained by the lenity of the laws, at once with firmneſs and moderation.

Inſurrection headed by the viſcount Dundee.

THE lord viſcount Dundee, a man of great ſpirit and reſolution, when the intereſt of the biſhops miſcarried in the convention, withdrew himſelf into the north, where he took up arms, and became the head of an inſurrection: and having taken Blair, which opened a way for him into the iſlands, he fortified caſtles, concerted meaſures with king James, and raiſed an army of highlanders; while the duke of Gordon, governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh, who held a correſpondence with Dundee, threatened to lay the city and convention together, in aſhes. That place, being ſo dangerous to the city, was beſieged by the

the prince of Orange's ſoldiers, and ſoon taken. Some letters were intercepted from the viſcount Dundee to king James, in which he informed him that his affairs were in a very hopeful way; and that he would open for him the only road to the throne of England, which, he ſaid, lay through Scotland.

In the mean time, the rights of the kingdom being aſſerted and confirmed by the convention, the reſolution for transferring the kingdom to the prince of Orange, paſſed only by a majority of eleven votes. It was chiefly oppoſed by Sir James Ogilvy, who at that time was a ſtrenuous aſſerter of the right of king James. The earl of Argyle, Sir John Dalrymple, and Sir James Montgomery, by an order of the convention, were ſent to London, for a confirmation of the rights of the kingdom, and to make a tender of the crown to the prince of Orange. They were kindly received at court; and the prince and princeſs, having taken the oaths according to law, were ſolemnly proclaimed king and queen in Scotland: the convention of the ſtates was now turned into a parliament.

But before the princes were crowned, and even while the Scots deputies were on the road, a great quarrel aroſe among them, about dignities and places. Montgomery, who was certainly a man of good parts, but of a reſtleſs ſpirit, being diſappointed of his hopes, immediately began to conſpire the deſtruction of king William; and wrote to James to declare his repentance, in order to regain his favour. Having drawn many illuſtrious perſons into his ſentiments and confederacy, he now exerted as much induſtry in oppoſition to the revolution, as he had formerly ſhewn in ſupport of it: for, as he had aſſumed to himſelf the ſole honour of conferring the crown upon the prince of Orange, ſo now, being full of revenge, he inſolently threatened to take it away again; and thus, by his precipitate intemperance, forfeited all that he had formerly merited both of the king and commonwealth. He now formed a cabal for carrying his criminal deſign into execution.

The earl of Anandale, and the lord Roſs, aſſociates of Montgomery's, were committed to the Tower of London. The duke of Hamilton,

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milton, for being barely privy to this matter, loſt not a little of the king's favour. Nor was it any wonder, if Sir James Ogilvy, as it is reported, in order to extricate himſelf out of the difficulty, diſcovered his confederates.

In the place of the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Melvill, ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, was ſent into that kingdom as lord high commiſſioner. For the king choſe men of known fidelity and attachment to his perſon, rather than thoſe who were illuſtrious for either birth or abilities.

Kirk of Scotland.

In this parliament of Scotland, the king, obſerving that neither the pope, nor the higher powers, are able to moderate controverſies of religion, granted to the kirk ſuch miniſters as the people ſhould make choice of. The clergy, whom in Scotland they call the curates, being ejected by an armed band of the country rabble, the right of patronage was veſted by law in the people. A certain limited cenſorial power was allowed to the ſynods, for reforming the manners of their miniſters; and a general aſſembly of the kirk was appointed to be held every year: on which account the Scots ſeemed to think that the Jews were reſtored to the poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem. The ſingular piety and religion of the houſe of Orange now reſounded throughout all Scotland.

These proceedings being much aggravated in England, a numerous party of the church was filled at once with indignation, and an apprehenſion left the former rigid ſanctity of the preſbyterians ſhould return again among them, and reduce them to the neceſſity of reforming their manners, which were greatly corrupted with eaſe and luxury.

Many eminent men, who, through the ſeverity of the late times, had been outlawed, were now, by parliament, reſtored to their real eſtates. Other things taken away, whether in the name of fines, penalties, or proſcriptions, were given back. The earls of Argyle, Sutherland, and Melvin, the laird of Polwart, Mr. George Bailey, and others, recovered their inheritances by law. But Mr. Fletcher, a man

man of great probity, as well as ſpirits, but very much bigoted to his own opinions, would not return to his eſtate by any law but his own; and that without aſking leave of kings or parliaments. Some, who had no eſtates of their own, ſought poſſeſſion of others: but the king did not readily grant their requeſts; and as it is natural to men to prefer their private intereſt to the public good, and that the king could not gratify them all, he ſent many of thoſe, who boaſted of their merits, out of the way, by honourable embaſſies abroad: Mr. Cox to the Swiſs Cantons; Mr. James Johnſton, ſtill well known, both on account of his father's death, and his own good ſervices, to the elector of Brandenburgh, on the recommendation of Dr. Burnet; Mr. Moleſworth to the king of Denmark; Duncomb to the king of Sweden; the lord Paget to the emperor; Mr. William Herbert, a troubleſome man, to the grand ſignior: and laſtly, to notify his acceſſion to the throne, he diſpatched the young earl of Pembroke, his ambaſſador extraordinary to the United Provinces. The earl behaved himſelf with ſuch moderation and gravity, that none could be more dear to the king, or more acceptable to the republic. In order to ſettle all differences at home, he, according to act of parliament, ſent his directions to the biſhops ſees, and the colleges, where many people began to move, in hopes of innovations. The contentions which aroſe at firſt in the colleges, wherein Sir George Mackenzie and Mr. Francis Atterbury are ſaid to have been concerned in Oxford, and the fellows of St. John's college in Cambridge, ſpread at laſt among the people. Theſe no ſooner made their way into parliament than they were agitated there with great party zeal. At laſt, conſpiracies were formed, and ready to burſt forth into open hoſtilities. Part of the earl of Dumbarton's regiment left their colours, but were preſently reduced to order by general Ginkel. The lord viſcount Preſton was committed to the Tower; and being condemned for high treaſon, was, through the king's clemency, eaſily pardoned: but when he was at liberty, he refuſed to confirm the confeſſion which he had made before. Whereupon, through the impunity of ſome, many others grew bolder againſt the king, and the party of king James began to revive, even before the new king and queen's corona-

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tion. Here we have the moſt conſpicuous proofs and examples of the extreme inconſtancy of human nature, and how prone we are to change both our inclinations and opinions. The injuries done by the unfortunate are often loſt in pity for their diſtreſſes, and they obtain that favour from ſympathy, which is not due to the merits of their cauſe. Even one, of the name of Campbell, who accompanied the prince of Orange into England, is ſaid to have fallen, in thoſe times, into popery *.

New oaths.

DEBATES aroſe in parliament, whether the king's title was *de facto*, or *de jure?* on which account new oaths were adminiſtered. A certain clergyman, who had taken the new oaths, but was diſappointed of his hopes, boaſted that he knew how to diſſolve the obligation of any oath whatſoever. Hence an inundation of evils. Many diſſenters, to ſhare the king's bounty, having taken the oaths, conformed to the church of England, as the laws required; which certainly turned to more account, in point of profit to the churchmen, than of advantage to the church itſelf.

THE nonjurors, in general, were turned out of their places and preferments. Some took the oaths in order to keep themſelves in their colleges. The caſe of thoſe men was certainly entitled to ſome indulgence; and their conduct will even appear excuſable, if we compare it with that of thoſe who take the oaths to government, only to betray the meaſures of adminiſtration. Such relaxation of morals not only bring a ſcandal on religion, but the authority of parliament, too, is held in defiance: and all this is the work of clergymen, who wiſh to paſs themſelves for the interpreters both of the will of God, and the laws of man.

ALL this time Dr. Sherlock, a grave divine, and eminent for his writings, prevailed with many not to take the oaths; ſome of whoſe families, on that account, are ſaid to have periſhed for want.

* The clan of the Campbells have uniformly been among the moſt zealous whigs in Scotland.

WHILE

WHILE theſe things were tranſacted in England for the ſettlement of the kingdom, the Scots, who are naturally hot, and had been provoked to revenge, in order to put a ſtop to that growing evil, of taking away the religious obligation of oaths, thought fit to purge their colleges of what they termed the old leaven. Dr. Fall, Dr. Monroe, Mr. Gregory, and others, men of the greateſt reputation for learning and innocence of life, being turned out of their colleges, were honourably received by the Engliſh, on condition they would take the new oaths. And many riots were committed by the very ſcum of the mob, under the conduct of one Brown, a wretch, who, having afterwards entered into the ſervice of Poland, was advanced to the higheſt dignities.

THE curates being ejected from their livings, the number of clergymen and miniſters increaſed, in Scotland, to a greater number than that country could maintain and provide for: for the biſhops, on the one ſide, and the preſbyterians, on the other, daily ordained new miniſters, that labourers might not be wanting for the work in hand.

MANY of the countrymen and Cameronians, who had been guilty of tumults during the interregnum, were now enliſted into companies; and the earl of Angus, a very hopeful youth, was appointed to command them. And not long after, when affairs in Scotland were ſettled, they were ſent over into Holland, where, by the exhortations of Mr. Shelſey, their chaplain, a man of valour, as well as piety, they did very great ſervice during the continuation of the war. The reſt of the rabble, after having burned Dunkell, returned again to their ploughing and other labours, highly elated with the notion of having ſecured their religion.

BUT a much greater affair was now on foot in England. For the high churchmen demanded all the lands and poſſeſſions, which had been taken away from the abbots and monks in the days of king Henry VIII. and queen Elizabeth, to be reſtored to them as a reward for

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for their diligence and good ſervices, and that the ancient hierarchy ſhould be reſtored. But not a word was ſaid concerning the ſimplicity of the goſpel.

THESE demands were ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the great men, whoſe intereſt it was to keep poſſeſſion of what they had got. Sir Edward Seymour exclaimed, "What is this, but to throw popery out at the window, "and to open the door to let it in again?" While the clergy from the pulpit threatened the poſſeſſors with the cenſure of an interdict, the common people, who dare not to undertake any thing of themſelves, and are not admitted into the ſecret counſels, but are generally oppreſſed with injuries of the more powerful, being much terrified, ſeemed to take part with thoſe they looked upon as the interpreters of religious matters; for they thought it a dreadful puniſhment to be debarred from all holy ordinances. On the other ſide, it was anſwered in writing, that the people might ſee that the authority of prieſthood was not derived from the pure fountain of Chriſtianity, but borrowed from the Druids. In proof of this, ſome of them referred to that paſſage in Cæſar: "They who are by them interdicted, are "reckoned among the wicked and profane; all people withdraw from "their preſence, and avoid their company and converſation, leſt "they ſhould receive ſome hurt from them by contagion: neither "are they allowed the benefit of the law when they ſue for it, &c." But at length this matter was made up by the advice of Dr. Tillotſon.

ABOUT this time, Ludlow, one of the old regicides, who had lived an exile in Swiſſerland thirty years together, came over into England: on the notice of which Sir Edward Seymour, who was poſſeſſed of part of his eſtate, exclaimed loudly againſt him, and entreated that the preſent glorious work might by no means be expoſed to the ſcandal of having any thing to do with a regicide. Ludlow, therefore, being forewarned that he was in danger of being called to account, returned to Swiſſerland, where he died not long after. The king began now to ſee that many people were

were opening ſuch ways for advancing themſelves to riches, as were inconſiſtent with that virtue which is the ſpirit and life of free government.

State of learning.

AND now it may not be improper to give a ſhort account of the ſtate of arts and ſciences during that period. The valuable treaſure of medals collected by king Charles I. being rifled and diſperſed, the fine arts were neglected through the whole time of the rebellion; and their place uſurped by party rage, and the moſt fooliſh controverſies about metaphyſical notions in religion. After the reſtoration of king Charles II. all his revenue was little enough for his pleaſures and recreations. Yet he took care to have a royal edition of the Polyglott Bible. And though there are but few ſuch inſtances of royal bounty, it is certain that both the parts and purſes of private perſons were not wanting to the promotion of learning.

DURING the reign of king James II. the genius, wit, and induſtry of the nation were exhauſted in libels and controverſies: but on the acceſſion of king William, men employed their parts in explaining the laws of nature, and public rights and duties; ſo that Britons are reckoned at this time to excel all other nations in this kind of learning. Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, and Mr. Dryden, were principal advocates for the king's rights, and the popiſh party. They were oppoſed by the clergy of the church of England, Dr. Comber, Dr. Teniſon, Dr. Sharpe, Mr. Atterbury, Mr. Smalridge, &c. The rights of the people were defended by Mr. John Somers, Sir George Treby, and other eminent lawyers. The marquis of Halifax wrote a little book of advice to his daughter, concerning the duty and behaviour of women, after the manner of Tully's Offices; Dr. Sherlock wrote upon death and judgment, in ſuch a manner as not only to remove all the bitterneſs of death, but ſo as to render it eaſy, and even deſirable. The Principia of Newton diſplayed ſuch profundity of judgment as far ſurpaſſed both the genius and diſcoveries of antiquity, and the capacity of his own contemporaries;

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and that divine production of Mr. John Locke on Human Underſtanding, opens the juſteſt views that have been yet exhibited of the internal world, and is, beyond compariſon, the beſt treatiſe that has ever been written on the nature of the evidence of truth and knowledge.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK III.

Coronation of William III. and Mary, King and Queen.——Definition of Whigs and Tories.——Tillotſon made Archbiſhop of Canterbury.——Rebellion in Ireland.——The Lord Viſcount Dundee raiſes an Army of Scotch Highlanders.——Their Character.——Battle of Gillicranky.——Maſſacre of Glencoe.——Continental Affairs.——Affairs of Ireland.——Battle of the Boyne.——Sundry Promotions.——Affairs of Savoy.——Religious Controverſies.——Naval Improvements.——Grand Alliance.——Movements of the French King.——King James's Queen delivered of a Daughter in France.——Namur taken by the French.——Battle of Steenkirk.——French Invaſion and Conſpiracy at home diſconcerted by the Queen.——Sea Fight between the French and Engliſh.——A great Earthquake.——Battle of Landen.——Hanover made an Electorate.——Rapacity of the Earl of Portland.——Accuſation in Parliament againſt Dr. Burnet.——Bill for Triennial Parliaments.——King William goes to Holland, and takes the Field againſt the French.——Death of Queen Mary.

THE new king and queen, according to appointment, were ſolemnly crowned with the accuſtomed ceremonies in Weſtminſter Abbey, on the 11th day of April 1689, in the preſence of ſeveral biſhops and peers, and a great multitude of people of all ranks.

Coronation of William and Mary.

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The archbiſhop of York, who had been juſt promoted to his high ſtation by king James, did not heſitate to aſſiſt at this ſolemnity. Archbiſhop Sancroft, the primate of all England, more diſtinguiſhed by the firmneſs of his mind, than either learning or knowledge of the world, had fallen off from the new king and queen, and withdrawn from the court, probably imagining that without his aſſiſtance they could not be crowned. As a memorial of this coronation, a medal was ſtruck with this inſcription:

Gulielmus et Maria Rex et Regina.

On this medal their majeſties heads were united; and on the reverſe was repreſented Phaeton falling, with this motto:

Ne totus abſumatur, xi. die April. 1689.

Dr. Burnet, on occaſion of this ſolemnity, preached before their majeſties concerning the duty of a good prince; and, at great length, exhorted the people to approve thoſe of whom God had approved. Hence aroſe a new controverſy: for the reaſoning of Burnet ſuppoſed that actions were to be judged of only according to their events; and that whoever had ſucceſs in any undertaking was certainly approved of by God, and therefore alſo ought to be approved of by the people! However, all men acknowledged, that nothing could have been more infatuated than the conduct of king James, eſpecially in his leaving the kingdom, nor any thing more prudent than that of the prince of Orange. But how theſe things came to be conſidered as points of religion, no man can tell. The prince of Orange, who had full experience of both fortunes, aſcribed much to divine providence; but yet, taught by the example of king James, he thought it not adviſable to put much confidence in ſermons, which even Dr. Burnet himſelf uſed to call the dregs of the pulpit! The archbiſhop of York, and Dr. Burnet, now promoted to the ſee of Saliſbury, not being yet conſecrated, could not duly perform the ſolemnity of the coronation, which was therefore ſolemnized by a prelate of more diſtinguiſhed piety than either of them, Dr. Compton, biſhop of London.

WHEN the coronation was over, the king, whoſe mind was intent upon the public affairs, ſending for ſome of the principal perſons of the nation, exhorted them to ſettle the government by act of parliament, and to take care to have the grievances under which they had formerly laboured, now redreſſed, which he thought was a thing to be done at once, and not to be always a-doing: for his part, he declared he would have regard to his own dignity and the public ſafety, according to his oath; and would adminiſter the government according to the laws, with the advice of his counſel: for king William choſe rather to be king over a divided parliament, than give up himſelf to be governed by either party. Having appointed lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal and the treaſury, the king nominated judges and juſtices of the peace, for the diſtribution of juſtice among his people, by the advice of Sir John Mainard, the lord chief juſtice Treby, and Mr. John Somers, who was made attorney general.

ABOUT this time, the ambition of ſome of his friends, and the licentiouſneſs of others, gave the king no ſmall trouble. A rape, committed by captain James Campbell, gave very general offence; for which Sir James Johnſton, who was an acceſſory to it, was proſecuted and hanged. Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, a man of great influence in the parliament, now became diſaffected to government. The king, tired out with the daily ſolicitations and importunate diſcourſes of Mr. Thomas Wharton, gave orders to invite the earl of Shrewſbury, and ſome other noble perſons, who had deſerved well of him, and were famous for their wit, to a private ſupper with him; and among the reſt, Mr. Wharton, whom nothing would content but the office of ſecretary of ſtate. As ſoon as they were met together, the king deſired them all to be as free there as any where. The entertainment being continued with great liberality to a very late hour, they began to grow warm with wine. It is reported that the king, looking upon Mr. Wharton, ſaid, "The crown ſhould not be the worſe for his "wearing it:" adviſed them to be content with his bounty, ſo far as he could beſtow it; and then, laying his hand upon his ſword, added, "What others perform by intreaties, I will take care to perform with "this." From that time Mr. Wharton became more obſequious to

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the king's humour, and never forſook his party in any difficulty. The marquis of Halifax alſo began to have ſome ſhare in his majeſty's favour. The king perceiving the thick air of London not to agree with him, purchaſed Kenſington-houſe of the earl of Nottingham; who now was reconciled to the king's party, and was made his principal ſecretary of ſtate.

Whigs and Tories.

WHILE their majeſties were beginning to ingratiate themſelves with the people, dangerous party-feuds were carried on in parliament between thoſe whom we muſt here diſtinguiſh by the uncouth denominations of Tories and Whigs, though without prejudice or favour to either of them. They both poſſeſſed equal zeal for the king's ſervice. But the one party boaſted of their being the only aſſerters of the rites and ceremonies of the church of England, and aimed at raiſing the royal authority higher than is fitting in a free government. The other valued themſelves upon their favouring all ſorts of proteſtants alike, and maintaining the rights of the people. This party therefore was moſt acceptable to the king, who had his education among the Dutch. Both theſe parties, when intruſted with power, are ſaid to have been equally intent upon their own intereſt; and whatever was done by the one, was, through ill example, followed by the other as a precedent. Thus it came to paſs, that the diſtinguiſhing cuſtoms of both parties, in theſe times, are for the moſt part derived from ill examples; and people now perceived how little regard is due to party denominations. Both parties contended for the adminiſtration of public affairs, like mariners ſtriving for the government of a ſhip. Both, without invading the rights of the kingdom, were equally intent upon the emoluments of office.

ABOUT this time, the marquis of Halifax, the earls of Devonſhire and Dorſet, and others, who had deſerved well of the prince of Orange, and their country, in the late revolution of government, being exhorted by the king never to loſe ſight of the common intereſt, and to pay due regard to juſtice and the public good, laid aſide in a great meaſure all party diſputes, and filled the offices conferred on them by his majeſty with eaſe and with dignity; ſeldom engaging

in

in the warmer debates of parliament, but when the public ſafety ſeemed to be in danger. But the earls of Shrewſbury and Nottingham, the lords Wharton, Ruſſel, Mordaunt, and others, in the heat and vigour of youth, were continually launching forth in the moſt tempeſtuous ſeas of parliamentary debates; and diſputed about things of little conſequence, as if all had been at ſtake. The earl of Clare cared for nothing but his own private affairs, and demonſtrated to the world how great fortune lies in frugality. The earl of Mulgrave, being deſirous of a ſhare in the new king's favour, now returned to the religion of his country, with the ſame indifference with which, in the former reign, he had left it. This being told to king James in France, he, and he only, wondered at Mulgrave's unſteadineſs in religion.

THE parliament no ſooner began to impoſe new taxes, very little of which, on account of the multitude and the avarice of the collectors, came into the treaſury, than general diſcontents prevailed throughout the nation. Thoſe who had oppoſed all the meaſures of government ſince the beginning of this reign, were greatly offended both at the raiſing of ſo much money, and at the levying of what they called mercenary taxes. Among other arguments, "who," ſaid they, "will "give ſecurity that all this money ſhall not be made uſe of for the "purpoſe of enſlaving us? Our only confidence is in their majeſties' "temperance, good faith, and invariable attachment to the cauſe of "liberty. But it is a principle in human nature to fear the worſt; nor "is it in our power to baniſh our fears, leſt what we have ſeen done "in times paſt, may happen in time to come. The ſtability and the "ſafety of our former kings, making allowance for the pomp of ma-"jeſty, depended ſolely on the affections of their people; whereas we "are now involved in ſuch general diſcontents, as have hardly ever been "known at any former period."

To this reaſoning it was anſwered: "That though great reſpect was "due to our anceſtors, yet there was, in reality, as great a difference "between them and us, with regard to maxims of conduct, as to dreſs; "and that we were not to pay ſo much reſpect to ancient cuſtoms, as

"to

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" to the neceſſity of our preſent affairs. We are now engaged in a " war with France, wide in its extent, neceſſary in its nature, and " dangerous on account of its magnitude. Take care, therefore, how " you impede the wheels of government!"

At this time Dr. Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, endeavoured to bring all the different ſects and denominations of Chriſtians into an union and agreement with him in their ſentiments of religion. And, ſoon after, Dr. John Tillotſon, a man of piety, and diſtinguiſhed by the politeneſs of his manner, both in ſpeaking and writing, was promoted to the place of archbiſhop Sancroft. He had become a great favourite with the king, by his conſtant oppoſition to the artifices and intereſt of the earl of Sunderland. He now alſo reſtrained the power of the church within bounds, leſt it ſhould break out into tyranny, as it did in the reign of king Charles I. and render its juriſdiction obnoxious to the parliament. Thoſe alone he could never receive into his favour, who, by cavilling about words, would have put a falſe conſtruction upon laws and oaths: for he abhorred all double-dealing, and deſpiſed flattery.

In addition to our diſtractions at home, news arrived of the defeat of twelve of our men of war, by the French admiral Chateau Renaud, near the Land's End of England, the dread of which alarmed all the ſea coaſt. But the king would ſoon have recovered this loſs, if he had not foreſeen that he had a great ſtorm to weather, as well in the conſpiracies of ſome private perſons, as the convulſions in parliament; whereby the ſupplies were either delayed or raiſed upon bad funds; and that, at a time when all our coaſts and ſeas, and our very ports were infeſted with privateers; ſo that neither could any venture out to ſea, without hazarding his life or liberty; nor was any thing ſecure on our ſhores, our iſlands or plantations; whereby the cuſtoms were greatly diminiſhed, very little merchandize being either exported or imported. Two Scotch ſhips of war were taken. At this time braſs and pewter money was coined in Britain.

In

In Ireland, the defection was ſo general, that the whole kingdom declared for king James. I have not room here to deſcribe the panic which at this time ſeized the people in every part of the Britiſh dominions. The government newly eſtabliſhed in Britain, through the heat of parties, the wantonneſs of liberty, and the rapacity of individuals, ſeemed to many to be on the brink of ruin. Whence we may learn, how natural it is for men to deſpiſe the very objects of their moſt eager purſuit, as ſoon as they have obtained poſſeſſion of them. Church diſcipline was now relaxed; many purchaſed the right of patronage, and heaped up pluralities of preferments; a practice not permitted in Scotland.

Ireland in arms.

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, king William, in order to ſupport the tottering cauſe of liberty, entered into an alliance with the emperor, the king of Spain, and the Dutch: ſome of the German princes, who wanted money, joined theſe powers as auxiliaries. It is certain, that king William had favour enough with all princes to incline them to his intereſt; but his circumſtances were narrow. The emperor, engaged in war with the Turks, at firſt declined to contribute any thing but his bare authority to that againſt France. But at length, being prevailed upon by the preſſing inſtances of the confederates, he recalled the duke of Loraine to the Rhine, and gave the command of his army in Hungary to prince Lewis of Baden, who defeated the Turks in three ſeveral places. The king of Spain's affairs had been reduced ſo low, that he was hardly able to defend his own dominions: and therefore the whole burden of the war lay upon the Engliſh and Dutch.

Grand confederacy.

The ſudden inſurrection of the Iriſh, who deſtroyed all before them, forced many to take refuge in Britain; others fled into Derry, or any other place where they hoped to hide themſelves in ſafety. The king, obſerving that there had not been ſufficient preparation made by parliament for enabling him to carry on ſuch a war, reſolved firſt of all to hazard his perſon, in putting an end to that which was neareſt, and of moſt importance to himſelf. Having therefore aſſigned to the Dutch the money they had expended for the deliverance of England, and

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likewiſe tranſported to Holland the remains of king James's army, in whom he did not greatly confided, he applied himſelf with all his ſtrength to put an end to that furious war at home; and having reſtored the ancient diſcipline, both ſacred and civil, he ſtrengthened the kingdom, and made new laws for its government.

In France, alſo, many ſevere methods were deviſed for the raiſing ſupplies. The king himſelf converted even his own plate, tables, and other utenſils, into money.

Lord Dundee raiſes an army of Scotch Highlanders.

The king commanded major general Mackay, his lieutenant in Scotland, forthwith to march his forces into the northern parts, againſt the viſcount of Dundee, who had raiſed an army of Scotch Highlanders; a race of warriors, who fight by inſtinct. Theſe are a diſtinct people from the Lowlanders, of different manners, and a different language, of a ſtrong conſtitution of body, and naturally warlike: though of a very ready wit, they are utterly unacquainted with arts and diſcipline; for which reaſon they are leſs addicted to huſbandry and handicrafts than to arms, in which they are exerciſed by daily quarrels with one another. They take moſt pleaſure in that courſe of life which was followed by their anceſtors. They uſe but little corn, except in the ſhires of Murray and Roſs: their food, for the moſt part, is milk, cattle, veniſon, and fiſh; and they are much addicted to pillaging and hunting. Their children, when newly born, are plunged in cold water, not from any ideas of religion, but for the purpoſe of giving hardineſs and vigour to their bodies, which, from the continued practice of cold bathing, acquire ſuch a degree of firmneſs, that they can live in the coldeſt climates, even in the depth of winter, without any other clothing than a plaid; a garment ſo ſcanty, that a great part of their body may be ſeen uncovered: a circumſtance which, ſanctified by habit, occaſions not any feelings of modeſty. They are more attached by a ſimilarity of manners and dreſs, and the ſameneſs of name, than by the ties of kindred and nature. They contract more firm friendſhips over a pinch of tobacco-ſnuff, than from any natural feelings, or inſtinct of blood. Their daily exerciſe, and ſprightly freedom of living, increaſes both their

Their character.

ſtrength

ſtrength and ſtature. Their women are ſeldom married young; and are indeed long unmarriageable. They drink not ſo much wine as ale and aqua vitæ *. By this kind of liquor they fancy themſelves to be made more vigorous; but that by French wines, and ſweet things, men are rendered effeminate. The ſick among them will neither let blood, nor ſuffer a phyſician to be ſent for, leſt their health ſhould be thereby more impaired than recovered: and lawyers they mortally hate. Women who have newly lain in, wear only a looſe raiment, and next to none at all. They are generally well-ſhaped, and not unhandſome; and above all, of ſuch modeſt behaviour, though they go with their legs naked, that they are not apt to be deceived with the enticing words of men: neither is it thought any extraordinary honour among them, that their virginity is not ſuſpected when they marry. They reckon nothing more ſhameful than to refuſe any thing to their chief. Moſt of them are tall, and produce tall children, not being accuſtomed to hard labour or diſcipline, and ſeldom uſed to harſh treatment, or any kind of ſubjection. The men live to a great age, unleſs they chance to be cut off abruptly by an halter. Being in general poorly provided for, they are apt to covet other men's goods; nor are they taught by any laws to diſtinguiſh with great accuracy their own property from that of other people's. They are not aſhamed of the gallows: nay, they pay a religious reſpect to a fortunate plunderer; but whence they derived ſuch ſentiments I know not. Similar ideas prevail among the Neapolitans. Merchants who know them well, will not bring any goods among them, without a protection from their chief; to whom the common people adhere with the utmoſt fidelity, and by whoſe right hand they are wont to ſwear. Their religion is taken partly from the Druids, partly from papiſts, and partly from proteſtants. Neither do they pay any long or great regard to borrowed rites; but carry up many fabulous ſtories of their own to the higheſt antiquity. They are much inclined to predictions and ſuperſtitious omens. In bearing witneſs, they are not at all moved by the fear of God; nor do they regard an oath as any thing more than mere words and ceremony: neither do

* A ſpirit diſtilled from a kind of barley.

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they give themſelves the leaſt trouble about the inſtitutions of religion, until they have firſt violated it by ſome outrage or blood. They account it among the moſt ſcandalous crimes to deſert their chief, and to alter their dreſs and way of living. In time of peace they live by rapine. In war they excel on foot; but are little uſed to horſes, by reaſon of the ſituation of their country, full of dreadful woods and mountains. Their arms are a ſword, and dagger, and ſhield; and ſometimes they make uſe of piſtols. In battle, the point to which they bend their utmoſt efforts, and which they are moſt anxious to carry is, the enemy's baggage. If that once falls into their hands, diſregarding all diſcipline and oaths, and leaving their colours, home they run.

THESE clans, within the memory of our fathers, gained great reputation by their warlike exploits, under the command of the great marquis of Montroſe againſt the marquis of Argyle. The atchievements of their clan, under the conduct of that hero, and the puniſhments, too, inflicted on ſuch of their kindred as had been guilty of theft or rapine (for thieves and robbers they hold as martyrs), are, to this day, the uſual ſubjects of their ſongs, which they compoſe in their native language. Their minds, thus rouſed by the remembrance of former times, were eaſily drawn over by the viſcount of Dundee, who was of the family of Montroſe, to the intereſt of king James. They firmly believe, that the ancient kings of Scotland were deſcended from them, and wore the very ſame dreſs which they now wear: and therefore they were eaſily perſuaded that king James was of their own blood, and, by a kind of divine right, intitled to the crown. For they think there is ſomething ſacred in dreſs and ancient cuſtoms, for which it is not my intention to blame them.

THESE highlanders, then, actuated chiefly by the hope of plunder, aſſembling on the confines of Athol, immediately commenced hoſtilities, and maintained their ſtation at Dunkeld, till they were driven from thence by the Cameronians, who ſet fire to their houſes. Not far from Blair, they came down from the mountains, in order of battle, led on by the viſcount Dundee. After fighting with great

valour and ſucceſs, and making themſelves maſters of the enemy's baggage; the conquerors alſo ſuddenly betook themſelves to flight. It was a ſingular ſpectacle to ſee both armies flying at the ſame time. But the highlanders had no hopes of victory, or of over-running and making a prey of all Scotland, but in the ſafety of lord Dundee: who, fighting gallantly, was ſlain. And no ſooner was his death known, than his army, laden with the plunder of their own party, as well as that of the enemy, retired to their mountains. For, after the death of Dundee, there was not found one who had either courage or authority to take upon himſelf the command of the clans.

THE report of the highlanders having obtained a remarkable victory, occaſioned a very great and general alarm throughout all Britain, and eſpecially among the Londoners, who at that time made great profits of the exchange of money, by the moſt exceſſive uſury. For the minds of the people being yet unſettled, the rumour of this battle gave occaſion to various fictions, and confirmed various doubts: and thoſe things which at firſt had been invented, and given out by the contrivance of one ſingle author, were ſpread abroad, by degrees, among ſo many, that at laſt ſeveral authors were vouched for the ſame ill news; as is common in all times of danger. But when the viſcount of Dundee's death was known, the whole city appeared full of joy; and the king's enemies, who had ſecretly furniſhed themſelves with arms, now laid aſide all thoughts of uſing them. The ſparks of ſedition in Scotland being extinguiſhed, the people were for a while freed from their fears. But the highlanders aſſembled again to renew the war, under the command of major general Cannon. Them Sir Thomas Levinſton attacked under the advantage of a dark night, and diſperſed; ſo that it was hardly poſſible for them ever to be drawn together again. And in order to prevent them from making any more depredations, the king commanded certain places in the mountains to be fortified; whereby, if he did not reduce the highlanders to his obedience, he, at leaſt, by a proper diſtribution of garriſons, reſtrained them in ſome meaſure from their robberies. And, that the rebels might be entitled to the king's clemency, he publiſhed a proclamation, commanding them to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to his government within a limited time.

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Upon aſſurance of indemnity, ſome of the rebels returned home; and others deſired time to conſider of it.

Maſſacre of Glencoe.

But it unhappily fell out, that the whole clan of Glencoe, being ſomewhat too late in making their ſubmiſſion to king William, were put to the ſword by the hands and orders of captain Campbell; which gave great offence to the king. It is certain the king had cauſe of reſentment againſt ſome of his courtiers, on account of this foul action; but he thought not fit to queſtion them for it, till he could ſettle himſelf more firmly in the throne. The viſcount of Dundee's eſtate being conveyed to the houſe of Douglas, his widow ſoon married again, and went to Holland, where, by the fall of the houſe in which ſhe reſided at Utrecht, ſhe and her children were buried alive, and the whole family became extinct.

Dr. Burnet's ſcheme of comprehenſion being laid before the clergy, ſeemed to many of them to be a monſter, made up of contrary and contradictory fancies and opinions: it was alſo rejected in parliament. But a clauſe was added to the act which paſſed, for exempting proteſtant diſſenters from the penalties of certain laws. Burnet invited over to this country the learned Spanheim: but the univerſity of Oxford had ſuch a rich treaſury of their own learning as not to want him. However, leſt this biſhop ſhould ſeem to be quite inſignificant, in order to recover religion in his own dioceſe, as if it had lain languiſhing in ſome dangerous diſeaſe, he undertook new and unheard of projects; applying the healing medicines of dreams, divinations, preſages, ſecond-ſighted viſions, and prodigies, from almoſt the fartheſt parts of all Scotland; for he could not forget the notions he had imbibed from old women in his childhood. At laſt, he ſent for a famous mathematician, who had taken upon him to demonſtrate the laws of religion from thoſe of motion: and preferred him to a cure of ſouls, that he might refreſh his country pariſhioners with new powers of faith. But when he found that this project alſo miſcarried, he ſet himſelf to inſtruct the parliament, concerning the king's title to the crown.

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IN the ſame year, 1689, the Dutch, in conjunction with the elector of Brandenburg, took the fortreſſes of Reimberg and Keiſerſwaert, and drove the French out of that neighbourhood; and the elector of Brandenburg overthrew general Surdein in a battle near Nuyſe. In July, the duke of Lorraine beſieged Mentz, which was ſtoutly defended by the Marquis de Uxelles; though he was forced to ſurrender it in Auguſt. In this ſiege the prince of Hanover, expoſing himſelf to danger, was ſlightly wounded. The French, deſtroying all before them, laid waſte the whole country near the Rhine with fire and ſword. The duke of Loraine, in conjunction with the elector of Brandenburg, took Bonne: but, while he was making preparation to enter France, the next year, he was cut off by death, in his winter quarters, to the great loſs and grief of the confederates. Prince Waldec, commander of the forces in the Netherlands, going out for forage, drew the French into an engagement: in which, having loſt 3000 men, with many cannons, and their baggage, they were forced to retire to Walcourt: and that town being alſo taken, they diſperſed, and fled into their own country.

POPE INNOCENT XI. in order to give the freer vent to his long concealed hatred of the French king, having determined the affair of Cologne in favour of the Bavarian, reſolved to make continual war againſt him, for his violation of the rights of God and his church; nor would he ever, ſo long as he lived, abſolve Lavardin, the French ambaſſador, from the cenſure of excommunication: but, on the death of Innocent, Alexander VIII. a Venetian, ſucceeded him; who was a man of great ſubtlety, and attentive to his own intereſt. Alexander, conſidering that he had no time to loſe, made up the controverſy with France, more to his own advantage than to the honour of the church: and, looking upon his own countrymen as a good father does upon his children, he ſhewed great favour to the Venetians; for he thought his acceſſion to the popedom ought not to make him overlook his own countrymen and kindred.

I HAVE already taken notice that a bloody war was ready to break out in Ireland. A young gentleman, named Temple, the ſon of Sir William,

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William, who is ſaid to have refuſed all public employment, having taken the charge of this affair upon himſelf, was betrayed by lieutenant general Hamilton, who was devoted to king James: and Mr. Temple, not diſcovering this circumſtance till it was too late, was ſo deeply oppreſſed with grief, that he plunged himſelf out of a boat into the Thames, laden with weights to ſink him.

War in Ireland.

THE Iriſh, at this time, treated with the utmoſt cruelty the colonies which were ſettled among them, put garriſons into the places of ſtrength; plundered all the open country, and laid ſiege to Londonderry, reducing the citizens to the laſt extremity of want: nor was major-general Kirke by land, nor rear-admiral Rook by ſea, able to relieve them. The valour and conſtancy of theſe citizens, and of the Innerſkilling men, is never enough to be praiſed. Rather than ſubmit themſelves to the Iriſh, they choſe to ſuffer the utmoſt extremity of diſtreſs. At laſt the fidelity of Dr. Walker, and the dexterity of Mr. Sanderſon, found means to raiſe the ſiege by ſupplies, conveyed down the river. The Iriſh, wherever they came, marked their progreſs with devaſtation. They even threatened to paſs over into Britain: and this many people are of opinion they would have done, if the viſcount of Dundee had not been ſlain.

SUCH being the deſperate condition of Ireland, king William reſolved to make uſe of foreign troops; and, by the negociation of Mr. Moleſworth, agreed with the king of Denmark, to ſend over a body of horſe and foot into Scotland, from whence they were immediately tranſported into Ireland. The king alſo ordered the new duke of Schomberg thither with more forces, to take upon him the command of the army. King James alſo having conceived hopes of ſucceſs on that ſide, ſailed for Dublin, in the month of May, with a body of French; and, againſt the advice of Louvoy, gave the command of his army to the count de Lauſane; whoſe ſoldiers, being little inured to labour and arms, filled all Ireland with moſt dreadful apprehenſions of plunder. The king himſelf ſummoned his parliament to meet at Dublin. This being aſſembled, he enacted new laws, altered the old, raiſed money, and granted liberty to all ſects of religion. But, as he had

had not ſilver coin to pay his troops, he ordered braſs money to be coined inſtead of ſilver and gold, promiſing to make it up to them in value, as ſoon as he ſhould be reſtored to his throne. On the credit of this, certain quakers voluntarily ſupplied the king with money, as ſome others did by compulſion.

In this parliament, alſo, attainders paſſed againſt the duke of Ormond, ſeventeen earls, ſeven counteſſes, two archbiſhops, thirty viſcounts, and an innumerable multitude of lower rank. In the mean time, the duke of Schomberg, loaded with honours, and a penſion of five thouſand pounds a-year in England, ſet out for Ireland. He kept his army for ſeveral months, encamped at Dundalk, where they were reduced to 16,000 by a violent flux: on which account many ignorant people imputed it to a defect of conduct through old age.

In England, new levies were made, new taxes raiſed by the parliament, as chimney-money, door-money, and poll-money, new cuſtoms, and a land-tax impoſed, and the other old ones aboliſhed; and all this in ſuch a manner, that the neceſſity and reaſonableneſs of the new impoſitions were generally acknowledged. But as the parliament, through an ignorance of the exigencies of war, had failed in money-matters, ſo, in the camp, the horſemen were at a loſs how to make proviſion of forage or corn. In this time of extremity, a clauſe was added to the act for the ſupply, for borrowing money upon ſuch uſurious intereſt as it could be got for, which was ten per cent. And the care of this matter was intruſted with the officers of the revenue, and the courtiers. The late ardent zeal for liberty and religion was now turned to avarice; and he who was the richeſt, was of courſe to be looked upon as the wiſeſt, the braveſt, the moſt honourable, and the beſt of men. An act of grace alſo paſſed, in which the earl of Sunderland was excepted, by his own deſire, by both the kings. About the ſame time the dauphineſs of France died, leaving behind her three ſons: ſhe was very little beloved at court; and, it is ſaid, there was not a man in France truly a mourner at her funeral.

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In June 1690, king William went over to Ireland, to try the ſucceſs of a battle. The principal perſons attending him were the prince of Denmark, and the duke of Ormond. When he came to the camp, obſerving how the main buſineſs was endangered by delays, he reſolved to run the hazard of a battle at the river Boyne, leſt, in a ſhort time, he ſhould be cut off from all communication with his friends and allies, both public and private. For, hearing of the marſhal Luxemburgh's victory at Flerus, and that the French admiral, Tourville, had defeated the confederate fleet on the coaſt of England, through the miſconduct of the earl of Torrington, he began to think his kingdom in danger. The French were now maſters at ſea: the affections of the people had already become cool and uncertain: cabals were ſet on foot in England; and the king began to diſtruſt every body. Schomberg diſſuaded him from hazarding a battle, wiſhing to carry on the war by artifice, rather than courage. But the king, well knowing the dangerous ſtate of his affairs when his forces were overthrown both by land and ſea, perſiſted in his reſolution of coming to an immediate and deciſive engagement. He gave the neceſſary orders for fighting; ſaying, "Let fortune look to the danger; for now we have but little time "for counſel." Having ſaid this, he drew up his army according to the ſituation of the place, and commanded them to attack the enemy's camp in two places at once, on the 11th day of July: and, with great courage, ſending his horſe over before him, he paſſed the river himſelf, and put the Iriſh to flight.

Battle at the Boyne.

In this battle, the only perſons of note ſlain were the duke of Schomberg, and Dr. Walker, late governor of Londonderry. The king himſelf, preferring the public ſervice before his own ſafety, received a ſlight wound on his ſhoulder, during the action, by a cannon ball.

King James, after his forces were diſperſed, returned with all ſpeed to France, and laid the blame of all this misfortune upon Louvoy, who was ſaid to have delayed his ſupplies, becauſe his ſon was refuſed the command of the army in Ireland. The French king took

but

but little notice of all this, but ordered his people, of all ranks, to pay their compliments to king James. A report was ſpread in France, that king William was ſlain in the late battle; whereupon the people of Paris made bonfires, illuminations, and public rejoicings for three days together. In the midſt of their joy appeared Harlay himſelf, the archbiſhop of Paris, a man of great politeneſs and extraordinary eloquence; and highly celebrated the praiſes of king James, for his piety and religious zeal. To theſe compliments James gravely replied, "It is neither anger, nor hatred, nor revenge, nor yet the de-"ſire of empire that actuate me, ſo much as the intereſt of our holy "mother the church, when I attempt the recovery of my kingdoms; "and I call God to witneſs, that in my late expedition I have recon-"ciled a multitude of ſouls to it." Whereupon the archbiſhop cried out, "O what a comfort is this! What a divine undertaking, and "worthy of a king indeed!" declaring that he, on his part, by offering ſacrifices, would ſoon deliver thoſe who were ſlain in the cauſe from the pains of hell and purgatory. King William, now in poſſeſſion of the city of Dublin, gave protection to all thoſe who laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to him, and reduced the greateſt part of Ireland again under the dominion of England.

Mynheer Bentinck, now created earl of Portland, neglecting no opportunity of raiſing his own fortune, obtained a grant to himſelf of the royal furniture in Dublin caſtle. The king gave orders for the reduction of ſome other fortified places; and leaving the reſt to general Ginkle, a Dutchman, returned himſelf to England. The earl of Rumney, and the lord Coningſby, were made lords juſtices for the government of Ireland. Coningſby, by the ſeverity of his puniſhments and confiſcations, rendered that liberty, which had been newly granted to that kingdom, grievous and intolerable.

The Iriſh upon this flying to places of ſecurity, ſtrengthened themſelves with good garriſons in Limerick and Cork. In the ſiege of this laſt town, the duke of Grafton, renowned for his military atchievements both by land and ſea, was ſlain. Cork was ſoon after reduced

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by the earl of Marlborough; a commander that has never yet been exceeded in all the ſtratagems and conduct of war.

Not long after this, freſh ſupplies arriving from France, the Iriſh drew together again; and, forming an army under the command of the French general St. Ruth, fought a battle at Aghrim, with equal bravery on both ſides; till St. Ruth, being killed by a cannon ball, general Ginkle put the Iriſh and French to flight. Two years after this, Limerick having ſurrendered on terms of capitulation, all Ireland was reduced to the obedience of England.

General Ginkle was now created earl of Athlone; major general Ruvigny, a Frenchman, earl of Galway; though there are different opinions concerning his valour. Mr. Charles Montague, a young gentleman of extraordinary parts, celebrated the victory at the Boyne in a poem; and acquired great favour with the king for his good ſervices in parliament. The marquis of Halifax promoted the advancement of Montague: but others, of his own age, envied his growing fame, of whom I ſhall only ſay that I wiſh their merits had been equal to his.

As the ſafety and fortunes of many people depended on this Iriſh war, ſo there was violence done to the eſtates of innocent perſons by ſome plunderers, who endeavoured to ſcreen themſelves by their importance and authority. The lord Coningſby was accuſed in parliament of embezzlement and peculation. It is certain that, in this war, many men were both praiſed and rewarded for virtues to which they were utter ſtrangers; while the real virtues of others were accounted crimes.

The earl of Marlborough, perceiving that nobody was now enriched with the public treaſure, or the plunder of the enemy, but the earl of Portland, conceived an averſion to him. Though theſe noblemen were very different in reſpect to merit, yet they were thought to be equally under the influence of avarice, and tainted equally with the prevailing vice of thoſe times. When Cork was taken, Marlborough, being looked

looked upon ſomewhat coldly, was recalled from Ireland, to conduct the campaign in Flanders. He oppoſed Portland's importunity, courted Sunderland's friendſhip, and withſtood the king's grants in Ireland.

Affairs of Savoy.

At this time the duke of Savoy, being highly incenſed at the French king, entered into ſecret negociations with the emperor. But the king, having diſcovered this, ſent the marſhal Catinat, with an army towards Lombardy: the marſhal ſtopped at Turin, and declared the king's pleaſure, allowing the duke two days to give his anſwer. Lewis, by the advice of Louvoy, demanded of the duke of Savoy the town of Verrue, the fortification of Turin, and thirty thouſand ſoldiers. The duke only made anſwer: "That if he would leave his country, "he would redreſs the grievances of his people." After which, recalling the Vaudois from exile, he raiſed an army, and forthwith attacked Catinat in his camp at Staffarda, but without ſucceſs; his freſh troops not being able to ſtand againſt veteran ſoldiers. In the mean time, the Vaudois, headed by Arnaud, a miniſter of the goſpel, who was as alert with his hands as his tongue, drove the French out of the valley of Lucerne. But Catinat made himſelf maſter of Saluſſes, and other places among the Alps. Marſhal Boufflers made an incurſion upon the river Maeſe, and put all Brabant into a conſternation. The duke of Savoy's mother diſcovered to the French king the meaſures which Louvoy had ſecretly concerted with her; hoping thereby to ruin him.

Religious controverſies.

In the mean time, the clergy and miniſters of both parties in Scotland broke out into furious controverſies, and came to perſonal invectives; vehemently reproaching each other with ſcandalous enormities. I wiſh there had been leſs truth in what was thrown out on both ſides. But Dr. Tillotſon, now primate of all England, and the grace and ornament of his order, endeavoured to huſh and compoſe theſe things, leſt profane people ſhould take advantage thereof, to the diſgrace of the whole clergy. Mr. John Locke, Dr. Welwood, and others, men of great parts and learning, ſtrove with all their power to vindicate, with their pens, the cauſe of liberty, recovered, as it were, from the brink of ruin, againſt that of ſhameful tyranny and arbitrary power:

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though poſterity, through compliance or ſlothfulneſs, ſhould loſe all that our anceſtors have left us, yet at leaſt the praiſe-worthy actions of our fathers, and the memory of this revolution, will remain, to diſtant ages, recorded and vindicated in their writings. About the ſame time Dr. Sherlock, having wrote an excellent book on Divine Providence, ſubmitted to king William, and was promoted to the deanery of St. Paul's.

Naval improvements.

THE naval power of England being now greatly weakened, the king ſet his thoughts upon reſtoring it: the ſhips of war were lower built, and the trading veſſels rendered more ſerviceable, by means of both ſails and oars. The earl of Torrington was tried in a court of admiralty for miſbehaviour in a ſea-fight, wherein many of the Dutch ſhips were loſt, while Torrington looked on at a diſtance; of which great complaint was made, not only by the Dutch, but by the duke of Grafton, and other commanders in the Engliſh fleet. However, the accuſed lord, as it commonly happens, was honourably acquitted: which was ſo deeply reſented by the Dutch, that they declared they would never more unite their fleets with the Engliſh. The king, to humour them, turned him out of the command of the navy; and admiral Ruſſel, who had done ſignal ſervice to his country, was preferred to it in his place.

THE German princes and ambaſſadors of the confederates, in the year 1691, met in a congreſs appointed at the Hague. The parliament having raiſed money to the amount of 4,000,000 pounds, not half of which was ever applied to the ſervice of government; the king paſſed over to Holland in the month of January, in a ſevere winter, and not without great danger to the coaſts, which were all over cruſted with ice. On his arrival there, after mutual ſalutations among the allies, it was agreed to make war againſt the French king with all their force, and never to make peace with him till he had made ſatisfaction to them all, and reſtored his own ſubjects alſo to the rights of their anceſtors.

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THE duke of Hanover, who had been highly incenſed both againſt the emperor and the Dutch, was now, by the mediation of Zell, brought into the confederacy, on condition that his forces ſhould be provided in winter quarters in the confederate countries, and be ſecured of good pay, and himſelf be made one of the electors of the empire. The elector of Saxony, a bold man and a hard drinker, as well as a zealous aſſerter of the proteſtant religion, was brought into the confederacy by the promiſe of money: "For," ſaid he, "our friendſhips, though ever ſo good, muſt be confirmed by preſents." The elector of Bavaria was promiſed the government of the Netherlands. None of them was more eaſily gained than the landgrave of Heſſe; who had a diſpute with the earl of Devonſhire concerning precedency, which the king ſettled. Of the king of Denmark we have ſpoken already. The king of Sweden favoured the French. The duke of Savoy came into the confederacy; who, on his paying the emperor a vaſt ſum of money, was made commander in chief of the confederate army in Italy. The emperor ſupplied him with auxiliary forces. But his imperial majeſty, whoſe mind was intent upon his own affairs, would not be diverted at this time, either by the intreaties of his allies, or the danger of their common liberty, from the Turkiſh war, left, as he ſaid, he ſhould ſeem to be ungrateful to God; and, to make ſome atonement for the league he had made with the confederates, he demanded of the duke of Hanover, as the condition of his promotion to the electoral dignity, that he ſhould build a chapel and ſchool for the Jeſuits. But the performance of this was put off by delays on both ſides.

Grand alliance.

AT this time the French king reduced the Savoyards to his obedience. In the month of March he took the town of Mons, king William not being able to prevent him. But in revenge, William formed a deſign to enter France by the way of Dunkirk; which being diſcovered to the French, was fruſtrated. He now bent his endeavours with various ſucceſs to burn their granaries. There was alſo a ſkirmiſh at the city of Liege about the houſe of the Carthuſians, and their fortifications. Kirk dying in the camp, regretted only that Talmaſh had

Movements of the French king.

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had ſurvived him. And king William left the army, having commanded prince Waldec to conduct it to convenient winter-quarters. But when the marſhal de Luxemburg had notice of the king's departure, he fell upon the rear of the confederate forces in their march at Luces. Prince Waldec, haſtening thither, repulſed theenemy, and, after a great ſlaughter on both ſides, conducted his army into their quarters. About the ſame time died Monſ. Louvoy, a man of great parts, a fierce ſoldier, and a proud miniſter; who, ſpending his time continually at court with Colbert in polite learning, carried on the war there, and was the principal author of all the wars in which Lewis XIV. engaged.

King William diverting himſelf with hunting at Loo, concerted with the Dutch the meaſures to be taken in the next campaign. After which he returned to England with the earl of Marlborough, and other general officers, who were continually crowding his chamber and levees. But in a ſhort time Marlborough was committed to the Tower, on ſuſpicion that he had diſcovered the deſign of taking Dunkirk, through envy of the earl of Portland. But the truth of the matter was never certainly known, unleſs to thoſe who were in the ſecret, either with the king or Marlborough.

At this time the fortreſs of Montmelian, in Piedmont, fell into the hands of the French after a long ſiege, by the unlucky ſpringing of mines. Liege was bombarded by marſhal de Boufflers; but the ſiege of Coni, in Piedmont, was raiſed by the courage of the duke of Savoy.

In England, the lord Mohun killed Mr. Monford, a comedian, and being tried by his peers, was acquitted, through the patronage of the earl of Danby. Whereupon the lords are ſaid to have grown inſolent, and to have committed outrages upon the people with impunity; ſo that none of inferior rank would either truſt them with money, or court their friendſhip for a long time after. Catharine, queen dowager of Charles II. drawn by affection to her native country, returned to Portugal. King James's queen being now again with child, ſolicited the king to ſummon ſuch perſons as were proper to go over

from England to France on that occaſion, to be preſent at her delivery: but the Engliſh did not think fit to attend. For the government of the kingdom being already ſettled, it was not deemed conſiſtent with its dignity to obey the commands of the exiled king, and much leſs to be preſent at a child-birth in foreign parts, as being contrary to the ancient cuſtoms of England. Beſides, they thought themſelves bound to obey their preſent majeſties.

King James's queen delivered of a daughter in France.

The emperor ſent fifteen thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Savoy; who coming into Italy in an unſeaſonable time of the year, count Caraffa durſt not hazard any great undertaking. Neither could marſhal Catinat prevent the duke of Savoy from making himſelf maſter of Carmagnole, Velana, and Rivoli, while the French were beſieging Montmelian. The French king preferred Barbeſieux, the ſon of Louvoy, to the ſuperintendency of his military affairs, though he was not much concerned at the father's death; for he is ſaid to have been weary of his vanity, and to have haſtened his death by his ſharp reproofs and frequent chidings.

As ſoon as the parliament had provided money for the ſervice of the war, king William made haſte into Holland. Lieutenant general Talmaſh is reported to have ſaid, That he was ready, if he was ſo commanded, to lead the army againſt the king by the authority of parliament. The king, having pardoned the earl of Marlborough's offence, not only diſcharged him from the Tower, but even applauded his humility and ſubmiſſive behaviour under his misfortunes. Sir John Somers, by the advice of the lord chief juſtice Treby, was firſt made lord keeper of the great ſeal, and afterwards lord high chancellor of England. Somers being a man of excellent parts and learning, was an honour to the bench, and, as it were, a ſecond Lælius: nor was he an object of envy to any but ſuch as wiſhed to have the entire diſpoſal of the laws, and all eccleſiaſtical preferments. The earl of Sunderland inſinuated himſelf ſo effectually into the king's favour, that none could be dearer to him. And now party-diſputes were renewed; ſometimes the earl of Shrewſbury, and ſometimes the earl of Nottingham was ſecretary of ſtate. The king ſent the duke of Schomberg's

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berg's younger ſon, with ſome of the noblemen of Ireland, to the duke of Savoy, in order to draw off the Iriſh forces from the French ſervice: for by their means king James had been enabled to give very conſiderable aid to France.

THE marquis of Caſtinaga being removed, the elector of Bavaria was made governor of the Netherlands, by the advice of king William, and came to Bruſſels. The elector being adorned with all accompliſhments, both of body and mind, and of great reputation in war, was very dear to the king. The imperial court had formerly taken notice of him for his great riches, and engaged him in the emperor's intereſt by marriage. As it had been a long time the cuſtom of the French court, to weaken the power of their nobles by pleaſures and gratifications; ſo now the imperial court thought fit either to draw into their intereſt the moſt powerful princes by marriages, governments of provinces, the command of armies, and other benefits, or elſe to reduce them to neceſſitous circumſtances, and to entangle them in law-ſuits. The elector of Bavaria, when a young man, had ſpent the vaſt ſums of gold treaſured up by his anceſtors, partly in the late wars againſt the Turks, and partly upon his pleaſures at Vienna; and king William now perceiving him to be deſtitute of money, and fearing leſt his love and duty to the emperor ſhould turn to hatred, or that he ſhould be gained over to the French intereſt, prevailed with the king of Spain to make him governor of the Netherlands.

THE king going over to Holland made the queen governor of the kingdom by act of parliament, who reſigned it again to him at his return. Nor did ſhe intermeddle in any thing during the campaign, without the king's leave. But ſhe nominated thoſe who were to be conſecrated biſhops.

KING William had ſcarcely reached the Hague, when he received the news that the French intended to lay ſiege to Namur, and king James to invade England, where the injuries of the late times were forgot, and his name was ſtill very dear to many people. On which intelligence, the king departing from the Hague to the army, diſpatched

diſpatched the earl of Portland in all haſte to England, in order to aſſiſt the queen with his beſt counſels and ſervices. At his arrival there, he was taken ſo ill, that he gave her more trouble than aſſiſtance: neither did ſhe want his counſels, confiding in the affections of her people.

Namur taken by the French.

BEFORE the confederate forces were aſſembled in the camp, the French king, whoſe army was very numerous and ready at hand, having taken poſſeſſion of all the avenues about the place, took the city of Namur. But the citadel was defended a few days longer by colonel Cohorne, a man of great experience in war, and who wanted nothing but an opportunity to ſignalize his good conduct. But Cohorne being diſabled by a wound, the Spainards ſurrendered themſelves and the citadel. For thoſe people being in want of every thing, ſold all their fortified places to the French. And when their affairs were reduced to ſo low a ſtate, their minds were alſo ſo much enfeebled and deſtitute of fidelity and courage, that they made no ſcruple to yield to fortune and the ſtronger party.

IN the year 1692, the date of theſe tranſactions, a diſcovery was made of one Grandvalle, who had formed a deſign to aſſaſſinate king William in the camp, as ſome Iriſhmen had done the laſt year, to have carried off the earl of Marlborough into France. But Grandvalle was executed in the camp.

Battle of Steenkirk.

IN order to try the courage of his ſoldiers, king William commanded lieutenant-general Mackay to advance toward the enemy near Steenkirk, by night, with ten thouſand men. The general marching through incloſures, poſted his men under the hedges: and marſhal Luxemburgh having notice thereof by a muſician belonging to the elector of Bavaria, ſent twenty thouſand of his men that way by break of day, while he drew up his army to fall upon them in the rear. The engagement was ſharp, and long continued hand to hand, the French filling up their ranks with freſh forces; but king William, to avoid a general battle in a diſadvantageous place, ſent orders to Mackay to ſound a retreat; but that general was killed, and a retreat was

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hardly poſſible. The French preſſed on very hard; and the confederates retiring, renewed the fight from hedge to hedge, till they got off to their own camp. This victory coſt the French very dear. For, beſides ſeven thouſand men ſlain on both ſides, there was a great ſlaughter of the commanders and nobles. On the ſide of the confederates, the principal perſons loſt were lieutenant-general Mackay, Sir John Lanier, and the earl of Angus, who was the chief hope of the houſe of Douglas. On the enemy's ſide, the dukes of Chartres and Mayne, gained great reputation by their behaviour in this battle, which added no ſmall luſtre to their marriages, which were ſolemnized the ſummer following.

King William exhorted the elector of Bavaria to turn out of the camp all the inſtruments of his pleaſure, and the effeminate band of muſicians which he kept about him. The duke of Chartres's mother, the ducheſs of Orleans, a woman of a maſculine ſpirit, being enraged at her ſon's marriage, is ſaid to have ſtruck him with her fiſt; in revenge whereof, the French king, with his own hand, took away her Bible, in which ſhe was wont to find great delight and comfort.

The marſhal Boufflers bombarded the town of Charleroy on the Sambre with red-hot balls. Marſhal de Lorge, having repulſed the German forces on the Rhine, and taken Wirtemberg, plundered all the country near the Rhine in a dreadful manner. The duke of Savoy refuſing the French king's offers, made an attempt upon Provence: but having deſtroyed the country all around, fell ſick of the ſmall-pox, and returned into his own dominions. The taking of Namur was celebrated by Boileau, the prince of French poets. The blame of all the late miſcarriages in the confederate army was laid upon prince Waldec and count Solmes, by lieutenant general Talmaſh; who now, ſince the death of Kirk, thought there was no one worthy to be compared with himſelf.

While the confederates were employed in theſe tranſactions, prince Lewis of Baden, who, in the foregoing year, had overthrown the Turks at Salonica, took Waradin, and now reſtored all the king-

dom of Hungary to the emperor's obedience, except Belgrade, which the Turks had retaken; after which the emperor recalled him to command his army on the Rhine. The next year pope Alexander VIII. dying, was ſucceeded by Innocent XII. a man of extraordinary piety; who, by the advice of cardinal Albani, by a new bull, which he duly obſerved, aboliſhed nepotiſm.

WHILE the confederates laboured under theſe misfortunes, and during the ſiege of Namur, there was not only a rumour of an invaſion from France, but a ſeditious conſpiracy on foot in England. The queen, who was eminent for her conjugal affection, and the love of her country, ſhewed herſelf, in thoſe troubleſome times, equally prudent in council, and fearleſs of danger. She firſt diſcovered the deſigns of her enemies, and the dangers to which the common ſafety and the intereſts of religion were expoſed; then ſhe ſeized the conſpirators who had ſecreted themſelves; and laſtly, ſhe diſarmed them, as it were with her own hands; committing the earl of Middleton to priſon, and publiſhing a proclamation for apprehending the lord Griffin and others. She appeared in the city publicly, and addreſſed herſelf courteouſly to the magiſtrates; encouraging her good ſubjects, ſtrengthening the wavering, and confirming the doubtful. And all good people united the queen's ſafety with their own. The ſailors alſo, that they might not be liable to ſuſpicion, entered into an aſſociation, and made a public profeſſion of their fidelity to the queen. And laſtly, what the French leaſt expected, ſhe gave ſuch prompt and effectual orders, that ſhe had a fleet ready in a few days time, which ſhe intruſted to admiral Ruſſel; commanding him to fight the enemy forthwith, before their ſquadron from Breſt, which was detained by contrary winds, could come up to join them, or her father could get on board the French fleet. For the queen had ſo much pious regard for her father, that ſhe could hardly be prevailed on to repel the impending dangers, unleſs he was in ſafety. Theſe things being preſently got in readineſs, admiral Ruſſel, having paſſed the ſhelves and ſands at the mouth of the Thames, with a fair wind and tide, and got the largeſt ſhips a little way out at ſea, ſteered his courſe directly towards the enemy. Admiral Tourville, who had before received

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orders from the French king to fight, was frightened at the appearance of ſuch a formidable enemy, and aſtoniſhed at his king's command. However, he drew up his ſhips in a line, and ordered the wings to be extended to the wind; for now he found it impoſſible to avoid an engagement. When the fight began, rear-admiral Carter, whoſe fidelity was ſuſpected, made up towards the enemy with the firſt diviſion; and, giving them a hot ſalute with his great guns, ſhattered their ſhips, and performed more than was expected. Tourville ſeeing this, opened his line, and ſhifting his ſails, ſuffered him to paſs through. In this engagement Carter was killed; and Tourville afterwards owned that all the Engliſh were proof againſt corruption. And now, at laſt, his men being diſheartened, he gave orders for the ſeveral ſhips to make the beſt of their way to ſecure themſelves, as well as they could, on their own coaſt. Ruſſel made all ſail after them, and did them much damage. But the French fleet being diſperſed, was ſcattered in different courſes, which could not be perceived while the ſeas and the air were darkened with a thick cloud of ſmoke; and therefore Ruſſel commanded his ſhips to keep near together. The next day, receiving intelligence that fifteen of the enemy's men of war were on the coaſt of Normandy, he immediately ſailed thither; and ſending in his fire-ſhips among them, according to his orders given early in the evening, every one of thoſe French ſhips was burned, while king James and the Frenchmen on the ſhore looked on. It is ſaid, that James rejoiced at the ſight of thoſe gilded ſhips in flames, as if he himſelf had been the conqueror. And indeed this is natural to mankind, that the love of our country is apt to prevail, even though we be hardly dealt with in it. The ſoldiers on board the tranſports being landed, and all the ammunition and proviſions laid up in the French king's ſtore-houſes, king James himſelf returned to Paris. The French, out of envy, would have willingly thrown the diſgrace of their miſcarriage on this unfortunate prince, in excuſe of their own cowardly conduct.

Sea-fight between the French and Engliſh.

All ranks of people in England congratulated the queen on this victory; and the admiral Ruſſel, on his having thereby opened the ſeas again which had lately been ſhut up. For no perſon imagined, that

that what he had performed in one day could have been done by all the admirals in one year, or by any one in many years. All our own coaſts, and other foreign nations and ſeas, and all ports and havens, were witneſſes of this great action, whereby they were freed from continual depredations: nor was it eaſy to find words ſufficient to do juſtice to the courage and diſpatch of admiral Ruſſel, in the opinion of moſt people, though it raiſed him much envy in others.

A great earthquake.

THE injuries ſuffered by the people of Barcelona, made ſuch an impreſſion on king William, that he ſent his fleet to their relief. This year * there happened the moſt dreadful earthquake that had been known in this age. It began in the eaſt, and moved weſtward; overturning towns by the ſinking of the ground, and the opening of the earth, in many places: and paſſing by this part of the world with a ſlight ſhock, it broke out again in America; where it cauſed great deſolation and deſtruction of cities. In the winter, the French king became maſter of the town of Furnes. Marſhal Tallard was ſent to beſiege Rhinſeldt; but was repulſed, without effect, by the valour and vigilance of the landgrave of Heſſe. Prince Lewis of Baden ſtopped the progreſs of the dauphin upon the Rhine, and was invited into England by king William.

WHEN the parliament in England met, many party-diſputes happened between the earl of Nottingham and admiral Ruſſel, concerning the different blowings of the wind. Wherefore the king exhorted the parliament not to waſte the time in uſeleſs debates, leſt thereby the beſt opportunity might be loſt for action in the field. At length the houſe of commons having voted a ſupply of 4,000,000 *l.* of money, not half of which was applied to the ſervice of the war, the king gave orders to haſten his reinforcements, and agreed upon a conference in the camp with the duke of Zell, about the means of bringing the other princes of Germany into the field. The prince of Hanover went to the camp, to take upon him the command of his father's horſe.

* 1692.

BISHOP

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BISHOP LLOYD, who was indeed a learned man, and had acquired the reputation of a great prophet, upon the return of the Vaudois to their own country, found that he was miſtaken in his predictions concerning the affairs of Savoy. He endeavoured to excuſe himſelf by alleging a corrupted reading in Herodotus. But what had Herodotus to do with the prophet Daniel? or Daniel with the Savoyards?

THE French king now promoted the duke of Villeroy, admiral Tourville, and others, who had deſerved well of him, to the dignity of marſhals of France. Tourville having notice of a fleet of the confederates merchant ſhips, deſtroyed them in their paſſage near the mouth of the Streights. By which, and the unhappy loſs of Sir Francis Wheeler alſo, in a ſtorm in the Mediterranean, the merchants were great ſufferers.

THE French king, in order to haſten his troops, came himſelf into his camp, reſolving not to wait for king William's coming. All things being in readineſs for war, William lay long in the neighbourhood of Louvain, to prevent the incurſions of the enemy. But when he could not find an opportunity for any engagement with them, but only in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, he ordered the duke of Wirtemberg to march before with fifteen thouſand men, to demoliſh the enemy's works. About the ſame time, while marſhal Villeroy took Huy, the duke of Luxemberg marched to cannonade Liege. King William followed him to cover that city: but in this march the French made a ſtand at Neer-winden, and the confederates at Landen.

AFTER each had viewed the others camp for ſome time, king William commanded his army, which was far leſs numerous than that of the enemy, to fortify themſelves with a ſmall breaſtwork. But part thereof having neglected to take this precaution, the marſhal de Luxemburg reſolved to attack them, which he did in July. The French came up twice to the intrenchment, but were repulſed with great ſlaughter. The duke of Berwic was ſeized by his uncle, and taken priſoner. About noon, the French

French returned to the attack, ſword in hand. And the duke of Chartres, and the prince of Conti, both of the blood royal of France, routed the confederates cavalry, which were not perfectly defended either by their trenches or their courage. The battle was obſtinately fought at the village of Neer-winden, which was twice won and loſt. The confederates did great execution in this engagement with their guns, till counter-orders were given by Goulon, a Frenchman, their general of artillery. But when king William ſaw that the enemy was maſter of his camp, and that his foot were deſerted by the horſe, he himſelf led the reſt acroſs the river. The rear-guard was led by the elector of Bavaria, who highly diſtinguiſhed his courage in this action. Many who were trodden down by their own party, fell into the hands of the enemy; and others were drowned in the river. But the bravery of Shelſy, a Scotch miniſter, ought not to be forgotten. He ordered the flying battalion to draw back two guns to the bank of the river, with which he very much retarded the enemy's purſuit. Nor was the reſolution of another man leſs wonderful, who, when his horſe was killed under him, very deliberately carried off the furniture on his own ſhoulders. And, if the horſemen had maintained their ground againſt the enemy, the event of that day might have been more glorious for the confederates.

King William re-united his ſcattered forces at Louvain. He reproached the cavalry; commended the infantry; and diſmiſſed Goulon, who endeavoured to lay the blame of his miſconduct on others, from his ſervice. After this, recalling the duke of Wirtemberg to the camp, he ſoon made up the late loſs, by freſh reinforcements. About the ſame time, Erneſt, duke of Hanover, now made an elector, quickly made himſelf maſter of Lavemberg, and recruited his army in Brabant with freſh troops.

The duke of Ormonde being taken on the one ſide, and the duke of Berwic on the other, were exchanged. The duke of Ormonde's praiſes being ſomewhat unreaſonably celebrated in England, and himſelf having uſed great freedom of ſpeech in France, he was, on his return home, leſs welcome to the king. This great man's diſgrace

was

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was lamented by all good men, except only the earl of Sunderland, who endeavoured to draw both him and the earl of Rocheſter into his own meaſures.

IT is reported, that when the French king heard of the ſlaughter of his troops at Neer-winden, he ſaid that many ſuch like victories would ruin both him and his kingdom. Marſhal Villeroy took Charleroy: and marſhal de Lorge gave the plunder of all the country on the Rhine, and the city of Heidelberg, to his ſoldiers. The French king, in his letters to the archbiſhop of Paris, for a public thankſgiving to God, boaſted of the dead bodies, and remains of many princes palatine.

THE duke of Savoy, fighting marſhal Catinat in the plain of Marſiglia, was defeated, and many of his men loſt. Prince Eugene ſignalized his high courage in this battle. Duke Schomberg's ſon died of his wounds the next day. Mr. James Stanhope, a young gentleman, who happened to be in that action, eſcaped unhurt. His ſpeed in the flight, as well as his talkativeneſs in England, ſerved to raiſe his fortunes, through the protection of the duke of Somerſet. He was very eloquent in his cups, and ſet himſelf to write pamphlets in behalf of the liberties of the people, againſt monarchy. The duke de Noailles took the town of Roſes.

THE Engliſh prepared to bombard the ports of St. Maloes in France. The want of labourers occaſioned a great dearth; on which account the dauphin complained to his father of the length of the war. For this he was looked upon as the father of his country: which the king took ill, being unwilling to have any body praiſed more than himſelf.

KING WILLIAM laying before his parliament, in 1694, the ſtate of the public affairs, complained of the deficiency of the funds, and the unſeaſonable diſappointment of money; by which means, ſaid he, our meaſures have been prevented, and all things delayed. The boundleſs avarice alſo of the earl of Portland, among many others, was highly

cenſured; who, after ſo many and ſo great benefits already conferred on him by the king, had obtained of him a grant even of the patrimony of the prince of Wales; as if the kingdom and the whole royal family had now been at an end. This was vigorouſly oppoſed by the natives of that country; and caveats were entered, firſt, with the marquis of Halifax, and afterwards with the earl of Pembroke, lord privy ſeal, againſt the paſſing of that grant: and both thoſe lords agreed in their judgment with the natives.

The earl of Portland's grant quaſhed.

THE biſhop of Saliſbury was accuſed, in parliament, of a diminution at leaſt of the king's title to the crown: for diſcourſing largely, in his paſtoral letter, concerning the king's right, he had aſcribed to king William a right of conqueſt by his ſword. Whereupon Mr. Sam. Johnſon, a man of quick parts, who had not only deſerved well of the common cauſe, but was alſo remarkable for his keen manner of writing, confuted the biſhop's pretended right as ſuperfluous, as well by the laws, as by the examples of former times, and treated the biſhop himſelf with very ſmart language. When this affair came before the parliament, it was proſecuted with great heat. The biſhop, in a long ſpeech, exhorted the lords to defend his cauſe, by a reſolution of their houſe in his favour; ſaying, that he would alſo abſolve them at the day of judgment. The biſhop was a man who would rather have had them all ruined with him, than fall himſelf alone. The marquis of Halifax, who was remarkable for his wit, anſwered to this effect: "I would be glad to know whether this right reverend "prelate, whom we now ſo deſervedly honour, will prove to be a "biſhop at the day of judgment? what place he will then appear in? "and with what title, and by what authority he will pronounce the "abſolution?" To which he added ſomewhat concerning the robes, the mitre, the paſtoral ſtaff, and other epiſcopal ornaments, of which the biſhops are ſtripped by death. This ſet the king himſelf, as well as the lords, into a fit of laughter. Soon after which, the biſhop's book was cenſured and burnt, by order of parliament; whereat the biſhop was ſo enraged, as if he had thought that vote enough to ſet the whole kingdom in a flame. But Mr. Johnſon boaſted what a phœnix was raiſed out of the aſhes of this burnt book.

Accuſation againſt Dr. Burnet.

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KING WILLIAM reſolved, this year, to make a deſcent at Breſt, under the conduct of lieutenant general Talmaſh, in order to divide the French king's forces, and at the ſame time to gratify Talmaſh's ambition of command. But, before the king's departure for Holland, the earls of Shrewſbury and Clare, and the marquis of Carmarthen, and ſome others, were created dukes. The command of the fleet at Breſt was given to the marquis of Carmarthen, ſon of the duke of Leeds, and that of the land forces on board, to general Talmaſh; who being repulſed by the French, and wounded, died of his wounds ſhortly after, leaving behind him a greater reputation for his military courage than conduct.

WILLIAM, duke of Hamilton, a great lover of his country, and one who always adhered to the greateſt patriots, having worn himſelf out in endeavouring to improve his own eſtate, died in the beginning of the ſpring. James, his ſon and heir, had hitherto inclined to the party of king James. The marquis of Halifax, lying dangerouſly ill of a rupture, refuſed biſhop Burnet's aſſiſtance, as he ſaid himſelf, leſt he ſhould triumph over him after his death: but having duly received the holy ſacrament, he died: as did alſo Dr. Sancroft, late primate of all England; a man more eminent for piety than worldly policy: and it were to be wiſhed that like praiſe were due to all thoſe of our times. It is reported, that on his death-bed he ſaid to Mr. Nedham, one of his domeſtic chaplains, That though they had gone different ways in life, yet the gates of heaven might be wide enough for them both. About the end of the year died that worthy man, the duke of Queenſberry, in Scotland.

AFTER long debates in parliament concerning their liberties, a bill for triennial parliaments paſſed the two houſes, through the prevailing power of faction; but the king refuſed to paſs it into a law. The commons of England declared to the king how much they were grieved at his denial to give the royal aſſent to this bill; and that this could not proceed from any other cauſe but the advice of evil counſellors. In anſwer to which, the king thanked them for the ſupplies they had raiſed him; but, as to the reſt, he told them, he would take

care of the liberty of parliament, provided they would be leſs ſolicitous about their particular intereſts, and more intent upon the good of their country.

King William goes to Holland, and takes the field againſt the French.

In the month of April William ſet out for Holland; and the forces on both ſides took the field. The dauphin, who now commanded the French army, perceiving what was doing on the frontiers, ſuſpected his deſigns: and therefore he made a ſpeedy march, day and night, to Dunkirk, which he was in fear of loſing, in order, by that expedition, to prevent the confederates. For he paſſed through all Brabant and Flanders, in three days time, with ſo great haſte, that ſometimes the ſoldiers left their colours, and ſometimes threw away their arms; ſo that their march looked like a flight. At length he made a ſtand at the river Scheld; from whence he ſent out forty thouſand of his men, and unexpectedly ſurpriſed Deynſe and Dixmuyd. Prince Lewis of Baden, being returned from England, gave a check to the incurſions of the French upon the Rhine. John du Bart, a famous privateer, who had long infeſted the merchants ſhips in the Britiſh ſeas, now reſcued a fleet of French traders out of the hands of the Dutch, and carried their admiral's ſhip into France. The town of Girone, and other places in Spain, were taken by the French. And as the Spaniards were not able to defend their own frontiers, king William, ſcorning all clandeſtine overtures of peace, ſent admiral Ruſſel into the Mediterranean, with a ſquadron, to protect the coaſts, cities, and fortunes, of his allies; by which expedition he prevented the deſign, formed by the French, for the taking of Barcelona.

The war ſeemed now to moſt people to threaten a long continuance, as well as a wide extent, of which there was great complaint made in England; though our own coaſts were not left unguarded. This year prince Eugene and the earl of Galway were engaged in the ſervice in Piedmont, in order to have a ſtrict eye upon the duke of Savoy, who was now looked upon as not only wavering, but unma-

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nageable: for he had entered into a private negociation with the French, carried on by the count de Theſſe, relating to his private intereſt, and interrupted the progreſs of the confederates in Italy. The French upbraided the emperor with having made an alliance, and infecting all Italy with the contagion of heretics. The imperialiſts, on the other hand, reproached the French, on account of their alliance with the Turks. In Scotland, alſo, ſome were ſo mad as to lay the blame of all our misfortunes on the king's alliance with the emperor, and wrote books on that ſubject: for the printing of which they ſent one Kidd into Holland; who was committed to priſon at Utrecht. Supplies were ſlowly raiſed by the parliament; and the intereſt of money thereupon increaſed.

Death of queen Mary.

TOWARDS the end of the year, archbiſhop Tillotſon died, in great poverty: and ſoon after him alſo queen Mary; whoſe death was much lamented by good men of all ranks and religious opinions. By order of the parliament, a magnificent funeral was appointed for the queen; for ſhe was equally dear to the lords and commons.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

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ſoner.——Siege of Mantua.——German Mercenaries.——Affairs on the Continent.——Deſign upon Cadiz.——King William's Fall,——Death,——and Character.

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The king entertains thoughts of reſigning the crown.

AT this nice juncture, ſome were of opinion, that upon the death of the queen, the king's right and authority were at an end: and the king himſelf, who, next to his own glory, ſtudied that of his queen, being now leſs ſolicitous about the crown, retired to Richmond, and began to think of reſigning the kingdom. The earl of Portland, who was very unacceptable to the Engliſh, and loaded with riches, endeavoured to foſter ſuch thoughts in his majeſty. But Mynheer Keppel, who was afterwards created earl of Albemarle, diſſuaded the king from entertaining ideas of this kind, and was ſeconded by the earl of Sunderland, who took the advantage of this fair opportunity to comfort the king; aſſuring him, that neither the honour of the kingdom, the ſafety of the people, nor the intereſt of the common cauſe, could bear his departure. Being in fear for himſelf, he uſed all his endeavours to prevent William from abdicating the kingdom: and though there were ſome about the princeſs Anne, who were very deſirous of the king's reſignation; yet the earl of Marlborough and the lord Godolphin joined with the earl of Sunderland, in hopes to turn the earl of Portland out of the king's favour, and to overſet the miniſtry.

THE place of archbiſhop Tillotſon was filled with Dr. Thomas Teniſon, a grave man, and more ſtudious of the honour of the church than of his own private intereſt. The earl of Sunderland was far from oppoſing his promotion; hoping that he ſhould find him leſs difficult to be managed than Tillotſon. But he was miſtaken: for Teniſon, in many things, was not to be wrought upon. He was not of that compliant temper of mind which courtiers are apt to wiſh for in biſhops.

French king inclined to peace.

THE French king, having loſt all hopes of a change of affairs in England, upon the queen's death, being in want of ſoldiers and all neceſſaries, and alſo in a bad ſtate of health, began now to turn his thoughts

thoughts towards peace. He, therefore, with theſe views, diſpatched Monſieur de Caliere privately into Holland. In England, proſecutions were carried on againſt ſome conſpirators in Lancaſhire. There was a great deal of buſineſs in the parliament, concerning frauds committed in the clothing and pay of the army. The houſe of commons made loud complaints alſo of the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers in their winter quarters, as well as of the colonels, and thoſe who were to furniſh them with accoutrements and clothing, who had not only defrauded the ſoldiers, but alſo the public. Colonel Haſtings was broke for the diſorders of his men in their quarters. Mr. Pancefort, and Mr. James Craggs, were committed to the Tower. They denied the charge; and yet would not produce their books of account. Theſe men, in order to ſcreen themſelves, endeavoured to involve ſome noblemen in their frauds; and were deſirous to have given their own evidence in favour of one another, but the houſe refuſed to admit of it.

Public defaulters.

When the buſineſs of theſe men was diſpatched, Sir John Trevor, a man of great ſubtlety, was turned out of his office of ſpeaker, for bribery and corruption, and publicly ſubſcribed his name to the order for his own expulſion. Mr. Hungerford was alſo expelled the houſe: and Mr. Bird, being brought to his knees at the bar, begged pardon of the houſe, on account of money negociated among the members. Sir Thomas Cook was committed to the Tower for the buſineſs of the Eaſt India company: and ſo were Sir Baſil Firebrace, and others. Some foreigners, who were accuſed of bribery, withdrew to their own country; and in particular, Monſ. Robert went home to Swiſſerland. The duke of Leeds made reſtitution of whatſoever could be deemed to have come to his hands unfairly; and was removed from the king's councils, though not without ſome reluctance on the part of his majeſty, to whom he had done ſingular ſervice, both in the affairs of his marriage, and in that of the late revolution.

In Scotland, the marquis of Tweedale was made lord high commiſſioner: Mr. James Johnſtone, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, from motives of revenge, cauſed the affair of Glencoe to be laid before the parliament.

Scotch affairs.

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parliament. This being ſomewhat diſingenuouſly managed, was the occaſion of much trouble to many people. The earl of Broadalbin was committed to the caſtle of Edinburgh: but the lord viſcount Stair, who lay under ſome ſuſpicion on that account, in a very artful ſpeech, endeavoured to reſolve the whole matter into a miſapprehenſion of dates, which he alledged had led both the actor in the ſlaughter complained of, and thoſe who now accuſed him, into miſtakes. In concluſion, he affirmed, that neither the king, nor any other perſon, was to be blamed, ſave only the miſled captain, who did not rightly underſtand the orders that had been given to him.

THE ſame parliament alſo had under their conſideration a ſcheme for ſettling a trade, and planting a colony, in America; which proved afterwards an occaſion of manifold evils, and was matter of great complaint both to the Engliſh and the Spaniards.

AFTER the riſing of this parliament, the king diſmiſſed both his ſecretaries, Johnſtone and Stair; and appointed, in their ſtead, the marquis of Athol and Sir James Ogilvy. On the death of that moſt accompliſhed perſon, the marquis of Tweedale, the earl of Marchmont ſucceeded in his place: to whom, and the duke of Queenſberry, were committed the chief adminiſtration of affairs in Scotland. Sir James Stuart was made lord advocate. The lord Stair perſuaded the duke of Hamilton to come into the king's meaſures, and not to think of innovations. But the duke, taking occaſion from the new ſettlement of the colony, endeavoured to throw all things into confuſion. The lord Stair, therefore, joined the duke of Queenſberry's party. New contentions aroſe about places. Sir Hugh Dalrymple was made lord preſident of the ſeſſion, greatly againſt the will of the marquis of Athol; who thereupon reſigned his office, and was ſucceeded by the lord Carmichael.

The Scots attempt to ſettle a colony in America.

THE Scots, carrying on the ſettlement of the colony, which has juſt been mentioned, with extravagant parade, and noiſe, and ſubſcriptions, filled not only England, but all other countries alſo, with apprehenſions leſt Scotland ſhould, in proceſs of time, become the emporium

of

of all the trade of Europe. But they never conſidered how few would truſt their fortunes to the diſpoſal of ſuch a numerous nobility, nor calculated the frauds of their own managers; by which means the whole affair was afterwards ruined. Diſcords ariſing on this head between the two kingdoms, old hoſtilities were recalled to mind; the cattle were driven off from the borders; the cuſtoms were defrauded; and other injuries were committed; and, at laſt, the Spaniards complained of the Scots. Therefore, to prevent the miſchiefs which might in time ariſe to both kingdoms, the king had nothing ſo much at heart, as to bring about an union on as fair terms as he could, between the two kingdoms, which, by the nature of their ſituation, ſeemed intended for one, but had been always at enmity, through the continual feuds of their nobles.

Progreſs of the arts in Britain.

DURING all the time of the war on the continent, the Engliſh young gentlemen were wont to travel in Holland, Germany, and Italy; whereby the ſofter ſtrains of muſic, and the architecture of the Italians, and the laying out of gardens after the manner of the Dutch, became very faſhionable in Britain. In Norfolk and Suffolk, and in Lincolnſhire, there was alſo a wonderful improvement in huſbandry and tillage; for the war was of great advantage to the farmers, who exported corn into Holland. The Yorkſhiremen bred managed horſes, opened the rivers for navigation, took care of the public roads and carriages, as well as to encourage the fiſheries, and plantation of hops.

WHEN all things were ready for opening the campaign, the mournful king ſet out for Holland, in the month of May 1695, under a convoy of ſeventeen men of war. On his arrival at the Hague he ſoon diſpatched the affairs he had to ſettle with the ſtates; after which, he proceeded to the frontiers, and laid ſiege to Namur; and calling together a number of workmen out of the neighbouring works to undermine the place, he brought up artillery for the purpoſe of covering his men in their advances againſt that city. On the death of the marſhal de Luxemburgh, who had done great ſervice to France through the whole war, the French king conferred the command of his army

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in Flanders upon the marſhal de Villeroy; who, in hopes to draw king William off from Namur, endeavoured to attack the prince of Vaudemont in his camp at Newport. Vaudemont, who had no notice of the approach of the French, ſeeing them ready to fall upon him on all ſides, moved his camp by little and little, and by divers feints and croſs marches, deceived the enemy, and freed his army, after they had, with great art, well nigh ſurrounded it. The enemy burning with rage, aſſaulted Bruſſels with red-hot balls, bombs, and all other engines of war. The elector of Bavaria ſeeing the people of Bruſſels in danger of immediate ruin, deſired king William to deſiſt from the ſiege of Namur: but the king, even though his own houſe was in flames, refuſed to gratify him, and with redoubled ardour preſſed on his works for the accompliſhment of his undertaking. Villeroy was ſo much occupied with the fire, that he neither attempted to intercept the beſiegers proviſions, and other ſtores, nor moved towards the Maeſe, along which river all the parade of war was to paſs.

Namur retaken.

WHEN the city was taken, lieutenant general Cohorne attacked the citadel with a dreadful battery of cannons, in five places; and on that occaſion gave proofs of his admirable ſkill in the reduction of fortified places. During the thundering of the artillery, and the lightning of bombs, Boufflers, having loſt a great number of his men, hung out a ſignal from the walls, demanding conditions of capitulation. The confederates ſtrengthened themſelves under covert of the works, and prepared for a ſecond aſſault; on which Boufflers accepted of the terms offered by king William. Hoſtages being exchanged, the beſieged marched out. But king William ſtopped marſhal de Boufflers, till he ſhould receive ſatisfaction for thoſe of his men who were taken at Deynſe. This Boufflers promiſed, and then was diſmiſſed.

THE taking of Namur was celebrated at the Hague with great variety of fire-works of all ſorts; and by Mr. Matthew Prior, in a poem.

THE French king being now afraid of his own dominions, ſtrengthened his frontiers by fortifications upon the Scheldt. In Italy, prince Eugene took the town of Caſal: but the French king, and the princes

of Italy agreed that the walls ſhould be demoliſhed, and the city reſtored to the duke of Mantua, which was not oppoſed by the emperor. The French king having loſt his fleet, betook himſelf to privateering, in which he employed Du Bart.

THE emperor's army in Hungary being defeated, count Veterani was taken by the Turks, and beheaded, which was highly reſented by the emperor; but thoſe barbarians being ignorant of the laws of war, have been accuſtomed to kill their priſoners: nay, even ambaſſadors have been ſawn aſunder by them.

KING WILLIAM, leaving the camp, concerted meaſures with the Dutch for the next year's compaign, and returned into England. The Engliſh had not the like ſucceſs in ſetting fire to Dunkirk and Calais, as they had before at Dieppe; nor was any thing of moment performed either on the Rhine or in Spain.

State of the coin.

WHEN the parliament met in England, the king acquainted them with the great deductions made by way of diſcount and exchange of money, and deſired a remedy might be found againſt the clipping and diminiſhing the coin; for beſides the ſcarcity and difficulties in regard to money-matters, and the low ſtate of public credit, there was alſo great miſchief done by counterfeiting the coin. Mr. Charles Montague propoſed ſeveral ſchemes for the redreſs of this grievance, concerning which there were various opinions in parliament. The goldſmiths and bankers oppoſed the creating of a treaſury or bank in London. Mr. Lowndes, who belonged to the treaſury, wrote a book in which he attempted to prove, that the parliament had it in their power to eſtabliſh printed money, which by a public declaration might be made paſſable at what rate or value they thought fit. But this was oppoſed by Mr. Iſaac Newton, and Mr. John Locke, men of genius almoſt divine, and born for the public good; who demonſtrated, that this would prove prejudicial to the parliament itſelf, and all the people of England; detrimental to trade, and ruinous to all creditors and land-holders; and inſiſted, that the value of money did not depend upon the will of any one nation, or the pleaſure of the Engliſh

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parliament, but upon the general conſent of mankind, the common uſe and need of the thing itſelf, and the weight and purity of the coin.

THIS affair was debated in parliament with great heat. Mr. Montague, ſupporting the opinion of Newton and Locke, carried the point in parliament againſt their adverſaries. And Mr. Locke having alſo written a book on that ſubject, both credit and money were, by an expreſs law, reſtored to their ancient ſtate. The money was brought into the mint, and reſtored at the public expence to its owners. There was not any ſilver money to be ſeen for two months in England. By means of the bank at London, which Mr. Montague eſtabliſhed, public credit revived, diſcount abated, and the public debts of the nation were, by degrees, leſſened. For the citizens lent out their money at two or three per cent. every month, while the body of the public, of which all made their advantage, was waſted by debts into a conſumption.

Bank of England eſtabliſhed.

WHILE the new money was coining, the people diſcovered the ſtrongeſt proofs of love for their country, and fidelity and mutual goodwill towards one another, and a ſingular affection towards the king: whence it appeared, that the Engliſh are not kept within the bounds of duty by the ſeverity of laws, and the authority of the magiſtrates, ſo much as by the mutual benevolence of the people, and a common intereſt in the public good.

BUT the duke of Savoy, through the difficulties in our money-matters, which the French exceedingly aggravated, became unfavourable, not only to the confederates, but to merchants of all countries, and ſecretly treated about a ſeparate peace with France; although the earl of Galway found out nothing of all this at Turin.

Triennial parliaments.

THE parliament of England was alſo employed in debates about triennial parliaments, the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers in their winter-quarters, and the great increaſe of the military intereſt in the houſe of commons. The triennial bill, which had been twice before rejected, now paſſed:

paſſed the royal aſſent. Though the king ſaid, that it was not for the public good to paſs that law, yet, at the entreaty of the duke of Leeds, he choſe rather to comply with his parliament, than to reſiſt the earneſt importunity of a troubleſome faction. He is alſo reported to have ſaid, that as much as that bill would take away from kings, ſo much it would confer upon the clergy; who, unleſs they were deprived of their right of voting in the country elections, neglecting the worſhip of God, would turn all their thoughts, cares, and ſtudies to the public affairs of the ſtate, and the contentions of political factions. And whereas the two houſes of parliament had been long open to all young men of what age ſoever, and were indeed filled with ſuch, a law was made, that none ſhould be admitted to ſit in parliament, till he was of the full age of twenty-one years. It was alſo matter of wonder to many, that, at the ſame time, the counties and burghs did not guard againſt the military power, which is extremely dangerous to their liberties.

A LAW having paſſed for the adjuſtment of money-matters, the ſum of one million and two hundred thouſand pounds was immediately voted for this purpoſe; and certain men well ſkilled in monies were aſſembled together, with Mr. Iſaac Newton deſervedly appointed to preſide over them; who, ſetting up mints for that purpoſe in four ſeveral places, finiſhed it in ten months time, and, with great reſolution, proſecuted the falſe coiners, who were ripe for ſedition, and watched for the deſtruction of the preſent government, for which he was envied by none but Dr. Davenant. Mr. Locke was put into the commiſſion for trade; being beloved by every body but Mr. Stepney, who hated all learning, though he was an agreeable companion, and verſifier rather than a poet.

IN this parliament a law paſſed to regulate trials for high treaſon, and another for the freedom of voting in elections; by which the evil intended to be remedied is ſaid to have been very much increaſed; and that the electors in corporations were not now contented, as formerly, only with treats and entertainments of eating and drinking. At this time the Scotch trade with America was a mighty ſubject of attention

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tion in the Engliſh parliament, and many monied men in England, who had ſubſcribed to it were called to account; eſpecially one Mackenzie, who having indefatigably ſolicited ſubſcriptions, and concealed his account-book, thought fit to ſecrete himſelf. The parlia- alſo addreſſed the king to put a ſtop to the Scotch trade there; to which the king anſwered, that he had been ill ſerved in Scotland; and that he would do his endeavour to have that difference between the two nations adjuſted as fairly as poſſible. And now admiral Ruſſel returned from the coaſt of Spain very opportunely for preventing the French invaſion; for as there was a ſuſpicion of a peace at hand, the French king reſolved to make an effort in favour of king James.

In the mean time unſeaſonable controverſies broke out in the church, concerning the Trinity; which were carried on by Dr. South and Dr. Sherlock to ſuch a degree of bitterneſs, that at laſt they deſcended to perſonal reflections, and to give each other opprobrious names. Theſe diſputants, in their writings, exhauſted, as it were, the ſubject of the nature of God; while others, diſſolving the ſtrongeſt bonds of human ſociety, made all the religious obligation of oaths vain and ineffectual. Serious people were grieved to ſee the ſacred myſteries of the Holy Trinity expoſed to the vulgar. Dr. Ball, a grave and learned man, examining the point to the bottom of the earlieſt antiquity, explained at large the canons of the ancient councils, and the judgment of the primitive fathers concerning this article, and in his writings diſplayed the moſt extenſive learning. Others, who wrote after him, were almoſt curſed with the ſtings of envy.

Aſſaſſination plot.

In the midſt of all this buſtle about frauds and controverſies, a wicked conſpiracy was diſcovered againſt the life of king William, at the ſame time that a French army was to land in England. Many thought that king James was privy to this deſign. He came to Calais at the head of theſe troops, and the duke of Berwic paſſed over into England, to take upon him the command of thoſe who were to riſe there. The conſpiracy being diſcovered by captain Pendergraſs, Mr. Chernock a jeſuit, lieutenant King, and Keys a trumpeter, were taken up on ſuſpicion:

ſuſpicion: and a proclamation was publiſhed offering a reward of a thouſand pounds to any one who would take Sir George Barclay, Sir William Perkyns, or captain Porter, three very dangerous perſons. Porter ſurrendered himſelf of his own accord. The reſt, who were apprehended, were brought to their trials; the accuſation being proved by the teſtimony of Porter and others. The perſons accuſed were condemned almoſt as faſt as they were tried, and ſuffered death according to law; others were confined to perpetual impriſonment. Soon after which, Sir John Friend and Sir William Parkyns being found guilty of the conſpiracy and treaſon, were put to death: and the duke of Berwic, as being privy to the deſign of raiſing an inſurrection, was attainted by act of parliament. The habeas corpus act, which had paſſed ſome time ago for the ſecurity of the liberty of the people, was now, in this ſuſpicious ſeaſon, ſuſpended by act of parliament: for it is the duty of wiſe men to conſider both what is neceſſary for the common ſafety, and for the ſupport of government. And an aſſociation for the defence of the king's perſon and authority being ſubſcribed by the members of parliament, and others of all ranks, his majeſty appointed ſome of his principal miniſters, lords juſtices for the government of the kingdom, and ſet out for Holland.

AFTER the king had ſtemmed the torrent occaſioned by the heats in parliament and this conſpiracy, he arrived at the Hague in the month of May 1696, and drawing together his forces out of their winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of Ghent, reviewed the army, and marched into Brabant. In this time of difficulty, with regard to the ſtate of the coin, Mr. Richard Hill, paymaſter of the army, by his great diligence and experience in money-matters, recommended himſelf highly to the king's favour, making up for the ſcarcity of the public money by the ſtrict fidelity and œconomy, and by the frugality and promptitude with which he provided all things neceſſary for a camp. Lieutenant general Cohorne ſet fire to the French magazines at Givette. But both armies ſpent the ſummer in various marches, without any conſiderable action, till the forces on both ſides went again into winter-quarters.

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Continental affairs.

In Spain, the duke de Vendoſme had ſome advantage over the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt. Prince Lewis of Baden kept within his camp on the Rhine. Monſ. de Caliere, who the year before had been ſecretly treating about terms of pacification, returned into Holland, and had ſeveral conferences with baron Dyckvelt, both at Utrecht and Ghent. The minds of the kings were much inclined to peace: king William by the ſcarcity of money, the heats in the parliament, and the delays of the emperor: the French king, by the taking of Namur, his own bad ſtate of health, and the king of Spain's dangerous ſickneſs. The duke of Savoy, having little confidence in the diſpoſition of his allies, made a ſeparate peace privately with the French. Prince Eugene, ſuſpecting this, would have intercepted the duke of Savoy, if he had not been prevented by the earl of Galway and other general officers. After this the duke of Savoy being afraid of himſelf, kept cloſe within his camp till Ivrea was taken; and then he had many conferences with the marſhal Catinat, with whom he concluded the peace. Upon this he joined his forces with the French, marched into the confines of the Milaneſe, took Valerna, and threatened to beſiege other places; ſo that the king of Spain, by the emperor's means, was forced to treat about a truce in Italy.

The confederacy being now broken, the French king performed his promiſe to the duke of Savoy, and commanded his daughter to be conducted into France with great ſolemnity, reſtored to Savoy the places taken in the war, and paid him part of the money promiſed to him for making good the loſſes he had ſuſtained in the war, leaving the reſt upon credit; which how faithfully he diſcharged, it is not material here to examine. In Holland alſo they now began to talk of peace, which was ſaid to be favoured by madam de Maintenon, whom the French king entertained as a wife; and who, either in hopes that he would marry her, or out of hatred to king James's queen, ſolicited the king to incline his mind to peace. And now, all parties were weary of the war, except the emperor, who had had the leaſt ſhare in it upon the Rhine, and who had alſo ſent the elector of Saxony with his forces into Hungary, and gained an influence and aſcendent over his mind by the help of the jeſuits he placed about him. King William obſerving this, and alſo how the king

king of Spain was become neutral in Italy; that the duke of Savoy revolted; and that the whole burthen of the war had fallen upon himſelf, ſent his propoſals, and ſoon received, in return, thoſe of the French king; who alſo publicly profeſſed that he had no averſion to king William, but that he regarded all kings of England alike.

KING WILLIAM, returning to England in 1697, in his ſpeech to parliament, gave them an account of the burthen of the war, and the defection of his allies, and of the tender affection which he had all this time entertained for his people: he told them that a way was now opened to peace; but ſince the French king was to be treated with ſword in hand, and that there was no other event but either a peace or a war, he demanded a ſeaſonable ſupply. When this was obtained, and all things in readineſs for carrying on the war, the earls of Pembroke and Jerſey, and Sir Joſeph Williamſon, were appointed, in council, plenipotentiaries to go over with the king into Holland. Thither alſo went the French plenipotentiaries, the emperors, and the miniſters of the reſt of the allies, who met in the prince of Orange's palace at Ryſwick, and ſpent the whole ſummer in the treaty; the baron Van Lilienrodt, the young king of Sweden's ambaſſador, acting as mediator. In the field, the French took Aeth, a town of no great ſtrength, in Flanders; and plundered Carthagena in America, by their admiral Ponti: the French king alſo, for the glory of his arms, took Barcelona in Spain, with the loſs of ten thouſand of his men, under the command of the duke Vendoſme; and at laſt he ſent the prince of Conti by ſea into Poland, in order to be elected king there, with the aſſent of king William: but the crown of Poland was conferred upon the elector of Saxony, on his abjuring his religion; whom king William did not heartily congratulate; fearing leſt, by his example, other German princes might be eaſily corrupted, and the proteſtant intereſt, in thoſe parts, reduced to nothing. Nor was the prince of Conti inſenſible that he had been deceived by thoſe in whom he had principally confided; Conti, on his return to France, could not endure to ſee the face of the abbot Polygnac, who had been the French king's ambaſſador in Poland.

Treaty of Ryſwick.

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THERE were frequent meetings of the ambaſſadors at the Hague: among whom it was agreed, That the French king ſhould acknowledge king William as king of England: that the commerce between the ſubjects of both nations ſhould be reſtored to the condition it was in formerly: that the whole iſland of St. Chriſtopher ſhould be reſtored to king William, together with all that he had a title to in France: that the French king ſhould yield up, to the king of Spain, all the towns which had been taken from him ſince the peace at Nimeguen. This treaty was vehemently obſtructed by the emperor, who charged his ambaſſadors with ſome conditions very obnoxious to the people, and injurious to the proteſtants.

AND now king William had more reaſon to guard againſt the treachery of his friends, than the open reſentment of his enemies. Of this he was ſo well aware, that he gave the emperor to underſtand, that he had ſufficiently performed the terms of the confederacy; that he ought not to be charged with laying the burthen of new cuſtoms and land taxes upon his ſubjects for ever; and much leſs would he always engage himſelf in a war for the ſake of thoſe who regarded nothing but their own intereſt, and the popiſh religion; for he was much offended at the elector of Saxony's defection. It is reported, that William, when he firſt heard of the emperor's conſpiring with the king of France for the deſtruction of the proteſtants, ſaid, "If this be "his aim, he ſhall not longer delay the peace. Of this, however, "he has but little need: and as to the rectitude of his proceedings, "let him look to it."

Peace made.

AFTER a conference in the field, between the earl of Portland, and the marſhal de Boufflers, concerning the ſecret articles of the treaty, the peace was ſigned in the month of September, and the emperor ſigned the ſame in the month of October: upon which king William left the Hague, and was triumphantly received on his return to London.

Czar of Muſcovy's progreſs.

A LITTLE before this time the Czar of Muſcovy, great duke of Ruſſia, came into Holland only as a private artificer, to ſee king William. They met, as by chance, in a private houſe at Utrecht. The

The Czar, who was a very tall man, embracing the king, ſaid, "Lo! "here is an ample reward of all my labours." Nor did he aſk any thing but the king's protection. The king, with great civility, promiſed him that, and every thing that was honourable; and farther gave him an invitation, if he would be pleaſed, to come into England. That ſame night the king went to the Hague, and the Czar to Sardam; where, having laid aſide all the enſigns of ſovereignty, he lived many months, employing himſelf as a carpenter, on an equal foot with the common carpenters and ſhipwrights, while his own ambaſſadors lived in great ſtate at Amſterdam. The Czar was not only endowed with what are commonly eſteemed princely virtues, counſel, labour, magnanimity; but he had alſo a ſingular genius for all liberal arts; an obliging behaviour, and induſtry without buſtle or oſtentation: for though he was in dignity equal to the higheſt, he did not think it beneath him to converſe with the loweſt, provided they were ingenious, and of approved probity. There was nothing in this prince, according to the character given of him by king William, haughty, nothing abject, nothing mean. And, from the glorious condeſcenſion of his conduct, as well as the extent and depth of his obſervation, it was now abundantly apparent, that his nature was ennobled by true greatneſs; and that, in fortitude, magnanimity, diligence, and perſeverance, he not only excelled all his own contemporaries, but even all the heroes who are recorded in the antiquities of the eaſtern nations. In the beginning of the year, he came privately into England, and was received very kindly by the king; who alſo appointed admiral Mitchel, and ſuch others as he made choice of, to attend him. He inſtructed our people in many particulars of geography, as to the coaſts of the Caſpian Sea, and the bounds of Ruſſia. Retiring to the furtheſt parts of the ſuburbs, and lying hid, as it were, among the ſhips, he turned the attention of his own people to the ſtudy and practice of the ſecret myſteries of all kinds of arts and ſciences; and encouraged them therein by his own example. At length he was entreated to go to church; and being aſked what he thought of our public worſhip? he ſaid, The whole ſolemnity ſeemed to him to be good, decent, and apoſtolical: and, when he left England, he gave the company of London merchants ſome freſh privileges for their trade in his country. In the month of

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Auguſt he went to Vienna; where he was invited by father Wolfe to go to the Roman worſhip; and after he had done ſo, and being aſked his opinion of it, he ſaid, That this alſo was decent and apoſtolical; ſo that he gave both churches room to hope well of him. But though he did not condemn the religion of others, he adhered to his own. In the mean time, as on the one hand he had a good opinion of the emperor, ſo, on the other, he was not a ſtranger to the haughtineſs of the imperial court: and having received notice of a ſedition in his own country, he returned home, without making a viſit to his imperial majeſty. When he arrived in his own camp, he reduced the ſedition, and chaſtiſed his own ſiſter, whom he confined in a nunnery. He deprived the patriarch of his poſſeſſions; though he did not ſeize them into his own exchequer, but diſpoſed of them among his diſabled ſoldiers, and the poor. Soon after this, he entered into a war againſt Sweden. But, above all, he gave proofs of his great genius and improvement by travel; not only in poliſhing the minds of his ſubjects with the fine arts, but in reducing the power of the clergy, which he looked upon as not of this world.

As the emperor had oppoſed the ratification of the peace, ſo king James in France proteſted againſt it. The French king endeavoured to comfort the degraded monarch with fair words, and many expreſſions of ſympathy: though many people thought there was little credit to be given to all theſe things, yet they were accepted by king James as excuſes for the peace.

The earl of Sunderland, now in England, attempted to alienate the king's affections from his miniſters: but finding he was not eaſily to be prevailed on, having had full experience of their virtue and fidelity, he preſſed him, ſaying, What is one man better than another? and endeavouring to leſſen their merit, Sunderland had this in his thoughts the former year, when the king was to ſee his houſe at Althrop. The king was ready enough to diſmiſs the earl of Portland, in this difficult ſtate of affairs; but would gladly have retained the reſt, if the diſorders of the kingdom had not required him to do otherwiſe. During the war, his majeſty had not leiſure for the encouragement

ragement of letters: but now, when peace was made, he authoriſed a ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel; as his queen before had inſtituted one for the reformation of manners.

Sir John Fenwick's caſe.

THE caſe of Sir John Fenwick, which had been proſecuted the laſt year in an extraordinary manner, rendered many people diſaffected to the king. There was room enough to have brought this cauſe into the ordinary courts of juſtice, if one of the witneſſes had not withdrawn himſelf into France. But the king thought fit to leave it to the parliament; and the lawyers before were alſo pleaſed to refer the ſame to them, that they might ſupply the defect of evidence againſt him. They ſaid, this was neither the firſt precedent of the kind in England, nor to be looked upon as unjuſt, that a man ſhould be condemned by an extraordinary trial; others thought that this was condemning a man by a law made after the fact. To which it was replied, That even that was not without precedent. But I ſhall omit the debates in this controverſy.

THE king reſolved to ſend the earl of Portland his ambaſſador extraordinary to France. The royal palace of Whitehall was accidentally burnt down: but the earl of Portland ſaved his own houſe, which ſtood adjoining to it. And when he was boaſting of this, the king ſaid to him, "Don't rejoice ſo much over other men's loſſes: I ſee you have "much more concern for your own houſe than for mine." He went to France. And now the earl of Sunderland and Marlborough, and the lord Godolphin, who were cloſely united, not only by ancient familiarity, but by mutual good offices and intermarriages, joined themſelves to Mynheer Keppel, newly created earl of Albemarle. Into their party, alſo, came all thoſe who were in oppoſition to the king and his miniſters, calling themſelves the country party, and patriots; though they were hardly looked upon as good men any where among the people.

ALL theſe were made ſubſervient to the purpoſes of Sunderland, who, as if he had laid aſide all the enormities of former times, addreſſed himſelf, in the kindeſt terms, to the duke of Leeds, the earl of Rocheſter,

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Rocheſter, and others of the prime nobility, with whom he had formerly been at variance, courting their reconciliation by every act of favour and friendſhip. He engaged Mr. Harley, and Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, in the houſe of commons, to force the miniſtry into difficulties, by inflaming the houſe againſt them. The prince of Denmark kept himſelf free from either party: but his conſort was entirely guided by Marlborough.

When king William called his parliament, he told them ſolemnly in his ſpeech, that the peace which he had now procured for them, and upon which he now congratulated them, muſt be maintained by an armed power; that the arrears due to the ſoldiers muſt be paid, the public credit ſupported, and the national debts diſcharged: and as to other matters, that he ſhould eſteem it glory enough for him, if their laws, rights, religion, and thoſe things which, in the beginning of his reign, he had, at his own peril, reſcued and protected from the fear of ſlavery, might be now left ſecure to poſterity. In the mean time, he ſignified to his miniſters, that twenty thouſand ſoldiers would be neceſſary for maintaining the peace. They told him, they could not obtain of the parliament any more than fifteen thouſand; for they were afraid, leſt the military power ſhould become greater than the civil.

The parliament congratulated the king upon the peace, whereby they hoped their deliverance would be perfected; and that there would not now, in this happy time of peace, be any need of ſoldiers: and, that the public debts of the nation might be the more eaſily diſcharged, they entreated him, that the army might be diſbanded before the ſecret articles of the peace, or the ſucceſſion of Spain ſhould be ratified, and ſigned by the earl of Portland.

In the foregoing year, an embaſſy which came into England from Venice, not leſs eminent for the magnificence of their train, than for the merit of their ambaſſadors, made amends for the backwardneſs of the ſenate. The king promiſed them his beſt offices for peace between the emperor and the Turks. The parliament, through the influence

of Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, ſettled ſeven hundred thouſand a-year upon the king for his life. Sir Chriſtopher, who was in the oppoſition in other things, recommended himſelf to the king by this; nor was he ſo much diſaffected, but that he ſhewed he could reconcile himſelf to any thing, whenever he found it would turn to his own account. The debates about diſbanding the army were continued till late at night; and held for ſeveral days together after candle-light. In the mean time came out a pamphlet, written, as was believed, by Mr. Charles Montague, containing many arguments on both ſides of the queſtion. At length the commons voted that the army ſhould be diſbanded, except the garriſons and guard-ſhips at the ſea-ports. But the parliament did not foreſee, what alteration of affairs and commotions England might be expoſed to, being thus diſarmed in ſuch troubleſome times. They who were for diſbanding the army, laid all the blame, whatever it was, upon the king's miniſters. Many things were complained of in parliament, rather out of envy and oppoſition to the praiſes of other men, than any regard to the public good. For ſome thought the change in public affairs would not be complete, unleſs they could involve ſome of the beſt ſubjects, and the moſt zealous aſſerters of liberty, at the late revolution, in the ſame puniſhment with the guilty. Mr. Harley, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, Sir Edward Seymour, and others, who were moſt noted for their eloquence in the houſe of commons, concerted meaſures with the earl of Sunderland, in order to embarraſs the king and his miniſters. For oppoſition to government, and the impeachment of miniſters, are conſidered in England as the ſureſt road to preferment and riches. Though the French king had, by the peace, reſtored the principality of Orange to king William, yet he ſeized all the avenues to the town, and quartered them with his troops, and ſeverely perſecuted the proteſtants. He betrothed his brother's daughter to the duke of Loraine; and formed a ſplendid camp on the confines of Flanders. The emperor, having gained a victory, laſt year, over the Turks, by prince Eugene, refuſed to grant them a truce; and ſubdued the proteſtants in Hungary, who had been provoked to madneſs by the oppreſſion of the imperialiſts. While the prince of Conti, and the ducheſs dowager of Nemours in France, were contending about the ſucceſſion

Army diſbanded.

of

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of Neufchatel in Switzerland, king William alſo entered a proteſtation in favour of his own right; whoſe claim was favoured by the Swiſs, out of fear of the neighbourhood of the French.

Various proceedings in the houſe of commons.

WHILE the earl of Sunderland's friends in the houſe of commons were carping at the king's adminiſtration, Mr. Charles Montague, inflamed againſt him as a perſon obnoxious to the penalties of all the laws, revived the remembrance of his proceedings in the late times, and ſaid, Does this deſtroyer of his country ſtill live? Yes, he lives, and poſſeſſes mighty influence at court; inveighing againſt him with many bitter expreſſions. Sunderland, alarmed at the clamours of the people, ſurrendered his public employment, and became an open adverſary to Montague; who alſo refuſed to pay Sunderland a ſum of money granted to him by the king. But Sunderland, little regarding all this, ſecretly contrived to weaken the other's authority in the parliament, and his favour with the king; and reconciled himſelf to his common enemies. During theſe heats in parliament, heavy complaints were made againſt the diſſenters, who thought the ſimplicity of the goſpel did not allow of the pomp and ſplendour of the ceremonies in the church of England, becauſe the lord mayor of London had been ſeen at their meetings, while the altars of the church appeared to be deſpiſed. Theſe things were alſo laid to the charge of the miniſters of ſtate, who were far enough from giving any juſt cauſe of ſuch ſuſpicions, and who condemned the behaviour of the lord mayor of London as much as any of the churchmen. The king alſo deſired that the parliament would eſtabliſh the kingdom in its ancient diſcipline, and regulate it ſtill farther by new laws; through the neglect of which, young people, in purſuit of their pleaſures, are apt to fall into impiety, and thereby even to incur the ſuſpicion of contemning religious ordinances.

WHILE many things were complained of in the houſe of commons, Mr. Montague laid before them the frauds of divers perſons. The exchequer bills, upon the ſecond iſſuing of which there was an allowancce of ſeven per cent. were falſely indorſed by ſome of the officers of the revenue themſelves, as if they had iſſued once before, for their

their own private profit. Of this crime Mr. Charles Duncomb, Mr. John Knight, Mr. Bartholemew Barton, and Mr. Reginald Marriot, being accuſed in parliament, and the falſehood appearing by witneſſes and their own hand-writing, the two firſt of them were expelled the houſe, and committed to the Tower. Duncomb was fined; but the bill for inflicting the penalty being ſent up to the lords, was thrown out only by the majority of the duke of Leeds's ſingle vote, which was given out of ſpite to Mr. Montague, who had, a few years before, accuſed the duke himſelf of corruption; and therefore this fraud was expiated either by private benefits, or the atonement of preſenting organs to churches. By this judgment ſuch a door was opened to bribery, and the audaciouſneſs of wicked men, as the utmoſt diligence of our times will not be able to ſhut up again. The number of cheats and frauds increaſed exceedingly. While the earl of Portland was in treaty with the French king about a partition of the kingdom of Spain, in favour of the prince of Bavaria, the marſhal Tallard, ambaſſador of France, came into England; and preſſed this affair the more earneſtly, leſt the war ſhould break out again with greater fury. King William, now being diſarmed, in order to prevent, by treaty, thoſe dangers to himſelf and the other maritime powers, which he could not have repelled by force, came to an agreement with the French king: the chief terms of which were, that on the death of the king of Spain, the dauphin ſhould have the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, the iſlands and places upon the coaſt of Tuſcany, and the province of Guipuſcon: that the elector of Bavaria's ſon ſhould have the kingdom of Spain, the Spaniſh Netherlands, and both the Indies; of which his father was to be adminiſtrator, till he ſhould come to be of age: that the emperor's ſon Charles ſhould have the duchy of Milan; but in caſe either the emperor, or the elector of Bavaria, ſhould not agree to it, then the proportion of the party not agreeing, ſhould be committed to ſequeſtration: and laſtly, the prince of Vandemont was to be ſubſtituted in the place of the archduke Charles.

Partition treaty.

With this partition, the emperor, who greatly deſired to have his ſon Charles general heir to the crown of Spain, was greatly diſpleaſed. The duke of Savoy alſo complained of it as an injury done to him.

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The duke, at that time, was obnoxious both to king William and the French king on ſeveral accounts; but chiefly, becauſe if he ſhould become king of Spain, he might poſſibly aſſert his claim to the crown of England alſo by arms, in right of his wife. In theſe revolutions of the kingdoms of Europe, king William's only deſign was to remove the French king's forces into the fartheſt parts of Italy and Sicily, that the maritime powers might be freed from wars, and have an opportunity of recovering their ſtrength.

MATTERS being thus ſettled, and the duke of Lorain's marriage with the duke of Orleans' daughter being ſolemnized in France, the emperor demanded the ducheſs dowager of Hanover's daughter in marriage to his ſon Joſeph, king of the Romans; and the bride was ſoon after conducted to Vienna.

IN Spain different perſons at court were very buſily employed in practiſing on the mind of his catholic majeſty, to whom they gave great uneaſineſs; particularly the queen, who was ſiſter to the empreſs, and the imperial ambaſſador.

AT length, through the advice of certain Spaniards, the king nominated the electoral prince of Bavaria his heir; to which the grandees ſubſcribed. The marquis de Harcourt, the French king's ambaſſador in Spain, made many excuſes for his maſter, and laid the whole blame of the late treaty upon king William, earneſtly exhorting the Spaniards to maintain their monarchy undivided. But neither the king of Spain's deſignation, nor this triple alliance, were of any long duration, being broken by the unexpected death of the prince of Bavaria; and thereupon the wounds which had been healed by the peace, and alliance between the Engliſh and French, began to break out afreſh. The elector of Bavaria wiſhed greatly to have ſucceeded on the death of his ſon; but that could not be allowed by any means. For neither the common intereſt, nor the inclination of either king, could admit of it; nor did the late compact avail him any thing, ſince his ſon had never inherited the dominions in queſtion.

As there were many inquiries on foot in the parliament of England, Mynheer Gore, a man of both parts and principle, whom the king had preferred in the office of ordnance in England, now growing weary of his fellow-commiſſioners, deſired leave to quit his office, and gave the king an account of many of them. "Well," ſaid the king, "it is like all the reſt; and if you would be a thief too, your "numbers would protect you." However, Gore quitted his office, and retired to Holland.

THE lord Spencer, a grave young man, not leſs attached to learning than to the affairs of the ſtate, railed againſt his father, and made a ſhew of adhering firmly to the moſt eminent patriots. In the midſt of theſe party-heats he alſo accuſed his father to the miniſtry, for protecting traitors, and entertaining the open enemies of the government. For his ſiſter, who was wife to the attainted earl of Clancarty, had come to her mother for relief in her affliction, which act of piety was agreeable to nature at leaſt, if not to the law of the land. For this officious information the lord Spencer was highly praiſed; and his affection for the king was cried up, who would not ſpare his own father and family. But this affair was liable to much ſuſpicion, and was ſaid by many to be only a concert between the father and the ſon; for the lady Clancarty had a ſhare in the king's bounty; which when Mr. Fletcher had found out, he ſaid, "Theſe are Sunderland's artifices! "theſe are the father's inſtructions to the ſon!" And thereupon he broke off his old friendſhip with lord Spencer.

THE earl of Portland, having accompliſhed his embaſſy in France with great magnificence, returned to England, and was ſuccedeed by the earl of Jerſey, who finiſhed the partition treaty.

IN the Engliſh parliament the earl of Macclesfield complained of the unlawful liberties of his wife; for he could not find relief in the ordinary courts of juſtice. The cauſe was adjudged in favour of the earl; and he obtained a divorce. By this deciſion the duke of Norfolk was encouraged to ſeek the like relief in the caſe of his wife. This being granted, ſhe alſo was divorced; and the repudiated lady, in order to

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wipe out the ſtains that had been impreſſed upon her reputation, married Sir John Germain. In thoſe cauſes, biſhop Burnet is ſaid to have diſplayed all the flower of his eloquence. The duke of Glouceſter, ſon of the princeſs of Denmark, was, by the king, intruſted to the earl of Marlborough, and the biſhop of Saliſbury, for education.

THE Engliſh Eaſt India Company, through the frauds of their own people, being exhauſted of their riches, and greatly impoveriſhed, ſunk in its credit. This matter came before parliament. A new company was erected. Differences aroſe between the old company and the new; which were made up at laſt by the diligence of Mr. Montague, without any damage to the public, and to the great advantage of the companies.

THE king having diſſolved the parliament, and left ſome of his principal courtiers to govern the kingdom, went to Germany to viſit the duke of Zell; to divert himſelf with hunting; to maintain an union among the proteſtant princes; and to prevent the wounds in thoſe parts, which could not be healed, from breaking out afreſh. Having confirmed a friendſhip among the proteſtants, and returned thanks to the duke of Zell for the many good offices done to him on all occaſions, he returned to Holland. He alſo obtained of the French king his conſent to a barrier for the emperor upon the Rhine; and, when he had ſettled every thing in Holland relating to the public intereſt, he returned into England.

WHEN the new parliament met in 1699, many diſturbances aroſe out of party-feuds; for the friends of king James, and the creatures of the earl of Sunderland, and all thoſe who had borne any old grudge againſt the aſſertors of liberty, as well as they who were obnoxious, and enemies to all good men, were introduced into the houſe of commons. Many were accuſed of fictitious crimes; innocent perſons were brought into danger; the whigs were charged with corruption; and the commiſſioners, during the late war, for prize-money, were legally proſecuted: nor were the parties accuſed allowed any opportunity of avoiding the danger, or of making any apology for themſelves,

ſelves, or even of retaining the benefit of the privilege of parliament, which might ſcreen them from the utmoſt rigour of the law. Inquiries were alſo made into the king's ſcouts; the money expended upon the fleet and army; the ſtate of the victualling-office for the navy; and the ſailor's clothes. The earl of Ranelagh, paymaſter of the army, evaded the inquiries of his adverſaries for corruption, by his poverty. But the commons petitioned the king, that no man ſhould hereafter be, at the ſame time, commiſſioner of the admiralty and treaſurer of the navy; and reſolved, that all the land-forces ſhould be be diſbanded, except ſeven thouſand men for guards and garriſons, who ſhould alſo be natives of England.

THE king, conſcious of his own good government, and that the dignity of the public had always been his principal care, took no notice of the injurious words which had been let fall on this occaſion in the houſe of commons; but by a ſmooth meſſage ſignified to them, that "he would take it very kindly, if a way could be found out, "by which the Dutch regiment of blue guards, which had always "ſerved him well, might be continued in his ſervice; but if not, he "was ready to diſmiſs them alſo." A great part of the houſe of commons, as if they had forgot the benefit of the Revolution, went to the king, and contrarily to the inclination of many, repreſented to him, That what his majeſty requeſted was inconſiſtent with the ſafety and dignity of the kingdom; and that nothing could conduce more to a mutual confidence between the king and his people, than his majeſty's intruſting himſelf with his ſubjects.

THE houſe of commons did not foreſee how much they offended by this anſwer againſt the common cauſe, and what encouragement it would give to the French king. But many thought the government could not be ſufficiently reformed, unleſs the king were ſtripped of all his guards. The king immediately ſhipped off the Dutch ſoldiers; and this he could have borne with leſs regret, if he had ever ſhewed any diſtruſt of the affection of his ſubjects, or had made any attempt upon their rights. After the parliament had ſat ſeveral months to little or no purpoſe, the king perceiving them to be envious of his glory,

prorogued

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prorogued them to another time, leſs graciouſly than uſual; for the houſe of commons had ſhewn but little regard for him; and then leaving proper perſons to govern the kingdom, he paſſed over into Holland.

THE root of all theſe evils, as I have before demonſtrated, was, that the earl of Albemarle, who had been dear to the king from his childhood, and was now inſtructed by Sunderland, became the king's prime favourite, and living in a very grand manner, quite obſcured the earl of Portland in the king's favour, which the latter took very ill. But the more Portland, to the prejudice of a man whom he loved, the more did the king ſet his affection upon Albemarle; for ſuch was his nature, that his favour to any one was always free, nor would he ſuffer any body elſe to leſſen it; and he was deſirous that his favourite ſhould now, at length, find himſelf indebted to his liberality.

WHEN they came to the Looe, Portland preſſed the king, with an air of authority, to diſmiſs Albemarle, not without ſome bitterneſs. The king, with his wonted mildneſs, anſwered, "That as he had "never preſcribed to him in the choice of his friends, ſo he ought "not preſcribe to him in his;" upon which Portland went out of doors in a rage. The king, returning to the few whom he had there with him, told them what had paſſed; and that nothing moved him more, than that Portland ſhould leave him in his low eſtate. Whether he ſaid this in jeſt or earneſt, I cannot tell; but he ſpoke it with a grave countenance. Then turning his diſcourſe to other perſons, he pleaſantly obſerved, what a wild creature man is! how raſhly all people's heads may be turned round! and jeſtingly took notice to thoſe who ſtood around him, what a great want of wiſe men there was in his councils!

HAVING ſettled his affairs in Holland, he applied his thoughts to the preſervation of the peace. He recommended to the elector of Bavaria the Dutch troops in Flanders. On his return to England he conſulted with his miniſters. He had alſo a private conference with Mr.

Mr. Harley, who excuſed himſelf to the king, hoping that what he had done out of regard to the public good, would not be objected to his diſcredit. The king thought fit civilly to receive men of both parties; for in thoſe troubleſome times he perceived himſelf robbed of the affections both of his friends and adverſaries: but, for the ſake of the common intereſt, he contented himſelf to bear all theſe things, ſo long as the public did not ſuffer by it.

The king aſked the lord Somers to confer with the count de Tallard about the treaty of partition; who, as he told me, excuſed himſelf to the king on account of the language; but he ſuſpected ſome of Sunderland's artifices, to whoſe management the king truſted many things. He alſo adviſed Mr. Montague to make an intereſt in the parliament to defend him in what he had undertaken. But, on the contrary, the miniſters were the more negligent, leſt they ſhould ſeem to deſert Portland, or ſupport Albemarle. The earl of Albemarle's intereſt at court was manifeſt. The negociations of peace had leſſened the public concern for liberty; and the king's authority was much reſtrained by the acts for triennial parliaments. There alſo was a common cry of the danger of the church! An Engliſh heart! which laſt was occaſioned by the king's going over ſo frequently to Holland; againſt which, the Londoners, who knew little of the matter, were every where loud in their complaints, while the king was labouring moſt heartily for the ſafety and improvement of their commerce.

In the laſt year the Iriſh forces in France had been diſbanded, as the Scots were alſo in England, with little or no gratuity; which was highly reſented by the ſoldiers, eſpecially by the Iriſh, who were, by a law, debarred from the liberty of returning to England, under pain of death, without the king's licence. Though their crime, who in time of the war had been enemies to their country, was certainly ſo very great that they had no reaſon to hope for pardon and the enjoyment of their privileges; yet ſuch was the king's clemency, that none who returned to England were queſtioned for their conduct. But the condition of the Scots was moſt grievous; nor was it in the power of the Engliſh to find out a redreſs for them, on account of the diſaffection, as well as the inſatiable avarice of the Scots nobility;

one

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one part of whom ſwallowed up all the poſts of profit, and the other all the advantages of the trade of that kingdom.

THE French king's marriage with madam de Maintenon being ſolemnized by Monſ. de Noailles, archbiſhop of Paris, a great quarrel aroſe, in the French court, between Maintenon and the dauphin, on account of her marriage, which ſhe deſired to have publicly declared; for the old man's ſuperſtition had extinguiſhed the conſideration of his dignity, though not his paſſions. This affair being referred to the council of conſcience, met with very great difficulties. It was oppoſed by the dauphin and the archbiſhop of Cambray. The biſhop of Meaux ſtood up for the marriage; and, in concert with the jeſuits, inveighed bitterly againſt Cambray, a man of incomparable genius and learning. Meaux, out of envy to Cambray's reputation, ſtrove hard to have his writings cenſured and burned, as ſeditious and heterodox. The king alſo earneſtly moved the pope to the ſame purpoſe; who ordered the affair to be examined by a committee of cardinals and doctors. The court of Rome was highly pleaſed with the king's dutiful regard. After the point had been long debated among the doctors, it was returned back to the pope, who yet delayed it. But the French king, becoming ſtill more and more preſſing for it, obtained a ſentence in his favour; and the archbiſhop of Cambray's books were prohibited by the pope's decree, as being of ill report, and tending to ſchiſm in the church; which, when the archbiſhop of Cambray underſtood, he made a ſermon to the people, publicly attoning for the offence, how ſmall ſoever it might be, ſubmitting to the pope, and ſubſcribing his own opinion to the pope's judgment, whereby he avoided all the darts of his enemies. Neither did his books ſink in their value at Rome: and the exemplary holineſs of his life, as well as his extraordinary learning, are highly celebrated by all good men in every part of the world. Nay, his very monument is adorned with theſe, as ſo many flowers, while Meaux is by all good men deſpiſed. Learned men, even among the papiſts, will, at this day, hardly allow the jeſuits to have learning, or any ſkill in arts, except thoſe of courts. They do not deny them to have the appearance of a holy life, an elegance of ſpeech, and fluency of words; but nobody aſcribes to them any regard to religion,

ligion, or to the evidence of truth, or to philoſophy, which is the knowledge of divine and human things; nor can one readily believe what any of them affirms, even though it were at the altar.

BRISAC being delivered up to the emperor, he raiſed new regiments, and completed the old, which he reſolved to ſend to Italy, and wrote on that ſubject to king William; who anſwered him, That this was not agreeable to his intentions; becauſe he knew very well, that when a war had once broken out, the emperor would take no further care about it; but that the French king would immediately pour in his forces upon the German princes, the Dutch, and all the emperor's allies. He therefore exhorted the emperor, at his requeſt, to make peace with the Turks; for he had not forgot the late times, how great a burthen of the war he had thrown upon himſelf, and with what conditions he had clogged the late treaty of peace, ſo as to expoſe him to the common hatred of all the world. The emperor yielding to the perſuaſions of king William, by the mediations of the Lord Paget, concluded the peace of Carlowitz.

Peace of Carlowitz.

THE French king inſinuated to the earl of Jerſey, the Engliſh ambaſſador, what a grief it was to him to hear of the death of the prince of Bavaria, and that all the meaſures concerted for the public peace were thereby rendered ineffectual, unleſs another partition could be agreed upon; and this, he ſaid, he propoſed, in order to preſerve all Europe from being again involved in the flames of war; adding, as it is ſaid, to the earl of Jerſey, that he would find a way to make him ſenſible that he had to do with a very bountiful king. Jerſey promiſed his intereſt, and wrote thereupon to king William, who was not ignorant of the French king's ſecret negociations in Spain. He was even in ſome doubt, whether Lewis would either obſerve or conceal what he now deſired to treat about. A perſon was preferred to be porter at king James's gate, who was recommended by king William; from whom he had intelligence of the earl of Jerſey's ſecret conferences. And now, to gain the more credit to Jerſey's letters, the French king promiſed, that he would not diſcover the reſolutions which ſhould be taken. But king William, not giving much credit either to the French

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king's words, or Jerſey's writings, demanded freſh forces of his parliament, which they refuſed him. He was alſo ſomewhat undetermined as to the partition: for he endeavoured no leſs to prevent a diſcovery of what was already ſecretly agreed upon, than to obtain what he had farther in view. The marſhal de Harcourt, the French ambaſſador, ſolicited the Spaniards to maintain their dominions undivided, and inſinuated in converſation great praiſes of the dauphin; and Mr. Stanhope, the Engliſh ambaſſador, did the like in favour of the imperial family.

The Scots injuriouſly treated at Darien.

THE expedition of the Scots to Darien gave no little diſturbance to king William's councils, and very much inflamed the reſentment of the Spaniards; whereupon, by a public proclamation, all the Engliſh colonies were expreſsly forbidden to furniſh ſtores of any kind to the Scots; who were forced to abandon their ſettlement at Darien by the arms of the Spaniards, and their own want of neceſſaries. This was no ſooner known at home, than feuds aroſe which were highly inflamed by the malcontents. In the midſt of theſe commotions, the earl of Seafield, ſecretary for Scotland, was much blamed for not making either nation acquainted with their common ſituation, till the flames of diſcord had reached a height which threatened the moſt imminent danger. In the mean time, the French king was very preſſing for a partition; and king William being greatly perplexed with the heats in his parliament, and afflicted at the ſame time with a bad ſtate of health, ſo that he could not, as formerly, apply himſelf during the ſummer ſeaſon to military affairs, nor in the winter to thoſe of adminiſtration and the buſineſs of parliament, came to an agreement with the French king for this partition, "That Spain, the Indies, and "Flanders, ſhould devolve to the archduke Charles; Sicily, the "kingdom of Naples, and the iſlands on the coaſt of Tuſcany, to the "dauphin; the dutchy of Milan, to the duke of Loraine; the dutchy of "Loraine, to the French king, &c." Here was a great change to be made of kingdoms, which could never be carried into effect; and farther, care was taken, that the archduke ſhould not go either into Spain or Milan, before the king of Spain's death. This treaty was ſigned at London, the 11th of March 1700, by Tallard, Portland, and Jerſey. It was ſigned alſo at the Hague. Upon this, king William

Second partition.

liam put on an appearance of firmly believing that the peace would be laſting. For the moſt powerful ought neither to ſuſpect, nor to know that others are afraid of them.

WHAT had been ſecretly tranſacted concerning the partition, was, by the French king, divulged in Spain, which highly offended his catholic majeſty, who ordered Canale, his ambaſſador at London, to declare his diſſatisfaction and reſentment. He not only treated the king with opprobrious words, but even appealed againſt the partitions to the people, which is more than any ambaſſador in England ought to do; wherefore king William forbad him the court and the kingdom. However, the French king ordered him to be magnificently entertained at Dunkirk, and throughout his whole journey; which ſhewed how faithfully he kept his promiſe. He commanded his ambaſſadors in Italy, and other places to notify the treaty of partition, and to perſuade the princes to approve and accede to it; not that he deſired they ſhould do ſo, but to try how they ſtood affected towards him. For it is the policy of France, in all negociations, to pretend various deſigns to cover the real ones. The marquis de Villars alſo, the French ambaſſador, firmly required of the emperor, either to approve or reject the treaty of partition within three months, and, at the ſame time, highly extolled his maſter's moderation in being willing to give up ſo much of his right for the ſake of peace.

IN the mean time, a war broke out in the North, almoſt fatal to the young king of Sweden; againſt whom the Muſcovite, the Dane, and the Pole combined, without any provocation. King William, in order to ſuccour the Swede, and extinguiſh the riſing flames of war, ſent a fleet to the Baltic, under the command of Sir George Rooke. He alſo requeſted the elector of Hanover and the duke of Zell, who had lived in mutual friendſhip, alliance, and good offices with the king of Sweden, to march immediately an army, and to raiſe the ſiege of Tuningen in Holſtein, where the main body of the enemy lay. By the expedition of thoſe princes, and the care of king William, an end was put to the war in thoſe parts, by the peace of Travendal, Auguſt 2, 1700. In this treaty the king of Sweden obliged himſelf to aſſiſt king Peace of Travendal.

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William whenever he ſhould engage in war; and, in the mean time, marched his army againſt Muſcovy.

In Spain, the marſhal de Harcourt treated ſecretly with cardinal Portocarrero and other Spaniards, that the whole Spaniſh dominion might, by the king of Spain's laſt will, be ſecured to the duke of Anjou, the dauphin's younger ſon: and the French king himſelf now did what he lately would not endure in king William. Mr. Stanhope was recalled from his embaſſy in Spain; and the earl of Jerſey from France, who was ſucceeded there by the earl of Mancheſter.

Mr. Stanhope's ſon, a youth of a very licentious diſpoſition, being at Paris to meet his father, aſſociated himſelf with other young men, and in his cups was guilty of the moſt extravagant profanation of the Chriſtian religion. This gave great offence both to the embaſſy and the church, and alſo brought the ſecretary of the embaſſy into trouble. For the archbiſhop of Canterbury complained of it very heavily to the king, being afraid leſt this freſh ſcandal, coming on the back of others already mentioned *, ſhould raiſe up a flame againſt the whigs, who were charged at this time with every thing reproachful. The ſecretary was recalled from the embaſſy. Mr. Stanhope was ſent ambaſſador to the Hague; but his ſon, having much diſguſted the king by his writing a book for diſbanding the army, and other things, was on the point of being diſgraced, had not his father's entreaties and good ſervices prevailed with the king to pardon him. For he was a young man that did not mind any thing divine or human, when it came in competition with his own humour.

And now the houſe of commons entered upon the inquiry of bribery, and the value of the king's grants in Ireland. For moſt of the forfeited eſtates there were conferred upon the earls of Rumney, Albemarle, Portland, Athlone, and Galway, and Mr. Villiers; perſons noway acceptable to the parliament: they therefore endeavoured to have all thoſe grants reſumed, and to diſcover which way the public money

* The lord mayor of London's attending at preſbyterian meetings, &c.

went.

went. Then the commons proceeded alſo to other things, and repreſented to the king how ill they were uſed by his miniſters, who endeavoured to rob them of his majeſty's favour, and to fill his mind with ſuſpicions againſt them. To this the king anſwered, "That no "man durſt to have taken that liberty with him." There was no reaſon for any one to take notice of rumours, if his own conſcience did not accuſe him. The repreſentations of the commons, as they are ſometimes true, ſo they may be ſometimes ill-grounded. The king forbore all harſhneſs out of regard to the common ſafety and the public good. But as to the reſumption of the royal grants, his majeſty ſaid, "He had a right to reward thoſe who had ſerved him well, out of the "rebels eſtates, which, by law, were forfeited to him; and that it "did not belong to them to examine on whom he had conferred them; "and, laſtly, that it would tend more to the honour and ſafety of the "kingdom, to ſeek ſome other way of paying the national debts." The houſe of commons took this ſo ill, that they repreſented to the king that ſeeds of diſcord were ſown between him and his people by the advice of ill-diſpoſed perſons. The poſſeſſors of thoſe eſtates ſaid, they could not ſufficiently wonder why the king ſhould chuſe to bear theſe injuries; to ſuffer himſelf to be deprived of his prerogative, and them to be ſtripped of his bounty with diſgrace. Being now rejected by the houſe of commons, they begged of the king to interpoſe his authority, telling him, that there was nothing elſe intended, but that their adverſaries might rob his majeſty's friends of his bounty: that it was not their object to pay off the public debts, or to enrich the treaſury, but to gratify the inſatiable avarice of their own party; and the poſſeſſors were not unwilling to have paid a fine, if they might have been confirmed in their poſſeſſions by a law.

At laſt the act of reſumption was tacked to the land-tax act, and paſſed; not without great oppoſition from the peers. When this was enacted, the court of judicature, and the truſtees appointed for the reſumption with full authority by the parliament, paving a way before them to lands and riches for themſelves and their hungry followers, were ſent to Ireland. Theſe were followed by Sir Edward Seymour, a man of great authority in the houſe of commons, and Mr. Aſgil, notorious

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torious for his impiety, G. Lily, Cardonel, and others who were to take their inſtructions reſpecting the ſale of the lands from John Blunt. For this Blunt, who was deſtined for his country's ruin, and had made an eſtate out of the public misfortune, during the time of the clipt money, reſolved now to make uſe of the opportunity, and defended himſelf and his needy followers by the right of the antiquated company, and the frauds of men in power.

THE Scots addreſſed the king for a ſeſſion of their parliament, and proceeded to re-eſtabliſh their colony. The king having procured a ſupply of money of that parliament, prorogued their ſeſſion to another time. I ſhall not ſay any thing here of the baſe corruption of ſome of the leading men; and how lamentably that kingdom fell to ruin by the fault of its own natives.

AFTER all payments in England had for a long time been made in louis d'ors, that coin was, by the advice of Mr. Iſaac Newton and another perſon, called in to the mint, and its price lowered by a public proclamation; for they paſſed here for more than either in Holland, or France, or the other places on the continent. From thence they were imported for the ſake of private profit, not by the parliament, as was commonly thought. This was long oppoſed by the lord Godolphin, the firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, who ſaid, "It was incredible, that the whole kingdom could be deceived in a piece of "money, which was every day current among the merchants." This matter came at laſt before the king, who anſwered lord Godolphin, "That he knew for certain, that all men are liable to be deceived "every day; and that this very thing might exceedingly deceive him." When this money was collected together, it amounted to 1,200,000*l.* which, when coined anew, put a ſtop to the fraud complained of.

THE earl of Sunderland preſſed the lord Somers to quit his party, and to forſake the common intereſt of his friends; but Somers anſwered, "That this was neither his cuſtom, nor conſiſtent with his "honour." Upon this, Sunderland, calling together the leading men of his party, and knowing the duke of Shrewſbury's temper, ſaid,

ſaid, "Their adverſaries might now be all overthrown in their garrets." Of this opinion alſo was Mr. John How, and Mr. Henry St. John, whoſe abilities, as well as his deſires, were beyond his years. To whom alſo came over Mr. James Brydges, a young gentleman of an ingenious and tractable diſpoſition. The lord Lorne went to Rome; and was followed the next year by the earl of Roxborough. Mr. Stanhope employed himſelf in writing libels. Mr. Charles Boyle, a young gentleman of mature judgment and noble birth, had a ſharp controverſy with Dr. Richard Bentley, in the depths of antiquity, concerning Phalaris's Epiſtles.

In thoſe tempeſtuous times, the lord high chancellor Somers, though not conſcious of any crime, nor moved by the earl of Jerſey's entreaties, but only to defend himſelf againſt the clamours of his enemies, freely ſurrendered the great ſeal of England to the king. The courts were immediately deſerted, the laws ſilent, and all proceedings at a ſtand; for no one thought himſelf worthy to ſucceed Somers in his high office. Sir John Trevor excuſed himſelf; and ſo did other men alſo of great reputation. At length, but after a long interval, Sir Nathan Wright ſucceeded him, with the title of lord keeper of the great ſeal. Mr. Charles Montague was created lord Halifax; Ruſſel earl of Oxford, was removed from the command of the navy; and the duke of Shrewſbury from the office of ſecretary: and the king was now obliged, by Sunderland's advice (as it was reported), to whom a new miniſtry was as acceptable as the old, to change all thoſe with whom he had uſed to conſult ſince his acceſſion to the throne; and theſe new miniſters agreed to form an accuſation againſt the old. The lord Halifax was made auditor of the exchequer; the duke of Shrewſbury, a polite man, but unfit for encountering difficulties, recommended his cauſe to Mr. Harley, and went abroad for his health. The earl of Jerſey courted the earl of Albemarle's friendſhip in his wife's name; and, in order to accuſe his friends, went over to the other party. I forbear to mention the defection of many others. The lord Spencer, railing bitterly againſt his father, openly adhered to the lord Somers: that youth, who ſeemed to be ſo ſober, and of good morals, had not yet

New miniſtry.

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yet diſcovered any ſigns either of a depraved mind, or of a likeneſs to his father.

When the lord Somers was removed, the tories upbraided the whigs with many things; as impiety in their diſcourſes, profanation of places of worſhip, the calves-head feaſt, the behaviour of the lord mayor of London, and other matters of the ſame kind. But what were all theſe to the miniſtry? If any man took a liberty in his mayoralty, which the laws did not allow of, the citizens are to look to that; let him ſtand or fall by the judgment of the court of aldermen. Surely, there was no reaſon to ſay, that the church was then privately betrayed; that many wicked people had pernicious deſigns againſt her; or that many great injuries were done to the commonwealth, in the bowels of which were concealed many great inteſtine and domeſtic evils.

About this time, in the month of July, died the duke of Glouceſter, the great hope of the kingdom; with which ſudden loſs, the people, who knew not what was to come, and what bleſſings were in ſtore for them in the breaſt of Divine Providence, the great Diſpoſer of future events, were ſtruck with a grief for the dead prince, not leſs lively than that of his parents. In the mean time, the queen of Pruſſia, and her mother, returning from Aix-la-Chapelle, deſired to have an interview with king William at the Loo, concerning matters of the greateſt importance. The king invited them to ſup with him, and to tarry there one night. Few people doubted, but the electreſs of Hanover, who was a woman of a great ſpirit, would recommend herſelf to the king, on his defect of heirs in England, on account of her relation to the royal family, as being the next heir of the proteſtant line; but the king, who was more ſparing of his words than actions, while affairs were on the preſent footing in England, only promiſed her to conſider of that matter, and to unite the intereſt of her family with the common cauſe of the proteſtants. The king had two objects in view: how to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown both in England and Spain. And that he might prevail with the princeſs Ann to agree to the entail of the inheritance, he was not diſpleaſed to hear a rumour

ſpread, as if he was even about to make a ceſſion of the crown to another. He would alſo hold diſcourſes in public concerning king James and his ſon; and inquire of thoſe who came from abroad about the perſon and parts of the boy, and whether he was not a promiſing youth. The princeſs Ann, hearing of theſe things, and fearing leſt king William ſhould reſign the kingdom, and reſtore it to king James and his ſon, eaſily agreed with him about the ſubſtitution of heirs; but this agreement was neceſſary to be kept ſecret, till the opinions of all the members of parliament could be known. When the earl of Jerſey was recalled from France, he is ſaid to have freely declared his own opinion concerning the ſucceſſion, at firſt to the earl of Albemarle, and afterwards to have officiouſly opened his mind to the king himſelf; whereby he diſcovered that he had buſied his thoughts on that ſubject in France more than it became him to do. The king commanded Albemarle not to ſpeak of this, leſt Jerſey, who had formerly been in his confidence, might fall into troubles, even to the danger of his life.

In the mean time the French king endeavoured all he could to draw the Spaniards into his intereſt. The emperor, having neither ſtrength to maintain the Spaniſh dominions, nor riches to beſtow in preſents, commanded count Zinzendorf, his ambaſſador in France, to treat with Lewis about a compoſition. He would gladly have had all the Spaniſh dominions in Italy, and the places which lay neareſt to him. King William ſecretly oppoſed this; for he thought both the common ſafety and the liberty of commerce were concerned, that France ſhould not become poſſeſſed of Spain and the Indies. He, therefore, thought it neceſſary to perſiſt in the partition, and exhorted the emperor to accede to the treaty in compliance with the circumſtances of the times. When the treaty of partition was publicly known, all people ſpake of it in England without any guard or moderation. Several dull pamphleteers alſo attacked that treaty with violence and ſcurrility, reproaching the king's counſels, and ſhewing the French monarch what advantage he might make of the commotions in England. Among theſe was Dr. Davenant, and other neceſſitous perſons,

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without money, without hopes, and who had no other view, but to make their fortunes out of the troubles of their country and public revolutions.

THE winter coming on apace, the count de San Eſtevan, a penſioner of France, uſed many arguments of his own accord, to prevail with the Spaniards to deliver up to the French king's grandſon the whole Spaniſh dominions. Many came into his opinion; and caſt their eyes upon the cardinal Portocarrero, as the moſt proper perſon to operate upon the mind of the dying king. The cardinal readily undertook the taſk, and embraced all opportunities of accompliſhing it. King Charles II. of Spain, who was a man of weaker parts than were ſuitable in a ſovereign prince, labouring at that time under a dangerous ſickneſs, deſired to receive the holy ſacrament. Portocarrero, therefore, attending him with all the accuſtomed rites and ceremonies for quieting his conſcience, and procuring him a happy death, took that opportunity to lay before him, though juſt expiring, a will drawn up according to the French king's mind, ready for him to ſign, and to which Don Anthony de Dublia was a witneſs. Whatever it was, it was ſigned on the 2d day of October 1700, and conſiſted of many heads. But, in ſhort, all Spain, and the dominions thereto belonging, devolved to the duke of Anjou. The king recommended to his ſucceſſor to hold and maintain the immaculate conception of the Bleſſed Virgin. He alſo added a clauſe about continuing the public worſhip in the royal chapel, and particularly for the celebration thereof, both with vocal and inſtrumental muſic, for the happy repoſe of the houſe of Auſtria, and of the bodies there depoſited; and, laſtly, he gave orders concerning ſome of the wood of the croſs, and other holy reliques and images; earneſtly recommending to his ſucceſſor, to adopt into the number of the ſaints of Spain St. Tereſia, than whom none of the ſaints was ever more dear to him. Three days after this, he ſigned a codicil, whereby his queen was authoriſed to take upon her the government of Flanders, or of any of the Spaniſh provinces in Italy which ſhe ſhould chuſe: after which he died on the firſt of November.

King of Spain's will; and death.

THE

THE French king being informed of what had paſſed in Spain, and having received intelligence of the king's death, and that the duke of Anjou was to ſucceed him, ſeemed undetermined whether to abide by the partition, or to accept of the will. At that time Lewis reſided at Fontainbleau for the diverſion of hunting; but he now returned to Verſailles, and treated the Spaniards with all imaginable kindneſs. Then, calling together his council, he aſked their advice about accepting of the king of Spain's will; himſelf ſeeming to be in doubt about it. The king's words put count Tallard and the marquis de Torcy to a ſtand. But the dauphin, and by far the greater part were zealous for accepting the will. Upon which the heſitating king aſſented to their opinion, as if he had but now been prevailed on by his affection for his family, and the entreaties of his friends. He, therefore, cauſed the duke of Anjou to be proclaimed king of Spain, by the name of king Philip V. and immediately recommended to him the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who paid his compliments to him as his ſovereign. Thus the French king now accompliſhed the darling ſcheme he had ſo long projected; and Philip, amidſt univerſal congratulations, carried himſelf like a king at Verſailles, and gave conſpicuous proofs of all princely virtues; inſomuch that there never was any king more univerſally beloved in France.

Philip V. king of Spain.

LEWIS, by embaſſies and letters, notified every where his grandſon's acceſſion to the throne by the will of the king of Spain. And thus the tranquillity of Europe, and the bleſſing of peace, was likely to be of long continuance. During all this farce of the French king's deliberations, not one of the princes of Europe ſpoke his mind. Many employed their thoughts about what might happen. Some admired the French king's policy, ſome envied his happineſs, and others thought him very ill adviſed, when, in his old age, he would draw upon himſelf the arms and hatred of all the world.

THE French king wrote to the elector of Bavaria, governor of Flanders, alſo to the prince of Vaudemont, governor of Milan, and the duke of Medina Celi, viceroy of Naples, to notify to them what was done. Theſe letters were followed by interpreters, to declare to them the grounds of the king's councils, and to diſcover their real ſenti-

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ments concerning them. The elector of Bavaria diſpatched an ambaſſador to king William to know his commands; the like he did alſo to king Philip, by letters full of fidelity and affection, which were preſented by the count de Monaſterol, the Bavarian ambaſſador in France. Thither alſo went the marquis de Bedmar, to conclude a private treaty with the kings of France and Spain: the terms of which were, that the elector of Bavaria ſhould have the perpetual government of the Spaniſh Netherlands; provided that ſo ſoon as a war broke out, he ſhould return into Bavaria, and carry it on in the bowels of Germany, at the French king's expence: he was alſo to yield the Dutch garriſons in Flanders, and to admit into them privately French forces; a condition to which he agreed, not without reluctance. King William being acquainted with all theſe things, anſwered the elector of Bavaria by two letters in 1701, "That in the preſent difficult ſitua-"tion of affairs at home and abroad, he did not know what meaſures "he ſhould take; that the matter was now under conſideration in the "Engliſh parliament; that he would not be wanting to the common "ſafety; and would make him acquainted with his councils, ſo ſoon "as matters ſhould be ripe for it; and, laſtly, he recommended the "ſafety of the ſoldiers in his garriſons, according to the treaty." The prince of Vaudemont, in anſwer to the emperor's demands, ſaid, "He "would keep his promiſe given to the king of Spain; and that there "was no reaſon to take it ill, if he perſiſted in the fidelity which he "had promiſed to the living king, as well as the deceaſed." Gallies were fitted out at Marſeilles for tranſporting forces into Italy. Grineau was ſent to Naples; nor did the French king loſe the leaſt opportunity of promoting the intereſt of his grandſon.

WHILE theſe things were in agitation, king Philip began his journey the 4th of December 1700 for Spain. On that day there was a great concourſe of people of all ranks at Verſailles. Early in the morning, his father the dauphin ſaluted the king of Spain; and after him the princes and princeſſes of the blood. The French king, before taking leave of him, gave him many inſtructions for warning him of the troubles and dangers that environ ſovereign princes. He recommended him to maintain a conſtant friendſhip between the French and Spaniards, by a perpetual and inviolable

inviolable alliance; never to forget his good offices to him and the crown which he had received; nor to think himſelf intruſted at his age with the affairs of ſtate. After he had ſaid this, the preſident of the parliament of Paris, wiſhing the king of Spain a proſperous and happy journey, exhorted him, after the example of king Henry III. to reſerve his rights in France, and to have this reſervation recorded among the public acts.

BOTH the kings mounting the chariot, the French king placed himſelf on the left hand, and the king of Spain on his right. They proceeded thus together twelve miles. At length the French king, burſting into a flood of tears, and not able to ſpeak a word, returned home to perfect what he had begun. The dukes of Burgundy and Berry accompanied the king of Spain to the borders; and having viewed the frontiers, and paid a viſit to the duke of Savoy in their journey, they returned home by way of Lyons. Philip V. arrived in Spain the 20th of January 1701. He gave his firſt audience to the marſhal de Harcourt. Thoſe of the French faction conſpired together for the ruin of the queen-dowager; and the more eaſily to overthrow her authority, and to find a colour for withholding the powers aſſigned to her by the codicil of the late king's will, pretended ſeveral rumours and reports to be ſpread abroad, and charged her as the author of them. Father Torres, who had been the late king's confeſſor, is reported to have ſaid, that the late king, in the very article of death, had expreſſed great grief and trouble of mind for having ſigned a will contrary to his inclination. It was alſo inſinuated to the new king, that there were certain combinations formed in Spain, encouraged by the queen-dowager; and therefore they adviſed him to write to her to leave Madrid, and to take up her reſidence at any other city which ſhe ſhould chuſe; for which ſhe had only ſix days allowed her. The queen was under a neceſſity of obeying the command; but it could not be done within the preſcribed time. The mournful widow, therefore, retired to Toledo; and the puniſhment inflicted on Torres, the confeſſor, was to be confined to his convent for life.

Arrived in Spain.

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Enters Madrid.

THE king made his public entry into Madrid on the 18th of February, ſurrounded with a vaſt crowd of people of all ranks, inſomuch that many were trodden down by the multitude, and killed. The public ſolemnity being ended, the king gave a largeſs to the people, a gratuity to the ſoldiers, and a beneſaction to the clergy; maſſes were alſo ſaid, and ſacrifices offered for the dead. The churches and altars were regarded with little ceremony by the French; the king himſelf ſeemed to the Spaniards to be the only perſon who, with great devotion, worſhipped God, and the Bleſſed Virgin as the mother of God. The religious devotion of the Spaniards was by the French looked upon as tireſome, while they were endeavouring to engroſs to themſelves the offices of ſtate. The king preferred Frenchmen to the charge of his finances and other employments. He impoſed new taxes, and rigorouſly levied the old. Neither was the borrowed money duly paid, nor the old ſalaries and penſions to perſons that well deſerved them. Armies were raiſed; the provinces were filled with tools of vengeance and exciſemen, and ſwarmed with officers and tax-gatherers, who, beſides the money impoſed by government, took the ſhorteſt way to oppreſs the people by their own private authority.

THE prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt was turned out of his government as an enemy to the king; and others were alſo removed from their offices. The partiſans of the emperor were every where diſplaced, and the more any one was diſpoſed for ſlavery, and averſe to the emperor, the more he was loaded with riches and honours. Cardinal Portocarrero, the marquis de Harcourt, and Don Immanuel d'Ana, were made the chief miniſters and lords of the king's bed-chamber. The number of the officers of the revenue was much leſſened, the chamber of the Indies being ſuppreſſed; and they who were in that office were added to the council of Seville, or of the Indies. And, laſtly, there was ſuch a ſwarm of Frenchmen in all parts of Spain, that very few French ſoldiers were left at home.

THE French king endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with the neighbouring princes and ſtates. The Flemings, moved by the artifices of the

the jeſuits, followed his directions on account of religion: he alſo kept ſome of his neighbours in ſubjection by an oſtentation of his grandeur: the nations on the Rhine were reſtrained by fear; the Italians, partly by force, and partly by money, were gained to the neutrality. He alſo put the Italians in mind of the incurſions in late times of the Turks, and privately treated with their princes to approve of his meaſures.

THE elector of Bavaria, elated with the hopes of a kingdom, permitted the French king to take poſſeſſion of all the garriſons in the Spaniſh Netherlands, in which there were no fewer than thirteen thouſand Dutch ſoldiers; and boaſted, he had done more for him in one night in time of peace, than all his generals had done in time of war. In order to carry on the war in winter as well as ſummer, he ſent forces with all expedition, both by land and ſea, into Italy. This, indeed, was a proper opportunity for the Italians to have recovered their liberties; but they neither conſulted together for their common ſafety, nor could they indeed act in concert, by reaſon of the diſſentions among their princes, and the inveterate zeal which had taken poſſeſſion of them in all matters of religion, whereby their civil liberty was oppreſſed through the influence of their prieſts. For the court of Rome, which has the prieſts under its ſubjection, perſuaded the Italians to prefer the ſlavery of a foreign yoke before any domeſtic empire among themſelves, and that even from the days of Theodoric. This maxim of civil policy has been favourable in the higheſt degree to the power of the prieſts, and tended greatly to open a way for them to glory, and the dominion of the world.

THE duke of Savoy was now drawn into the king's meaſures by preſents, and the hopes of command in Italy; the duke of Mantua, by kind words, and a ſmall ſum of money; and at laſt, by a larger ſum and a marriage, this duke was prevailed on to deliver up his capital city, Mantua, to the French king, who placed a ſtrong garriſon in it. This city being ſituated in a lake, and both by the nature of the place, and its fortifications, the moſt difficult to be taken of any in Italy, the ſurrender of it at that time gave great offence to the emperor, and proved

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proved the ruin of the duke of Mantua. And that the French king might leave nothing free, not even the right of popes untouched at this time in Italy; he tempted the cardinals at Rome with rewards, by means of cardinal Janſon, during the vacancy of the papal chair.

CARDINAL ALBANI, by whoſe influence the nephews of the late honeſt pope Innocent XII. had received rather damage than profit from their relation to him, was now elected his ſucceſſor. With him the French king freely treated about a confirmation of all his rights of every kind, and eſpecially that of the king of Spain's will. The church doors at Rome being ſhut with all ſolemnity, many prodigies and dreadful preſages of war were commonly reported throughout all Italy, which the more they were talked of the more they were believed among ſimple and ſuperſtitious people, and freſh ones raiſed out of them. St. Nicholas's arm, which is kept at Tolentino, was ſaid to bleed, and the river Menzo to run bloody. The Venetians made it their buſineſs to fetch other wonders out of Greece, which is very fertile of miracles. And now, all Italy being inflamed with a ſuperſtitious worſhip of God, and employed about the inſertion of eleven days in the calendar, conformably to the Gregorian æra, neglected to improve the moſt advantageous opportunity for the public good; and the people fatigued themſelves by going in proceſſions to the churches and by-places, while they ought to have univerſally concurred to oppoſe the foreign yoke of ſlavery, which was ready to be impoſed upon them.

Pope Clement XI.

Albani, taking the name of pope Clement XI. appeaſed the ſorrow of the church only with tears. In ſome things he ſided with France, in others he excuſed himſelf; and he declared, he would not receive either from king Philip, or the emperor, the ſeven thouſand crowns to be paid every year on account of the ſovereignty of Naples. But what was of the greateſt importance to the French king, he, by degrees, defeated the councils of the Italians, and inſinuated to the prince's ambaſſadors, that nothing could happen more advantageous to Italy, than that no concert ſhould be formed againſt the barbarous and more powerful nations. However, he entertained a ſecret regard to his own intereſt, and committed his nephews to proper perſons to be educated at Rome, in hopes of dignities, which was contrary to an expreſs bull, which he himſelf had drawn up, and to which alſo he had

had ſworn. But the jeſuits eaſily diſcharged him of all ſcruples with regard to that oath; ſaying, that a cardinal was one perſon, and a pope another; and that the pope cannot be guilty of any crime againſt the public.

Pruſſia made a kingdom.

In thoſe times, ſo auſpicious to the creation of new kings, the elector of Brandenburg, with the emperor's leave, declared himſelf a king, and was crowned at Coningſberg. King William immediately congratulated his majeſty by the lord Raby his ambaſſador; as did alſo the emperor, the ſtates of Holland, and other princes.

The French king raiſed forces at home, and ſent ſoldiers into Italy; charging the commanders, at their departure, not to ſuffer the ſoldiers to offer violence to women. He refuſed the emperor's moſt reaſonable demands; declared he would not yield any thing to the Dutch; nor could any means be found out to preſerve the public peace. In the mean time the French, by reports and letters, ſpread abroad pompous accounts of their ſucceſs at that time, as if they had carried all before them by their valour, and that it had been impoſſible for things to take another turn. King William thought it the beſt way to protract the time by treaties. The only thing which gave him uneaſineſs was, that the French king refuſed to hear of the emperor's rights, with whom he was principally concerned.

The Engliſh parliament ſeemed averſe to a war; and all Italy was reſolved to obſerve a neutrality, except the duke of Savoy, who had declared himſelf ready to expoſe himſelf to all hazards, in defence of his own ſovereignty and the peace of Italy, againſt all foreigners, provided the princes would confer on him the ſole command of the Italian forces. He affirmed with confidence, that he could oppoſe the forces and fury of the French, the Germans, and all nations, by the aid of that natural barrier the Alps; but the condition he requeſted was refuſed by the princes, who durſt not truſt him; he therefore ſaid, he would engage on the ſide of the French king; but the Italians had found out, that he had embraced the French intereſt already.

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On this account, the pope, the Venetians, and Genoeſe, agreed in a reſolution not to engage in either party, but to ſtand neutral; as did alſo the great duke of Tuſcany and the duke of Modena; the latter of whom was moſt inclined to favour the emperor, as the former was to ſide with France, though neither of them openly engaged in the war. Many of the Genoeſe had great ſums of money at intereſt in Spain, and large eſtates both in the dutchy of Milan, and the kingdom of Naples. All the Italians, except the dukes of Savoy and Mantua, made anſwer, with one conſent, to the demands both of the emperor and the king of France, "That they were not to judge "which party had the juſter cauſe; that they were under obligations to "them both; and therefore that they ought to bear equal regard to them "for their equal favours; not to deny either of them a paſſage through "their dominions for their troops, or to aſſiſt either of them againſt "the other, but to open their gates to both alike." The Venetians, vigilant over their own ſafety, levied forces, and quartered them on the banks of the river Adige, only for the ſecurity of their own territories. The cardinal de Eſtrees expreſſing great reſentment at their not oppoſing the march of the Germans, they anſwered, "That they "could not oppoſe the Germans; for what elſe would that have been "but to draw a war upon themſelves? which the greater it was, ſo "much the more need they had to guard againſt it." And the ſenate perſiſted in their opinion, and purſued their reſolution. Cardinal Mareſcotti is ſaid to have adviſed the pope alſo to arm himſelf, if he deſired either to maintain what he had undertaken, or to become the mediator of peace between the contending parties. But this being neglected, he was forced ſometimes to take part with the one, and ſometimes with the other, and to change ſides according to the fortune of war; though many people perceived, that he favoured in his heart the deſigns of France. It would have been the intereſt of the Italians to have laid all the Spaniſh dominions in Italy under ſequeſtration. But now it was not in their power, ſince the duke of Savoy had opened a paſſage through the Alps. The king of Portugal, in thoſe doubtful times, followed the French king's directions, and made a great ſhew of courting his favour; for he was not only too weak to reſiſt, and unprovided of all things neceſſary for war, but in ſuch a ſituation, that

his

his friends could not in any way come to his aſſiſtance but by ſea. King William ſent Mr. Methuen to Liſbon, on account of trade, and to perſuade the Portugueze to obſerve a neutrality. The French king had aſſumed ſuch high ſpirits at this time, that he thought himſelf able to give laws to all the world, and that his mere will carried with it the force of authority.

THE Dutch complained of the forcible detention of their ſoldiers who had been in garriſons; and earneſtly preſſed the French ambaſſador that a barrier might be ſettled according to the treaty, and that they might be put in poſſeſſion of certain fortified places upon the Maeſe; on this condition, they told him, "Friendſhip might be renewed, and all differences amicably adjuſted." To this count Briord anſwered, "That there was no violation of any treaty; that "the public tranquillity was as well provided for by the will as by the "partition; that wiſe men were to conſider what the common cauſe "and public intereſt required, by which, and not by any preciſe form "of words, treaties were to be interpreted. He told them, there was "a great difference between the letter and the ſpirit; that it was from "the ſpirit of treaties that the right was to be gathered; which being "once underſtood, it was not material what the words were: why "then do we diſpute about words? the intention and meaning is "clear; which is the ſame in the will as it is in the treaty of partition, "in which the emperor himſelf refuſes to acquieſce, and with which "many perſons both in England and Holland are diſſatisfied." To this the Dutch replied, but without effect; for the times were againſt them. King William alſo knew, that if he ſhould complain to the French king of what was paſt, it would be to no purpoſe. The French ambaſſador, and Don Bernardo de Quiros, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, perſuaded the Dutch to acknowledge the new king of Spain, in whoſe power it was both to ſettle the barrier, and to reſtore their troops. The Dutch complied; and both at the Hague, and at Madrid, by Mynheer Shonenberg, acknowledged king Philip V. King William alſo did the ſame in a letter ſent into Spain by Dr. Aglionby. After this the Dutch demanded their troops. To them the count D'Avaux, the French ambaſſador, anſwered, "If they deſired peace,

King Philip acknowledged by the Dutch and Engliſh.

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" the king would return their forces; and promiſed, in the king's " name, that their republic ſhould continue in ſafety; but if they re- " quired any other pledge of his good-will to be given them, they muſt " not expect one inch of the Spaniſh dominions; for, as they deſired " the king's friendſhip as an honour to them, theirs ought not to be " any detriment to him :" and this was all that he had any inſtructions to ſay, or take notice of, concerning public matters. While theſe conferences were carried on at the Hague, the Dutch expected no leſs, than that the French king would, within a few months, not by little and little, but by one ſudden blow, ſwallow up their republic, and drive the people out of their country. The ſtates, therefore, ordered Woerden to be fortified, and Nimeguen to be covered with new works; and, leſt they ſhould make the matter worſe, made no more words, but ſecretly levied forces.

KING WILLIAM, deeply reſenting the French king's demands, was in as low ſpirits as the Dutch; but he judged it prudent to conceal his dejection. He adviſed them to protract the time by treaties, and not to deſpair; for he had great hopes that the French king would ſoon ceaſe from his injuries; and, according to the exigencies of the times, endeavoured, by comfortable words, to ſupport their courage.

DURING all this time, both the kings pretending to be deſirous of peace, proceeded as it were to a conference by their ambaſſadors. Count Tallard made apologies to his king, and begged that he might not be ſent to king William; but that king, not accepting of any excuſe, diſpatched him to the court of London, in order to find out the temper of the Engliſh, and what preparations William was making for war. At that time all hands were daily at work in fitting out a fleet: and Tallard, perceiving many ſhips of war as he paſſed along the Thames, ſaid, " He would write to his maſter to incline his mind to peace." When he was introduced to the king, he looked abject, caſting his eyes down to the ground in ſilence; and then ſighing, ſeemed to ſay ſomewhat in a broken and confuſed manner concerning the king of Spain's will, the partition, the letter and ſpirit of treaties, and his king's inclinations; and, laſt of all, concerning the ſecurity of king William's eſtate in France. The king, little regarding his own, in

compariſon of the public intereſt, ſaid, "I ſhall hear what you ſay, "and how your king will juſtify his conduct:" and added, "that he "would be ready to hear every thing, and to concert meaſures with "the French king in thoſe difficult times, in order to bring matters "to a compromiſe, upon as fair terms as could be deviſed; but," ſaid he, "ſince your king takes the words in another ſenſe than I do, "there is no occaſion for words but actions." Having ſaid this, he demanded that the French king ſhould, in the firſt place, reſtore to the Dutch their forces; and they were accordingly reſtored by the mediation of the elector of Bavaria, before he would conſent to return to his own country. The parliament of England being diſſolved in the middle of winter, another was called to meet on the tenth of February; and Mr. Robert Harley, who was very acceptable to the king, was choſen ſpeaker to the houſe of commons. The king, in his ſpeech to the parliament, told them, "That if they deſired to have "the Britiſh intereſt ſupported by laws rather than arms, it was ne-"ceſſary for them, ſince the death of the duke of Glouceſter, to pro-"vide for the ſucceſſion of the crown; and that the death of the king "of Spain had made a great alteration in the affairs of Europe. He "therefore deſired them to take ſuch reſolutions as ſhould moſt con-"duce to the common intereſt and the ſafety of the kingdom." In anſwer to this, the houſe of commons gave his majeſty aſſurance of their loyalty, zeal, aſſiſtance, and authority; and promiſed him every thing becoming their duty: committees were alſo appointed to conſider how to provide for the further ſecurity of the proteſtant religion. They likewiſe entreated the king to enter into ſuch treaties with his allies, as might moſt effectually conduce to the ſafety of theſe kingdoms, and the peace of all Europe; and aſſured him, that, in caſe the ſtates of Holland ſhould happen to be attacked, they would ſupport him with troops to aſſiſt them.

THESE reſolutions met with great oppoſition. The country party were averſe to war; and, not conſidering what had happened ſince the laſt, nor paying due regard to the intereſt of commerce, made a difference between the landed and monied men, and were abſolutely againſt engaging in a new war; ſaying, "What buſineſs have we with

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"Spain? What are the French troops, or trade to us? What if the "safety of our allies be in danger? We ought not to engage our- "ſelves for the ſake of the Dutch; we ſee no danger that we need to "fear; the ſea and our walls of oak are our ſecurity." As there were no certain bounds to be preſcribed to ſuch kind of ſpeeches, the king perſuaded ſome of the leading men in parliament to join themſelves to that party, in order to reſtrain the fury of their followers. Among theſe were the earl of Marlborough and the lord Godolphin; with whom alſo Mr. Harley and Sir Charles Muſgrave, who were men of good eſtates and ancient families, were united. Theſe were followed, as is uſual in the forming of parties, by many who were neceſſitous, bankrupts, profane, and profligate; and even by ſuch of the clergy, as, deſpairing of honours and riches, while the kingdom was in peace, were in hopes of attaining to them in times of diſturbance. Of all theſe, as well as the plunderers already mentioned, the king made his own uſe, though not out of inclination, but conſtrained by the neceſſity of the times.

SINCE the clergy had waved their ancient right of taxing themſelves in convocation, ſome of the prieſts, more inflamed with envy to the royal authority, than zeal for religion and true piety, and who ſeemed deſirous of confounding all rights divine and human, that they themſelves might riſe to higher honours and dignities, complained aloud, in their libels for four years paſt, that their rights were violated, the church in danger, and the forms and uſage of eccleſiaſtical government ſubverted. Theſe were oppoſed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the much greater number of thoſe of the ſame order, who inſiſted, that there was no neceſſity for their meeting; and that there was danger, while the prieſts were aſſembled together, of their cures being neglected, and the Lord's vineyard deſerted. Thus a new diſſenſion aroſe in the church; not ſo much on account of any difference in ceremonies, as a diverſity of ſpirit. Dr. Francis Atterbury, miniſter of St. Bride's church, and of the chapel in Bridewell, a man of quick parts, and very acute in all the arts both of ſpeaking and writing, exerted himſelf very vehemently in defence of the cauſe of the inferior clergy againſt the biſhops; who ſaid, they would take care in the parliament

liament that the church ſhould not receive any damage, as well as of their perſonal intereſts. But this did not ſatisfy Atterbury, who ſaid, that every man was moſt nearly concerned in his own rights, charge, and intereſt; and called upon the biſhops, as if he had ſummoned them before him for diſcipline. He wiſhed, that in the management of this controverſy, the hand of Levi might not be laid too heavy upon him; for he was more apprehenſive of danger to himſelf from thoſe of his own order, than from the laity, whom he ſeemed to deſpiſe. And indeed it was all one to theſe, whether the convocation aſſembled or not, provided the clergy did not intermeddle with affairs of ſtate; for the convocation are in all things controlled by the authority of the parliament.

But Dr. Wake, a pious man, and well verſed in the monuments of antiquity, refuted Dr. Atterbury by many examples brought from the earlieſt ages, and the judgment of our anceſtors. Nor had the church of England now leſs diſſenſion among its own members, than it had with the church of Rome. Hence aroſe a kind of ſchiſm; and the writers treated each other with as abuſive language as if they had been enemies in open war. Dr. Atterbury was alſo learnedly anſwered by Dr. Gibſon and Dr. Kennet; who ſhewed that all his arguments had no other foundation than that of ſtale records, weak teſtimonies, and doubtful and unconnected words. The biſhop of Saliſbury alſo, who was fond of controverſies, and felt himſelf touched by the way, fell upon him with ſome violence. But Dr. Atterbury was not afraid to reply to them all, boaſting that he was engaged in the defence of the cauſe of God, and the ſupport of the church; and the earl of Rocheſter undertook to be his patron, and made his own uſe of thoſe who adhered to that ſide of the controverſy. Many people at this time revived the pretenſions of the clergy to the church-lands, which had been formerly enjoyed in the times of popery: but none of the preſent poſſeſſors could ſee any other right to them, except a papal one. It is true, that about thirty years before this, a book was publiſhed in France, wherein the jeſuits, envying the Benedictines their rich poſſeſſions, inſiſted, that the pope might, at his pleaſure, judge and diſpoſe of all pious donations; ſo that they, depending upon the

pope's

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pope's favour to them, might enjoy a ſhare of the prey. But by what title they came to be ſucceſſors to the Benedictines, and other ancient poſſeſſors, none can find out by any appearance of law; unleſs it be ſuch as would overthrow the eſtabliſhed religion, and deſtroy the church. Some alſo ſaid thoſe dedications were null, and nothing elſe but an abuſe of the name of God to create a reverence in men: that if thoſe were valid, then that ſcandalous donation of the kingdom to the pope by king John was alſo valid: and what could be called profane in any man's poſſeſſions, if this were accounted ſacred? In the midſt of theſe diſputes about the danger of the church, the earl of Mancheſter's ſecretary was recalled from the embaſſy, at the requeſt of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, to atone for his offence to religion.

Limitations of the crown.

THAT king William might ſhew how much he had the intereſt of the church at heart, he recommended it to the houſe of commons to take into conſideration the report of their committee for the further ſecurity of the ſucceſſion of the crown. This affair was very hotly debated; but when it was reported to the houſe, it conſiſted of theſe reſolutions: "That all things reſolved on in the privy council ſhall be "ſubſcribed by the counſellors; that no future king ſhall go out of the "kingdom without the conſent of parliament; that no foreigner, though "naturalized, ſhall be capable of holding any grant from the crown, or "employment in the ſtate, either to himſelf, or any other perſon in truſt "for him; that the king ſhall not interpoſe his authority againſt judg-"ments in parliament; that this nation ſhall not be engaged in war for "the defence of any other, without the conſent of parliament, leſt Eng-"land ſhould continually be involved in wars, by the frequent diſ-"ſenſions of the German princes; that, in time of peace, to prevent "the affairs of ſtate being managed by the direction of foreigners, "none but natives ſhall be made privy-counſellors; that the king "ſhall join in communion with the church of England; that no of-"ficer or penſioner of the crown ſhall be a member of the houſe of "commons; that they ſhall, from time to time, conſult and provide "for the farther confirming of the religion and liberties of the ſub-"ject, according to the example of their anceſtors; that the judges "ſhall hold their commiſſions during good behaviour, and their ſa-

"laries

Hanoverian ſucceſſion.

"laries be aſcertained; and that after the death of king William, and "the princeſs Anne, without heirs, the ſucceſſion to the crown of "theſe kingdoms ſhall devolve upon the princeſs Sophia, ducheſs "dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being pro-"teſtants."

Duke of Savoy's proteſt.

WHILE theſe reſolutions were under conſideration in parliament, letters were ſent to the parliament by the duke of Savoy, for the maintaining the rights of his ducheſs; but thoſe letters could not obtain the favour of being publicly read. Some of the members inſiſted, that the rights of blood and nature could not be defeated by any default, much leſs on account of a different perſuaſion in religion; that they who were bred up in that perſuaſion might, by the bleſſing of God, be recovered to a ſound mind, and the true religion: and all of them ſpoke highly in praiſe of the ducheſs of Savoy. A difference of religion was alſo objected to the ducheſs of Hanover, but injuriouſly. Others ſtood up for the commonwealth, and aſſerted, that foreigners can acquire no right, as not only differing from us in language, cuſtoms, manners, and laws, but governing without law, by their own arbitrary will, and ſupporting themſelves with ſtanding armies. Among theſe, one of the chief was the lord Spencer; who, at that time, gave himſelf wholly up to the collecting of books, and Fletcher's republican politics. Others thought it not proper to enter upon the caſe of ſucceſſion, till the ſame queſtion was firſt propoſed to the parliament of Scotland; "For," ſaid they," the ſafety and ſucceſſion of both king-"doms is the ſame, as the iſland is one and the ſame." That this, and the ſcruple concerning religion, which was of greater importance, might be removed out of the members, the biſhop of Worceſter conſulted Mr. A—— C—— * about the matter, who anſwered him, "That this was a moſt unſeaſonable time for conſulting the Scots; "neither ought the matter in queſtion to occaſion delay in their pro-"ceeding, ſince they need not fear but the Scots, who could never "be wanting to the preſervation of their religion, would concur "with them afterwards."

* The author probably alludes to himſelf.

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AND now, at laſt, after the earls of Sunderland, Marlborough, and Rocheſter, and the lord Somers; and, of the houſe of commons of England, Mr. Harley, with their followers, had agreed together among themſelves, that none of the royal family but a proteſtant ſhould be admitted to the throne of this kingdom, the declared rights of the kingdoms, which they called limitations, were carried up to the lords by Mr. Harley, the ſpeaker, accompanied by the houſe of commons; the memory of which was preſerved to poſterity, by a picture of Mr. Harley drawn to the life by Sir Godfrey Kneller. The lords, who are almoſt always aſſertors of the royal authority, were not long in their deliberations. The difficulty relating to the Scots, was not ſurmounted without heſitation; but the lord Somers, in an eloquent ſpeech, cleared it up, ſaying, "That this ought not to be "matter of delay; ſince both kingdoms were equally concerned in "their common ſafety, in the ſame affairs, and the ſame intereſt. "No doubt but the Scots were ſenſible of this; and for his part, he "did not queſtion, but both kingdoms would, by the prudence of "wiſe men, be united into one, before thoſe things which were now "under their conſideration ſhould be rejected by the Scots."

AND now, from this ſpeech of the lord Somers, the ſcheme of an union of the two kingdoms began to be ſomewhat more thought of. The ſucceſſion-bill being three times read, paſſed the houſe of lords. Only ſeven of thoſe who oppoſed it, proteſted againſt it, and entered their names on record on the journal. The duke of Savoy's ambaſſador alſo proteſted againſt it. There were ſome at this time, who inſinuated to the princeſs Anne, that this was injurious to her; and that it was, as it were, to put her winding-ſheet on in her life-time.

BUT the prince of Denmark, her huſband, endeavoured to comfort her in her anxiety, and to cheer her ſpirits by his obliging behaviour. Others inſinuated to the people, that the Engliſh forces might be tranſported into Germany; and that they had ſubjected their necks to a foreign yoke. The like fears alſo poſſeſſed the people of Hanover, leſt their fortunes ſhould be ſpent in England; and that they, being deprived

deprived of the antient rights and laws of the Germans, and degenerating from the manners of their anceſtors, ſhould be made to taſte of Engliſh liberty, which they deteſted. All parties entertained the ſame fears and jealouſies, which prevailed among the Engliſh and Scots in the time of king James I. As ſoon as the ſucceſſion was ſettled in the form of law, the earl of Macclesfield was, by the king, diſpatched in character of ambaſſador extraordinary to Hanover. On his arrival there, he had a houſe and all kind of proviſions freely and liberally appointed for himſelf and all his retinue. The ambaſſador having, at his firſt audience, preſented to the elector and his mother the act of parliament, was kindly received; and after ſeveral weeks ſtay there, he was diſmiſſed with royal preſents, and returned home, and made his report of his embaſſy to the king. Among the great company there, ſome were ſo reprobate, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury entreated the princeſs Sophia to diſmiſs them from her court, leſt their preſence and ſociety might prove prejudicial to her dignity; others were hangers-on there, in expectation of employments; who, afterwards, when factions aroſe at the court of Hanover through their imprudence, forfeited the favour both of the elector and of their own party. For the elector himſelf abhorred all faction and emulation; and his temperance, and the quiet life he had hitherto led, filled many people with hopes of a modeſt mind, and a moderate man.

The projected ſettlement at Darien being defeated, the Scots, in revenge, boaſted, that they would not admit of the ſame ſucceſſion to their throne, as to that of England; wherein they were encouraged by duke Hamilton, who ſecretly aſpired to the crown. But they were not all unanimous in that opinion. For thoſe who were the moſt zealous for the reformed religion, forgetting all paſt injuries, reſolved to agree with the Engliſh, leſt, as they ſaid, the Engliſh, by incurſions into Scotland, and the Scots, by inroads into England, ſhould again haraſs each other with rapine and plunder; or leſt either land ſhould become a refuge and receptacle to thieves and rebels from the other. At that time, while the Scots were laying many complaints before the king, the earl of Sunderland, who always regarded dangerous and ſubtle counſels as the moſt glorious, and preferable to ſuch as were pacific,

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endeavoured either to corrupt the Scots deputies with hopes or money, or elſe to ſet them at variance among themſelves; as to the ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland, that was to him a matter of indifference. But the lord Somers, who always encouraged upright and honeſt deſigns, told them how much they were to blame in their proceedings, and endeavoured to pacify their minds with good offices and upright counſels. And ſince mutual diſſentions occaſion great interruption to buſineſs, he admoniſhed them to lay aſide all prejudices for the ſake of the public peace and ſafety; and adviſed the king, in order to remedy theſe evils, to unite the two kingdoms as ſoon as ever the times would bear their union. It is certain, that both Sunderland and Somers were men of great capacity. But the counſels of the former were ſudden, ſhifting, full of art and boldneſs; but, at the ſame time, adapted to the preſent conjunctures; whereas thoſe of the latter were deliberate, upright, gentle, and no leſs agreeable, uſeful, and advantageous to poſterity than to the preſent times; for he choſe rather to be a great man than to be thought ſuch.

At this time, Sir Robert Sutton, a man of a noble family, and adorned with all the accompliſhments of literature, experience, and uſeful arts, was ſent ambaſſador to the grand ſignior; the lord Paget, who, by his conduct in procuring the peace of Carlowitz, had gained a great ſhare of favour both with the emperor and the Turk, being recalled at his own requeſt. As to what remained relating to the ſucceſſion, the lord Somers, in parliament, and the lord Townſhend, ten years afterwards in his embaſſy at the Hague, brought it to a concluſion by a league made with the Dutch.

In the parliament of England many complaints were made, more out of envy to other men's praiſe, than any concern which the authors of them entertained for the public calamities. The lord Somers had long adorned the bench with his eloquence, and inflexible regard to juſtice. The lord Halifax had repaired the bad ſtate of the coin, and the public credit, by means of the bank at London; whereby the people were eaſed, the public debts gradually leſſened, and new forces ſupplied for the king to carry on a new war, if there ſhould be occaſion;

ſion; and this fund was deſervedly reckoned the ornament of peace, and the bulwark of war. Halifax had alſo contrived ſeveral means, by which the Revolution and the ſafety of the kingdom might be confirmed, and the king extricated out of hoſtilities with France, as well as thoſe domeſtic troubles with which he was embarraſſed. The earl of Orford, who had acquired ſo great renown, both by land and ſea, was now forced to undergo a tempeſt raiſed in the parliament. For, after the virtue, loyalty, and diligence of theſe men had been long expoſed to the great envy and hatred of others, the fury of their adverſaries now ſtirred up the houſe to impeach them; and care was privately taken, that the authority of the accuſers, and their prejudice againſt the accuſed, ſhould paſs for the judgement of the houſe; ſo that the earl of Sunderland might revenge himſelf on the aſſertors of liberty at the Revolution, who now ſaw themſelves ſhaken by perſons, whom all good men wiſhed to have been baniſhed their country.

Impeachment of the lord Somers, Orford, Halifax, and Portland.

THEIR accuſation, by the houſe of commons, conſiſted of theſe particulars: firſt of all, they thought fit, according to the cuſtom of parliament, to addreſs the king to remove the lord Somers, the earl of Orford, and the lord Halifax from his council and preſence for ever. Then purſuing their impeachment, the commons deſired the lords to commit the impeached lords to cuſtody. To this the lords anſwered, "That they ought not to inflict puniſhment till they had firſt given "their judgement, nor to prejudge the cauſe." The impeachment of the lord Somers was therefore carried up by Mr. Simon Harcourt, a man more famous for his eloquence in pleading, than for any thing elſe; colonel Byerly carried up the impeachment againſt lord Orford; Mr. James Brydges, a learned and eloquent young gentleman, did the like againſt the lord Halifax; and Mr. St. John, againſt the earl of Portland. The accuſations brought againſt all theſe were the famous partition-treaty, captain Ridot's piracy, the abuſe of the king's bounty, and that ſome of them had miſapplied the public money, and the reſt had approved of their miſconduct. The earl of Portland and Jerſey eſcaped unpuniſhed; for the former had formerly been much in the king's favour, and the latter had gone over to the party of the proſecutors, and thereby eaſily caſt his own faults upon others.

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THE lord Somers, in his anſwer to the ſeveral articles of the impeachment, inſiſted, that he had no hand in the treaty of partition, and demonſtrated by letters, that this treaty was concluded contrarily to his opinion; that, as to the grants from the crown, he was ready to ſurrender the few which he had obtained, provided that others would ſurrender the like grants which they had obtained from the king's predeceſſors; but that his preſent majeſty's right being not inferior to that of his predeceſſors, theſe grants ought not to be diſgracefully reſumed; and that as to his affixing the great ſeal to other royal grants, it was his duty, by virtue of his office, and warranted by the example of others in all times. Thus he clearly refuted the whole charge againſt him: but his adverſaries adhered to their accuſation. However, the lord Somers put a ſtop to their proceedings, as will by and bye appear, in the beginning. Upon this, according to the cuſtom of parliament, free conferences were held concerning the authority of the commons prejudices, and the lords voting for one another. But as buſineſs is ſometimes delayed by many words, the proſecutors at length, on differences ariſing between them and the lords, refuſed to proceed in the proſecution, unleſs the impeached lords were debarred from voting for one another.

UPON this the lord Haverſham roſe up, and ſaid, "He hoped no "man ſhould ever be able to abuſe juſtice and the public judgement in "this place, ſo as to make uſe of it as a maſk for any private deſign, and "for other ends." The commons, inflamed with theſe words, broke off the conference, and ſent Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, who being a man of character and conſequence, might, by his authority, give the reputation of truth and reaſon to his meſſage, to ſignify to the lords, that they would not proceed to judgement till they had ſatisfaction for thoſe words ſpoken by the lord Haverſham. Lord Haverſham had alſo added, what is now found to be a plain truth, "That the commons of England were in "their conſciences convinced of the impeached lords innocence; and "that if they would impeach, they ought at leaſt to invent ſome fair "pretence for doing ſo."

AMONG

AMONG theſe diſſentions between the two houſes, the lord Somers, being prepared for his trial, deſired the lords to appoint a day for it; for he choſe now to undergo the public judgement of his peers, rather than to be continually obnoxious to the ſpiteful reproaches of his adverſaries; neither the conſtancy of his friends, nor the injuries of his enemies, being able to ſubdue the greatneſs of his ſoul. The proſecutors tried to ſtop, put off, and delay the trial; and when the day came, they refuſed to appear. At laſt the court being ſolemnly held, the houſe of lords openly acquitted the lord Somers of all crimes and miſdemeanors; and upon his acquittal, he was received at the door with a general acclamation; and a great number of the lawyers followed him to his own houſe with loud ſhouts of applauſe, and all other tokens of joy. Somers ſeemed to me to be one of the greateſt and firmeſt of men, both in proſperity and adverſity.

A DAY was alſo fixed for the trial of the earl of Orford; which the commons in like manner endeavoured to put off: but this attempt was likewiſe over-ruled; and the proſecutors, as if it were, giving up the cauſe, he was alſo acquitted by his peers; which was celebrated with a cheer by the ſailors. The lord Halifax, whoſe cauſe is ſaid to have been ſecretly made up by the intereſt of Mr. Harley, did not demand a trial.

THE duke of Shrewſbury, who was concerned in the ſame cauſe with the impeached lords, and who might have been charged with the chief hand in the matter of piracy, was not mentioned in theſe impeachments. But, on account of the puniſhment of Kidd, who was hanged for piracy, the adverſaries of the lords, not only caſt ſome reflection upon the duke of Shrewſbury, but ſaid, "That the whigs "had waſhed out the ſtains of their own guilt in the blood of the in-"nocent." But how could this be? for Kidd was publicly convicted and condemned on the evidence of many witneſſes; and there does not yet appear the leaſt room to ſuſpect others of any ſhare in his crime. A new office was found out in the exchequer for Mr. Edward Harley, and the diſſentions were gradually compoſed.

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As, from the healing of evils, other and greater miſchiefs often ſpring, ſo out of theſe diſſentions in parliament aroſe terms of reproach, and a delay to the public ſupplies. Before this parliament brok up, the Kentiſh men petitioned the houſe of commons, that they would turn their loyal addreſſes into bills of ſupply; wherewith the houſe being juſtly offended, committed the deputies of that county, who preſented it, to priſon. This act of ſeverity was cenſured by ſome, who inſiſted, that the houſe of commons have no authority, contrary to ancient uſage, to impriſon any of their fellow-ſubjects, except the members of their own houſe; and they proceeded even ſo far as to affirm, that the houſe of commons might be controlled by the people, whoſe repreſentatives they are.

Kentiſh petition.

In this parliament, alſo, at the inſtance of lord Godolphin, whoſe kinſman dying in Spain, had left his wealth to the jeſuits, a moſt juſt and reaſonable law paſſed, whereby it was provided, that all ſuch like wills and legacies ſhould be void and invalid: to which many people were for adding a clauſe, that whatſoever ambaſſador ſhould break his truſt, his goods ſhould be forfeited to the king. And not long after, the agents of the family of Godolphin commenced a ſuit in virtue of this act, at Venice; which ſuit was afterwards decided in favour of the heirs, by the council of forty. But they had not the like ſucceſs at Rome and in Spain, where that ſociety has too much intereſt.

Mr. John Howe ſaid in parliament, that the king's grants were ſquandered away upon buffoons and harlots; and even called the treaty of partition a felonious treaty of three thieves. Upon this wiſe men thought it high time to ſtop ſuch violent declamation, leſt the liberty of ſpeech in parliament ſhould turn to licentiouſneſs. When the miniſtry was changed, liberty, modeſty, fidelity, and juſtice, ſeemed to take their flight; and ceremony, violence, treachery, artifice, fraud, and a baſe deſire of gain, to come in their place: but eſtates got by ſuch means ſeldom deſcend to the third generation amongſt Engliſhmen, who, for the moſt part, indeed, are free from thoſe arts of acquiring them. Theſe vices were oppoſed by the beſt patriots in the houſe; but to no purpoſe.

In the mean while, the earl of Sunderland, in order to avoid the ſuſpicion of being the promoter of the impeachment, and to hide his crafty counſels, retired into the country, and buried himſelf at his country-ſeat. The lord Godolphin, having been made the firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury in the foregoing year, made an order, forbidding the exciſemen and collectors of the taxes to receive any exchequer-tallies, and much leſs the bank-notes, in public payments; which occaſioned great confuſion at London, Briſtol, and other places, through the decay of public credit, and the fall of the ſtocks. The king immediately gave orders for the redreſs of this, and ſaid, That as he would not have money to paſs at a higher rate to himſelf than to his people; ſo neither was it his intention, by any private counſel, to impoſe ſuch an order upon his receivers.

Many people ſuſpected, that the earl of Sunderland was, at this very time, contriving to change the peace into a war, that his friends might have the management of it; and that they had not complained of the conduct and length of the late war for any other reaſons, than that they had not participated in the ſpoils of the public, and of thoſe rapines which they objected to others: and with what fidelity and integrity theſe men acted when they got the power into their own hands, will be ſeen by and by.

The earl of Marlborough was much courted by Mr. Craggs, a man of no parts or learning, but verſed only in the exchange and uſe of money. But practice oftentimes prevails over both genius and learning; others alſo of the plunderers before mentioned, with the broken ſtock-jobbers, and the crowd of auctioneers, ſolicited the favour and protection of other courtiers, in hopes of turning money to advantage.

When the forfeited eſtates in Ireland were ſold by auction, according to the act paſſed in England, nothing but debts were returned into the exchequer. But the promoters of that law, who conſulted their own intereſt in that market, defended themſelves under pretence of charges, deductions, and exchange; and ſaid, the king had enough, if he had wherewithal to gratify his friends and them.

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JOHN BLUNT, the curſe of his country, buſying himſelf about the clipped money, by which he had firſt ſcraped together his great riches, now treated with the old diſſolved company at London, that the produce of all the eſtates ſold in Ireland, under the ſanction of their laws, might come to him, and certain other monied men. This fraud was oppoſed, though in vain, by the directors of the bank.

ABOUT this time, count Wratiſlaw, the emperor's ambaſſador, came into England, early in the ſpring, to concert meaſures with the king. Count Zinzendorff was then, in the emperor's name, treating with the French king at Paris about reſtoring the Spaniſh dominions in Italy to the emperor. This was oppoſed by king William; who now, having found out the diſpoſition of his parliament, preſſed the emperor immediately to ſend prince Eugene with an army into Italy; and ſaid, he could not reſolve upon war till that was done. It was but reaſonable, that he, who was the chief perſon intereſted in a war, ſhould engage as the principal in it. King William was afraid of the treachery of the imperial court, and of ſecret treaties of pacification. The emperor, who was more able in council, than prepared againſt accidents, gave prince Eugene the command of his army, and ordered his forces to hold themſelves in readineſs. Prince Eugene knew the court of Vienna too well, to think it adviſable for him to paſs the Alps before he had every thing ordered and prepared for him, relating to the ſoldiers pay, recruits, proviſions, and whatever elſe was neceſſary in war; for he thought himſelf more in danger from count Mansfield, preſident of the council of war, and the reſt of the emperor's miniſters, than from the enemy, or his intended march acroſs the Alps.

NOR was England at that time more embarraſſed with foreign enemies than domeſtic. The king told count Tallard, he wondered why the French king choſe bloody trophies rather than to enjoy almoſt the whole prey without bloodſhed. In the mean time, he commanded madam Mazarine, niece to the cardinal, and wife to the duke of that name, to depart the kingdom; for the earl of Albemarle was either in love with her, or ſhe with him. But it has been an old artifice of the French court to ſent wanton women every where abroad to find out the genius

genius of other countries, and to diſcover the ſecret counſels of princes. The French king alſo promiſed his protection to the duke of Shrewſbury, only on condition that there ſhould be no war; he therefore, when the war broke out, retired to Geneva, and from thence to Italy, where he continued four years.

In thoſe dark times in England, a country girl took upon her to propheſy; whoſe predictions, and important dreams of what was to come, were written and ſealed up, and delivered to men of all ranks, to be carefully preſerved till a proper time; among whom the biſhop of Saliſbury was one, who was very induſtrious to gain credit to theſe and ſuch like ſacred oracles: but nothing of all this came to paſs.

In the ſpring, king James finding himſelf indiſpoſed, went to drink the waters of Bourbon; and a ſharp letter from the earl of Melfort to the earl of Middleton was brought into England by an accident, which was very favourable to the eſtabliſhment of the ſucceſſion. For now by that letter moſt people perceived to what dangers England would be expoſed, if proviſion was not made for the ſucceſſion of heirs to the crown. And king James is ſaid to have alſo written letters to the emperor, and his daughter the princeſs Ann.

In the month of July, the king having appointed lords juſtices for the government of the kingdom, went to Holland, and was ſoon followed by the earl of Marlborough, his ambaſſador to the ſtates general at the Hague, who, concerting meaſures with the ſtates for war, at the ſame time examined and diſcovered the reſolution and ſtrength of all the allies. But the king, who diverted himſelf with hunting at the Loo, did not leave it in his power either to favour the emperor, or to yield to him more than was fitting; for the king, knowing the court of Vienna, and Marlborough's inclination, would not let the public ſuffer any damage out of regard to any private advantage, having learned, by long experience, how natural it is for men in power to prefer their own particular intereſt to the public good. After the party heats and diſſentions in the parliament of England, which had been inflamed by the impeachments, began to cool, the

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lords juſtices, and the earl of Sunderland, though he then ſpent his time in the country, preſſed the king to undertake a war, which was alſo warmly recommended by thoſe very men who had lately been the great promoters of peace. But this the king had many reaſons to delay; for war is apt to open many things which in times of peace do not appear. The earl of Sunderland ſought to be reconciled to the lord Somers, by the interceſſion of his ſon the lord Spencer. The lord Somers indeed thought private enmities were to be paſſed over for the common intereſt and the good of our country; and ſaid he could wave all reſentment of the impeachment, and the attack made upon his honour, but he could not contract a ſtrict friendſhip with the earl of Sunderland; for friendſhip ſprings from a reſemblance of nature and opinions, and is cultivated by a conſent of counſels and deſires.

Death of king James II.

In the mean time, king James II. whether he abdicated the kingdom, or was driven from the throne for his irreconcilable difference in religion, died in France, on the 6th day of September 1701, in the thirteenth year of his departure out of England; to whom, as none was more unfriendly than himſelf while he lived, ſo none of his friends ſeemed greatly to lament his death. As the French counſels are generally haſty and ſudden, the French king acknowledged his ſon for king of Great Britain, by the name of king James III.; and though this was done contrarily to his promiſe made to king William, yet the French king, who now did not fear any thing, gave orders to have him immediately proclaimed, without any regard to his word. The young prince, taking upon himſelf the character of king, was complimented as ſuch in France, and bore the title and arms of the king of Great Britain upon his furniture. All this, and the diſhonour done to himſelf, provoked king William ſo, that he recalled the earl of Mancheſter from his embaſſy in France, without taking leave of the king; and Monſ. Pouſſin, the French ſecretary in England, was forbid the court. Both theſe miniſters obeyed the order, and not one Frenchman appeared at the earl of Mancheſter's houſe, or accompanied him in his journey: but Mr. Hammond, Mr. Fredenham, and Dr. Davenant, out of their extraordinary civility, and ſingular regard

His ſon proclaimed in France.

for the king, and their imperfect knowledge of the law of nations, viſited Monſ. Pouſſin, and ſupped with him.

THE French king, according to his cuſtom, excuſed himſelf by alleging, that the late king James, in his life-time, had extorted a promiſe from him; but that the preſent king James would not acquire any power or profit, nor any thing more than an empty title by this proclamation. He added abundance of flattering words, the better to impoſe upon both the kings. The people of England were exceedingly provoked, both againſt the French king, for taking upon him to adjudge the kingdom of England to the Pretender, and againſt the youth himſelf, who would accept the kingdom of Great Britain by a grant from the French king, rather than receive it as a favour from them. There was not at that time a man in England, either ſo deſperate in fortune, or ſo abandoned in principle, as to wiſh to have the Pretender reſtored by a French force; for the tories were now in poſſeſſion of the places and offices of ſtate; and the whigs ſtood firm to the Revolution.

KING WILLIAM would not ſlip this moſt proper occaſion of renewing the war, which, for the moſt part, depends upon the wiſe improvement of ſmall advantages; but while the ſeaſon of the year was yet unfit for action, ſtrengthened his alliances with the German princes, whom he courted by all kinds of good offices. He engaged the kings of Denmark and Sweden heartily in his intereſt. Nor did he omit the czar of Muſcovy, whom the king of Sweden, in the foregoing year, had defeated with a great ſlaughter, and taken the rich plunder of his camp: but he did not ſeek to engage him and the king of Poland in the confederacy, on account of the irreconcilable hatred between them and the Swede. But William deſired nothing more, that to get an interview with the elector of Bavaria; without which, he ſaid, he ſhould very much deſpair of his friendſhip. He recommended to the Dutch an agreement among themſelves at home; demonſtrating to them the benefit of a ſteady conduct, by the example of their anceſtors. He had ſome difficulty to prevail with the earl of Marlborough for a troop of horſe for Mr. Cadogan; but the king managed this

Grand alliance formed.

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this matter dexterouſly, not to ſay craftily; for he had a natural dexterity both of head and hands. But he denied a company of foot to Mr. Stanhope. "Preferment of this kind," ſaid he, "is due to "ſcars, and not to party ſervices;" at which Stanhope was ſo enraged, that he filled all the taverns in town with a furious outcry, that liberty was loſt.

Prince Eugene's expedition into Italy.

EVERY thing being now in readineſs for prince Eugene's expedition into Italy, that prince began his march early in the ſpring, intending to paſs the Alps by way of Inſpruck, with an army of thirty-two thouſand men; moſt of whom had been, as it were, bred in camp, and had ſcarce ever lain in a houſe in their whole lifetime; for they had been inured to arms in the late wars in Hungary; ſo that now their very name carried terror with it through all Italy. The neutrality of the Venetians had been agreed to, both by the emperor and the French king. The Germans were allowed to paſs through their territories, nor were the French hindered from oppoſing them. By treaty both armies were to be prohibited from taking any thing by force, and the ſoldiers were to pay ready money for every thing they had in their march; and the Venetians were not to give protection to deſerters.

As ſoon as prince Eugene had paſſed the Alps with his army between Trent and Roveredo, where the mountains gradually decline, he made a halt not far from the enemy; who, having intelligence of that prince's march, had advanced to the firſt paſs of the Venetian Alps. Eugene's approach was notified to the ſenate of Venice by count de Barca, the emperor's ambaſſador; with intimation, that it was neceſſary for him to march in order of battle through their territories, but without any damage to the inhabitants. This the Venetians could not refuſe to the emperor, after the duke of Savoy had opened a paſſage through the Alps to the French, and brought the war into Italy, at the very time when the pope had, with great ſolemnity, ſhut the gates of St. Peter's church. The conditions of the league which the duke of Savoy had made with the kings of France and Spain, were theſe: "That the French king ſhould pay him a "penſion

" penſion of five hundred thouſand crowns a month, and ſhould maintain " eight thouſand Savoyard ſoldiers in their pay; and that the duke of " Savoy himſelf ſhould have the command of the army in Italy, not " without hopes alſo of poſſeſſing certain territories there; and that " the king of Spain ſhould marry the princeſs Mary Louiſa, the " duke's younger daughter, of thirteen years of age, without a por- " tion; and that in default of heirs to king Philip, the duke of Savoy " ſhould have a full and ſure right, for himſelf and his heirs, to the " whole kingdom of Spain." For as he had two ſons, he now thought it neceſſary to provide for his male heirs; their right of ſucceſſion to the crown of England being taken from them on account of religion. He therefore ſent his daughters away; not thinking the memory and honour of his family likely to be propagated by their poſterity. The princeſs Urſini, a lady of a maſculine ſpirit, was appointed governeſs to the betrothed princeſs Mary; and the duke of Savoy ſent them away to Spain in great haſte by way of Nice, that he might immediately go to the camp, and put himſelf at the head of the French army in the Milaneze.

THE French king having intelligence of prince Eugene's approach, their generals, Catinat, Theſſe, and Vaudemont, had agreed, in a council of war, immediately to ſtop the Germans march. Prince Vaudemont and count de Theſſe were of opinion, that they ought to advance to the foot of the mountains, and to bar up the firſt entrance into the Alps; and marſhal Catinat judged it beſt to take poſſeſſion of all the paſſes of the river Mincio from the mountains and the lake de Garda, down to the river Po; that ſo they might reduce the imperialiſts to the want of all neceſſaries in the Venetian territories, and thereby force the enemy to haraſs the country with depredations, which might provoke the Venetians to take arms againſt their oppreſſors. But this opinion was over-ruled; and the French marched to the river Adige, to face prince Eugene in the very Alps, pitching their camp in the town of Rivoli, not far from the caſtle of Chiuſa, which is hollowed out of the middle of the mountain. Over this caſtle hangs a hill of immenſe height, the roots of which are waſhed by the river, which is very deep, and runs circularly, as if its courſe were drawn

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drawn by a compaſs. For there are but two ways from Trent into Italy; this, which is very narrow and difficult, between the mountains and the Adige, and was poſſeſſed by the enemy's camp, fortified with forty pieces of cannon, with which the French could command the road, and all the country around far and near; the other turning towards the left hand, through mountains and craggy paths, by mount Baldi, and the head of the river Brent, much more difficult than the former, but not ſo much infeſted by the enemy. By this opening, therefore, prince Eugene commanded his horſe to march without delay, leſt the enemy ſhould ſtop his paſſage either way: he alſo ſent out ſcouts every where; and ordered ſome ſoldiers and dragoons to advance in order to oppoſe the foremoſt of the French. A part of both armies met at the town of Piſcantina; and the van of the French were put to flight by the imperialiſts.

In the mean time, prince Eugene led his army ſecretly through mountains and by-ways, with men in diſguiſe marching before them. When he came to craggy places, the baggage and guns were, without much noiſe, carried from one hill to another by machines and pullies; and in many places the ſharp rocks made their journey ſo difficult, that the ſoldiers were forced to hand their arms from one to another, and to wear iron on their feet. The horſe made their way through the vallies. At length, having paſſed the cliffs, the Germans fell down from the mountains, and entered Italy; where they refreſhed themſelves with food and reſt two days in the territories of Vicenza and Baſſiano.

This moſt difficult adventure afforded to the French king, who had intelligence of every thing by his ſpies, matter of great ſuſpicion: he complained loudly to the ſenate of Venice, of the men in diſguiſe, who had aſſiſted prince Eugene in his paſſage, demanding of them to make examples of thoſe who were the chief contrivers and conductors of that paſſage of the Alps, leſt, by a contrary conduct, they ſhould bring themſelves into difficulties. To this they anſwered, "That "they would take care, that what the French king demanded ſhould "be immediately referred to the council of ten." Some of the guides complained

complained of being apprehended and charged, excuſed themſelves by alleging, that they were at full liberty, not only to travel themſelves, but to ſhew the way to any other travellers. But this did not ſatisfy the council of ten; therefore, count Velo, one of the accuſed, was, by order of the ſenate, committed a priſoner to the Leaden Tower. The count, lying there, under the apprehenſion of greater hardſhips, for two years together, would neither implore the emperor's protection, nor receive any other kind of food than new-laid eggs. The French lay a long time ſecure in their camp, expecting the Germans to come into Italy by the way of Piſcatina. But when they had notice that the enemy was come down from the mountains into the territories of Vicenza, impatient of delay, and vexed at the heart, they drew off their artillery, packed up their baggage with all ſpeed, and by long marches through the territories of Verona, haſted in three bodies to defend the paſſes at the river Adige. The count de Theſſe, having taken poſſeſſion of all the fords, and broken down the bridges to prevent the Germans from paſſing, marched lower down that river. Marſhal Catinat, lying in his camp near Verona, ordered the country people to furniſh his army with all ſorts of victuals for ready money; but he ſeized the boats and veſſels, and ſuch things as might be of ſervice to the enemy, to the great inconvenience of the merchants and travellers; which was matter of great trouble to the governor of Verona. When the Germans entered Italy, they had not money to pay the inhabitants for their forage. This being complained of to count Palfi, he, without vouchſafing to excuſe it, endeavoured to juſtify it by the law of nature, and the cuſtom of his huſſars. It was alſo reported to the French, that he had raſhly ſaid, "The graſs of the "ground grew in common to all men, and that even the beaſts of the "field have a free right to it." When the French heard this, they alſo made free with the forage; alleging that they had as good a right to it as the enemy: neither did they return the boats to the Venetians.

MARSHAL CATINAT repreſented to the ſenate, that the Germans, in marching through the Venetian territories, would not refrain from injuries, and preſſed the Venetians to take part with the French king; but if they ſhould decline to take any active part, at leaſt not to give

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the Germans any kind of aſſiſtance; but if they ſhould, and any hurt ſhould enſue to his ſoldiers, he declared he would not only chaſtiſe the offenders, but would alſo treat their republic as enemies. The Venetians anſwered, that they would obſerve an exact neutrality, but could not prevent accidents; that they ſent ſoldiers to guard their fortified towns; but could neither hinder the enemy's march, nor reſtrain them from private injuries, moſt of which were done by ſwarms of women who followed the German army, and ſerved the ſoldiers not only as phyſicians, but even inſtead of pack-horſes.

PRINCE EUGENE deſired leave to paſs the bridge at Verona; but this was denied him by the governor; who ſaid he would repel force by force from the fortified towns; hence, and from that ſaying of count Palfi, many acts of violence were committed againſt their cities by both parties, and the whole country was filled with fire and ſword; both the French and Germans making every where free with the forage. In the mean time, marſhal Catinat ſeized all the fords of the river, fortified caſtles, and placed garriſons to ſtop the Germans, in caſe they ſhould attempt to paſs the Adige. The Venetians put a ſtronger garriſon into Legnano. Prince Eugene, removing his camp from the territories of Vicenza, by the way of Eſte, marched in three columns toward the river Adige; and when he came there, he commanded ſome to paſs the fords, where the water was moſt ſhallow; and others to croſs the river Seſia, at the caſtle Baldo, on rafts joined together for bridges; and making an attempt in many places at the ſame time, the Germans, who were to paſs over at Carpi, marching all night long, made themſelves maſters of the iſland before day-light, nothing below their breaſts and ſhoulders appearing above water: in order to facilitate their attempt, the horſemen were poſted a little below to break the force of the ſtream. Many got ſafe over; ſome few being carried down by the ſtrength of the water, which the rains had ſwelled, were taken up, and ſaved by the horſemen. At midnight, Prince Eugene haſted to the enemy's camp near Carpi. Marſhal Catinat defended the dutchy of Mantua at Oſtiglia, and count de Theſſe, San Pietro de Legnano. But prince Eugene, deceiving them both by feigned marches and falſe intelligence, fell upon the French unawares at

at Carpi. The count de Theſſe hearing the noiſe ran thither, and while he was endeavouring to rally his ſcattered forces, he himſelf, half naked, was alſo put to flight. In this encounter Vaudemont's ſon bravely ſignalized his courage; prince Eugene, who was ſlightly wounded in his knee, pitched his camp at Carpi, count de Theſſe took poſſeſſion of the town of San Pietro. Marſhal Catinat, having notice of the ſlaughter of his friends, removed from Oſtiglia out of the country of the Poleſin, and came to San Pietro; and conſidering in his own mind what might be the deſign of the enemy, he left the river Adige, the Tartaro, and the Chioza; and drawing his forces together, moved towards the river Mincio, to defend the fords againſt the enemy, who were preparing, with a great power, to march that way. Count de Theſſe now readily agreed to this reſolution. When they came thither, the French fortified their camp at Villa Franca, and guarded every paſs of the river. The Germans being full of ſpirits on their late ſucceſſes, endeavoured to draw the enemy to a battle. Prince Eugene having built bridges, advanced to the Mincio, and made a ſtand on the bank, not far from Catinat's camp, to give him an opportunity, if he had an inclination, to engage: but after a ſhort ſtay there, he paſſed the river, on the third day of July, in the ſight of the enemy, leading his troops by the enemy's camp. About this time the Savoyards arrived in the French camp; and yet Catinat's ſpirits were ſo little raiſed by this acceſſion of ſtrength, that he would neither hazard a battle, nor ſtop prince Eugene's paſſage, but moved his camp with an intention to defend the river Oglio. The French were much ſuperior in number, but the Germans in ſtrength. At that time the French, as they themſelves give out, were very eager to fight; and the Germans no leſs ſo. Marſhal Catinat was followed with curſes by his own men, who were ignorant of what was ſecretly tranſacted in the camp. But ſome credible perſons have ſaid, "If they had come to "battle that day, prince Eugene had cut off all the French to a man." In vain did the French upbraid Catinat, as if he had now forgot his inſtructions, and become crazy. For it was not without reaſon, that he ſuſpected the affection of prince Vaudemont and the Spaniards; and he had foreſeen alſo what ſchemes the duke of Savoy had in his head.

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When prince Eugene had paſſed the river Mincio, he reſolved to penetrate farther into the country, and by one effort to make himſelf maſter of Milan. Marſhal Catinat endeavoured to defend the river Adda, and ſtop the enemy's progreſs till new forces ſhould come to his ſuccour.

At this time the duke of Savoy himſelf arrived in the French camp to take upon him the command of the army. Prince Eugene knowing what was reſolved on in the enemy's camp, was eager to bring them to an engagement, and marched cloſe after the French. In the mean time, the French threw a garriſon, by ſurprize, into Palazuola, a caſtle of the Venetians; of which, and of the rigorous exaction of forage in their territories, loud complaints were made by the ſenate. To theſe cardinal D'Eſtrees anſwered, "That he was much grieved at "the injuries done by both armies, and would write to his king con-"cerning the demands of the ſenate."

Prince Eugene, making a ſhew of having fled from the enemy, marched away through the territories of Breſcia, and made a ſtand at the town of Chiari, very convenient for a camp, in the neighbourhood of Bergomat. In this difficult conjuncture the French king ſent the marſhal Villeroy into Italy, to inform him how all things ſtood, and to take upon him the command of the army. He poſted away thither with all ſpeed, day and night; and had ſcarcely entered the camp, when he declared for attacking that of the imperialiſts. This reſolution was oppoſed by the duke of Savoy and marſhal Catinat. When all their opinions were reported to the French king, it is affirmed that he ſaid, "As the one of them had too little courage, the other "had too much, but ſomewhat muſt be left to fortune." Neither could he take any thing amiſs from Villeroy, who had been dear to him from his childhood; and who before his coming into Italy had received the king's commands concerning the war. And leſt, from a neglect of this advantage, the Germans ſhould grow proud, and the Italians conſpire together, Villeroy gave orders to march againſt the enemy, without ſo much as having taken a view of the camp and the ſtrength and ſituation of the enemy.

The

THE way towards prince Eugene's camp was through a valley, wide at the entrance, but narrow at the further end, in the road leading toward Chiari; into which town prince Eugene had thrown a garriſon, and made the count de Gulenſtein governor of it without the leave of the Venetians. This town is covered by a ſteep ridge of hills ſtretching out toward the north, by which the camp of the imperialiſts was covered on the left. Here, and in the entrance of Chiari, guns were planted. As ſoon as prince Eugene had intelligence that the French had moved their camp, and were marching towards him, he commanded his own ſoldiers to keep within their camp, to ſecure the avenues, and not to hinder the enemy's approach, or do them any harm, till they ſhould receive his orders to the contrary. Then he picked out certain ſubtle men, whom he hired to go over to the enemy, to tell them the Germans ſhewed ſo much fear, that they would hardly ſtand their ground, if an enemy did but appear before their trenches. Therefore, on the ſecond day of September, after the French had been unmoleſted at the foot of the hill, and had paſſed the river, Villeroy commanded the troops of Normandy and Auvergne to advance on the left, and thoſe of Anjou and Vendoſme on the right, in order to begin the fight. Theſe having ſcaled the outworks with great courage, took a mill and ſome cottages, and then advanced to the old wall of Chiari with great impetuoſity. Here a long and ſharp encounter enſued with ſwords, piſtols, guns, and all kinds of fire-arms. And now the battle growing hot, prince Eugene giving a terrible diſcharge of his ordnance, and putting himſelf at the head of the vanguard of Nigrelli, Herberſtein, and Mansfield, with other ſtout and intrepid men, made a great ſlaughter of the enemy. There was alſo like ſucceſs on the left. There the French troops being overthrown, Villeroy endeavoured to form them again in order of battle, and ordered ſeveral other regiments to come up to their aſſiſtance. The duke of Savoy, vexed that the engagement was begun againſt his opinion, led up ſuch forces as Villeroy required to the fight, as if it had been to an execution. He ſent the count de Schuylenburg before him with his foot; and he himſelf alſo, fearleſs of danger, advanced, preſſing his ſoldiers on through the narrow paſſes, without regard to himſelf, or any thought of a retreat. The Iriſh, who were there, fighting

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fighting gallantly, were almoſt all cut off by whole ranks at once. Schuylenburg's horſe being wounded with a ball, eſcaped out of the fight, more happily for him than the ſoldiers. It was with great difficulty that Schuylenburg overtook his own party. When the French were no longer able to withſtand the force of the Germans, on account of the diſadvantage of the place, they betook themſelves to flight. On the ſight of this, prince Eugene ordered a ſally to be ſuddenly made at two gates; and thus, through advantage of ſituation, the ignorance of the French, and the valour of the Germans, the fugitives did not ſtand one ſhock. Marſhal Villeroy, ſounding a retreat, ſtopped at Caſtrezato; where the lord viſcount Clare, ſlain in the battle, was miſſed by the Iriſh; who, at the ſame time that they regretted his loſs, in a ſimple pun, too light for ſuch a ſerious matter, playing with the ambiguity of the words, ſaid, "He died, and was buried "at home."

As the French are full of ſpirits at the commencement of a war, ſo they are apt to be dejected and unable to ſupport themſelves under misfortunes. Villeroy imputed his loſſes to the Venetian governor, who had opened the gates of Chiari to the enemy; but aſcribed nothing either to his own raſhneſs, or to the military prudence of prince Eugene. He is alſo ſaid to have written many things to his king concerning the duke of Savoy; which he endeavoured to make good from the continuauce of the marquis de Prie, the ambaſſador of Savoy, at the emperor's court. But the ducheſs of Burgundy refuted all this as a ſlander, chiefly becauſe the duke of Savoy, her father, had not expoſed others to any greater dangers than he undertook himſelf; and that the battle was not fought by his advice, as marſhal de Catinat could teſtify, who was at that time favoured by madam de Maintenon. As to the treaſon of De Prie, ſhe did not offer to excuſe it, but laid the blame on his wife, and ſhewed that her father had outlawed them both. It is ſaid, that neither the duke of Savoy, nor marſhal Catinat were very ſorry for the loſs ſuſtained by the French, becauſe Villeroy had attacked the enemy in a well-fortified camp, without any regard to their advice. However, Villeroy's action was imputed only to misfortune, and approved by the king. After this battle, the

French committed cruel outrages in the Venetian territories. The villages were dirty, huſbandry neglected, the inhabitants in tears, and the fields empty: and all this was brought upon the Venetians, becauſe their townſmen had not ſhut their gates againſt prince Eugene. But to this it was anſwered, Why did the French fall upon the enemy? Why did they not make a better reſiſtance againſt prince Eugene? And why did they take poſſeſſion of Palazuola? It was a ſhame for them to find fault with others for that which they themſelves had taught them to do by their own ill example. The Germans alſo unjuſtly demanded forage and proviſions of the Venetians, who were now devoured on both ſides. The countrymen and inhabitants took arms, and were provoked to take a ſecret and quick revenge; and the ſoldiers, ſtraggling through the country were often way-laid and ſlain. On receiving intelligence of this, prince Eugene gave orders, that if the countrymen did not ceaſe to go about in arms, his ſoldiers ſhould immediately kill ſuch of them as they met armed in their way: but ſuch was the clemency of the horſemen, that when they met the countrymen in arms, they only cut off their hands with the ſword. Many of thoſe people are ſtill to be ſeen in thoſe countries with one of their hands chopped off.

The ſenate of Venice, by their ambaſſador Loridano, complained of this to the emperor, and entreated him not to ſuffer his reputation to be blemiſhed by ſuch a mark of cruelty. The emperor anſwered, "That he would ſend orders to prince Eugene to forbear all acts of "cruelty; and that he would make good to them all the loſſes they "had ſuſtained, an account of which ſhould be returned into his "treaſury; but ſince that was at preſent very much exhauſted (as the "emperor's treaſury moſt commonly is), he hoped they would take "his word for the repayment of it." The French inſiſted, that they had done no injury to the republic, or to any neutral powers. It was agreed indeed, that they ſhould not enter into any cities; but they ſaid, there was no mention made of caſtles or towns, ſuch as Palazuola was. But the ſenate ſeeing no intermiſſion of thoſe injuries, addreſſed themſelves both to the emperor and the French king, ſhewing the dreadful effects of war, and what great oppreſſions their ſubjects laboured under; and laſtly, their ambaſſadors entreated both armies to quit

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quit their territories. Count Mansfield, count Caunitz, and count Harach anſwered, "That in times of war many injuries muſt be neceſſarily "endured, which, at this time, was matter of great grief to the em- "peror. But there was nothing ſo much to be blamed for the preſent "ſufferings as the neutrality of the republic: if they deſired to be freed "from theſe, they might join their forces with the emperor, whereby "they would ſoon be made eaſy." They alſo inſinuated to the ambaſſador, that part of the territories, either of Mantua or Milan, might accrue to the Venetians by the war, a condition which the emperor himſelf confirmed to them, and to which king William would have agreed. But the Venetians perſiſting in their reſolution, choſe rather to ſuffer every thing than to become parties in the war. For, at that time, Foſcarini, and Paſquilejo, and other principal men, famous for their knowledge and eloquence, had great intereſt in the ſenate, and exerted it in favour of France.

AMIDST all theſe cruel and unreſtrained depredations on the continent*, the countrymen ran again haſtily to arms. Hence murder, ſlaughter, and rapine became common in the fields; ſo that the commanders were at a loſs how to reſtrain the ſoldiers, and the magiſtrates their people, from mutual injuries. The ſenate of Venice, having endured great evils from the ſoldiers for two months, poſitively refuſed winter-quarters to either army. Neither had the Germans any place to winter in, but either the enemy's country, or a ſtranger's: and, though the French had the whole dutchy of Milan open to them in their rear, they would not have wintered there, if prince Eugene had remained in the Venetian territories.

WINTER now coming on apace, prince Eugene's camp was furniſhed with proviſions through the territories of Breſcia; nor did marſhal Villeroy's army, now encamped at Urago, offer any diſturbance to the Germans in their carriages. But after the French had lain a long time in that camp, without any military action, their camp being afflicted with ſickneſs in this rainy ſeaſon, they croſſed the river Po on the firſt

* Venice is ſeated on a cluſter of iſlands at the bottom of the north end of the Adriatic Sea.

day

day of November, and took up their winter quarters in the territories of Milan and Placentia. When prince Eugene had intelligence of the enemy's march, he followed them in the rear. Catinat vigorouſly reſiſted him; but in drawing up this laſt body into cloſe order, was ſlightly wounded. Prince Vaudemont's ſon, who ſerved in the oppoſite army, againſt his father, having notice of the enemy's forces which lay at the town of Caſſano with a negligent guard, paſſed the river Oglio and Adda with a thouſand horſe, by night; and falling upon them unexpectedly, put them to flight, killing three hundred of the enemy, and taking five hundred horſe. He returned without any loſs.

During all this time, French gold was very common in Italy; but nothing of the German coin, except a ſpecies of baſe money, called triens. The ſeaſon, as well as the temper of the Italians, was favourable to prince Eugene. There was ſuch a quantity of old wine now in Italy, and ſuch plenty of every thing, that they had not caſks for the new wine, nor granaries for the other fruits. The richeſt and moſt powerful of the Italians were drawn into the French intereſt, either by money or fear: but the common people were naturally inclined to prince Eugene, though they had little regard to the emperor's cauſe; ſo that the inhabitants of both towns and villages furniſhed his camp of their own accord, and at ſmall prices, both with wine and victuals.

The favour of the inhabitants is a great advantage in time of war. Hence it was, that all this ſummer prince Eugene had not only plenty of proviſions in his camp, but alſo intelligence of all the motions of the enemy by ſpies, with which Italy abounds: for ſuch is the nature of the Italians, that they would rather run hazards in ſecret treachery, than face danger honourably in a fair battle. Thoſe who were in good circumſtances, in thoſe troubleſome times, fled from the country into places of ſafety: and Venice being filled with ſuch refugees, grew very rich, to the great benefit both of the princes and people.

It unhappily was found, at this time, that a company of nuns in the country of Breſcia, had contrived a ſecret communication under

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ground, by which they admitted men to a familiarity with them. This gave great ſcandal both to the pope and the emperor; and the ſenate of Venice recommended it ſeriouſly to the governor, that thoſe corrupted virgins ſhould be duly chaſtiſed, in order to avert the wrath of God, and to atone for the breach of their vows.

Prince Eugene, labouring under many difficulties of all kinds, and having the ſeaſon of the year alſo to ſtruggle with, could no longer continue in the camp; having neither a ſtock of corn provided for the winter, nor a ſecure place to winter in. And now what he ſuſpected came to paſs. He knew it was in vain to complain to the emperor of his military council, who thought he himſelf might find means to provide for carrying on the war. The eyes of all were upon him to ſee what courſe he would take. And while the enemy expected he would be under a neceſſity to repaſs the Alps with his army, he was contriving how to maintain his army that winter out of the enemy's ſtores: and he communicated his deſign to king William, who is ſaid to have remitted to him a ſmall ſum of money for his own uſe: for expectation exceeded prince Eugene's fame; his march into Italy exceeded expectation; the wonderful exploits he had performed exceeded his march; and the preſent neceſſity of his affairs exceeded all wonder. But king William refuſed to ſend the money by the way of Vienna, which was deſigned for the ſervice of the war in Italy; and that with good reaſon, ſince the emperor was at that time privately in treaty with the French king to have the Italian dominions delivered up to him; which if the emperor could have once obtained, he would not have concerned himſelf about any thing elſe. This king William having found out, he wrote to the emperor thus: "I ſhall bear my own part "of the war, do you bear yours, and let every one bear his own:" nor would he take more of the burden than was proper.

Prince Eugene, compelled by the neceſſity of his affairs and the winter ſeaſon, reſolved to march into the dutchy of Mantua, and took the town of Caneto, as well as Borgoforte. After this he laid a bridge over the Po, in order to extend his winter-quarters beyond that river, intending himſelf to lodge in the rich monaſtery of the Benedictines.

nedictines. The actions performed in this year by prince Eugene in the Italian war, gained great reputation both to himſelf and the confederate arms; and that prince's praiſes were every where loudly celebrated.

About this time the count de Schuylenburg, a general in the duke of Savoy's army, however ambitious of military glory, ſolicited and obtained the duke's leave to quit the ſervice, thinking it no honour to him to fight ſucceſsfully againſt his own country. The duke of Savoy himſelf alſo ſecretly reſented his being deprived of the command of the army in Italy, and ſtudied now to be revenged.

While prince Eugene was yet in the camp, he treated with the dukes of Parma and Modena, concerning winter-quarters; but to no purpoſe. The duke of Parma excuſed himſelf under pretence of his dependency upon the pope; he was therefore under a neceſſity to continue in the dutchy of Mantua; and treated privately with the young prince of Mirandola's mother, who was regent of that principality. She had firſt opened the gates of her city to the French, then to the Germans, and after that again to the French; for which the prince her ſon was put to the bann of the empire at Vienna, according to the German law.

At that time great contentions aroſe at Rome between the imperial and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, concerning the preſent to be made every year to the pope, as ſovereign of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. The pope would not recognize the right of either of the contending rivals, and refuſed the horſe and the hundred thouſand crowns uſually given as a token of ſubjection.

The province of Campania, becauſe of its great plenty of every thing, is ſaid to have been full of pride and inconſtancy, even in the moſt early times, which was aſcribed to the goodneſs of the lands and the fruits. The Romans, in the time of the commonwealth, reduced the inhabitants of this region to the moſt ſlothful degree of eaſe and idleneſs. When the empire was in its declenſion, the headſtrong Romans, through the luxury of the emperors, returned to their

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natural inſolence. The emperor Juſtinian, by his general Beliſarius, reduced them again to order. At length, having ſhaken off all obedience, and often changed their kings, they fell under ſubjection to the pope, through the influence of the prieſts and the women. The emperor Charles delivered them by arms from the French yoke: after which the kingdom of Naples became ſubject to the crown of Spain; and now, at laſt, to king Philip. At this time the duke of Medina Celi, viceroy of the kingdom, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to ſecure that kingdom to Spain, without any regard to the imperial or French titles. Upon the refuſal of the homage, and the pledge thereof, there was a conſpiracy of the Neapolitans, who were now inclined to the emperor's intereſt. The viceroy, by the advice of the Spaniſh council, ſtood up for king Philip. The French king had alſo ſent a party of ſoldiers thither; who, offering violence to the women, provoked the people, and ſtirred up an univerſal hatred againſt them; for the chaſtity of women is highly regarded among them, as it ought to be; and the rather, that women in thoſe climates are not ſufficiently able to defend themſelves. Through the influence of Chaſſinet, whom the emperor had ſent thither, ſome of the leading men inflamed the ſpirits of the people, and engaged in a wicked deſign to aſſaſſinate the viceroy, and ſurprize the caſtles. This conſpiracy being diſcovered by a confeſſor, the viceroy withdrew into the caſtle, and ordered the aſſaſſins to be ſeized. Moſt of theſe were caſt into priſon, and executed. The prince of Macchia, undiſmayed by their puniſhment, entered the city the next day, with a herd of audacious fellows; and joining himſelf to the dregs of the city-mob, ran about the ſtreets, crying out, "Long "live the emperor! Long live king Charles III.!" The inſurgents broke open the priſons, plundered the palace of queen Joan, burned the public records of antiquity, and turned all things upſide down. The roads were filled with ſlaughters, the courts with murders, and the churches every where defiled with blood. After theſe things they put a garriſon into the church of St. Laurence for their own ſecurity, as alſo into the tower of Clare. And, at laſt, the ſoldiers aſſembled together, and were joined by the citizens; and while Chaſſinet, as if he had been the emperor's lieutenant, diſplayed the imperial banner to raiſe his party, the prince of Monte Sarchio, who was both venerable

Sedition at Naples.

for

for his age, and poſſeſſed great intereſt and authority among the people, appeared in the public market-place, in order to appeaſe the tumult. In the mean time, an hundred French volunteers aſſaulted the tower of St. Laurence ſword in hand, and made themſelves maſters of it, driving out the inſurgents with a great ſlaughter. Don Carlos de Sangro and Chaſſinet being taken and committed to priſon, the former of them was, two days after, beheaded before the gates of the caſtle; and many more of the inſurgents forfeited their eſtates. But here we muſt not omit the ſubtlety of the prince Biſacchio, who, having been one of the conſpirators; and underſtanding that the matter was diſcovered to the viceroy, reſolved to ſuit his motions to the changes of fortune; and riding about the city in his chariot, and carrying with him the pictures of both the kings, ſometimes diſplayed the one and ſometimes the other: but ſo ſoon as he perceived that fortune declared for king Philip; immediately unfolding that monarch's picture, he ſhouted aloud "Long live king Philip V.!" The princes del Vaſto and Sarmoneta coming to join the ſeditious, and receiving intelligence of the bad ſtate of their affairs, went to Rome; where cardinal Janſon endeavoured to find out their hiding-places, to take them: at Naples they were proſcribed; but with the pope's leave, they quitted their concealment at Rome, and made their way to Vienna.

The viceroy having pacified the city, kept ſtrong garriſons in the caſtles that whole winter, and thereby ſuppreſſed the hot ſpirit of the Neapolitans. What were his diſpoſitions in reſpect of virtue or fidelity, or what deſigns he had entertained in his own mind, is not known to this day: but it was believed he was indifferent as to the right of both the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria, provided the Spaniſh dominions were but kept entire and undivided. However, by the French king's advice, he was recalled from that kingdom, for no other reaſon but a dark ſuſpicion of his keeping a correſpondence with king William. When the letters of revocation were brought to the viceroy, he wondered, not being conſcious of his having done any thing but the putting an end to the ſedition. However, he obeyed his king; and arriving in Spain together with ſome of the ſeditious, by ſea, he

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was graciouſly received by the king, and admitted into his council. He was not ignorant that the king of Spain's reſolutions were ſuggeſted at Paris, and that the French king had not intruſted the great ſecrets of government to ſo young a prince.

At this time king Philip was at Saragoſſa to receive the homage of the people of Arragon; and the French king perſuaded him to make a tour alſo into Italy, under colour of devotion, or viſiting the apoſtolic ſee, or rather indeed of taking a view of his own dominions in Italy, and recommended him to the pope. But this progreſs was looked upon ſuſpiciouſly both by the pope and the emperor: wherefore the emperor admoniſhed him not to do himſelf a prejudice, nor to offer any injury to his rights, which were united with thoſe of the church. But in truth the emperor was a man who paid a profound reverence to the popes; though he would much rather have given up all the rights of the church than any of his own.

When every thing was in readineſs for king Philip's voyage into Italy, he went to Barcelona; and leaving his queen to govern the kingdom, waited there for his fleet. And here he received letters from the pope; wherein, out of fatherly affection, he acquainted him with the badneſs of the air at Rome, and that he was ſending an ambaſſador extraordinary to meet him.

Prince Eugene, not being able to do any thing with the duke of Parma about enlarging his winter-quarters, and now much oppreſſed with the thickneſs of the air of Mantua, and the ſcarcity of all things, ſignified to the ſenate of Venice, that it would be neceſſary for him to make uſe of ſhipping in the Adriatic ſea. To this the Venetians anſwered, "That they could not permit this, leſt the French king ſhould "require the ſame liberty, and ſo infeſt their ſeas; and laſtly, they ſaid, "it was contrary to the cuſtom of all times." To which Eugene replied, "That in time of war cuſtom muſt yield to neceſſity." Upon this the Venetians ſet all hands to work in fitting out their gallies. Theſe things being reported to the French king, he demanded ports and liberty of navigation alſo for his men of war; which the Venetians poſitively

ſitively refuſed: for they inſiſted that this ſea had been their right in all times; and that they had no other walls, or other defence; which, if any body ſhould violate, there would be nothing ſacred, nothing ſafe left them: this, they ſaid, would be the ſame thing as to aſſault the walls of their city; and therefore they earneſtly deſired the French king to deſiſt from any ſuch attempt.

PRINCE EUGENE had many projects in his head, while he lay in winter-quarters. He endeavoured to reduce Berſallo, a fortified town in the territory of Modena, which ſtood out a long time. But at length, prince Eugene introduced his forces into the town, and became maſter of it. This the French highly reſented, as if the duke of Modena had, of his own accord, delivered up the town to the enemy. Prince Eugene deſired alſo to put a garriſon into Placentia. The duke of Parma excuſed himſelf to him, under pretence of the pope's right; alleging that he held that city as a vaſſal and penſioner of the the church. Upon this refuſal, prince Eugene fixed his eyes upon Cremona, and ſtudied how to take it by ſurpriſe.

Cremona ſurpriſed.

AT that time there were ſome who were inclined to the emperor in every city of Italy, and particularly in Cremona. The governor of St. Mary's was a zealous partiſan of the emperor's. This man, who lived in a houſe adjoining to the wall, having entered into a concert with prince Eugene, reſolved privately to let in forty ſtout German ſoldiers, who were to be ſent before the reſt, through a common ſewer, under ground, into the city; and directed them to conceal themſelves in diſguiſe, that they might be ready at the time appointed. The French, thinking themſelves ſecure by the ſeaſon of the year, the ſituation of the place, and the ſtrength of the garriſon, were in no fear for the ſafety of the city; and therefore were leſs careful of their guards than they ought to have been. But the marſhal Villeroy, whether by accident or advice I cannot ſay, being in fear for Cremona, left Lodi, and came to that city. Prince Eugene having ſent prince Vaudemont the ſon, and count Staremberg, before with two thouſand horſe and a like number of foot, he himſelf advanced in the dead of the night that followed the 31ſt day of January 1702,

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by another way with eight thouſand men. When he arrived near the city, he ordered two hundred foot to march before with burdens of wood, to the houſe before mentioned; who were to join themſelves with the diſguiſed men who were hid, and to enter the city through the common ſewer. Theſe obſerved their orders, and being let in through the aqueduct 1ſt February, before day performed what they were commanded. St. Margaret's gate being taken, and opened very early in the morning, the reſt ruſhed in, and firſt of all made themſelves maſters of the market-place and the main guard, and then aſſaulted the houſes where Villeroy and others were quartered. Such of the generals and officers as they met with, they took along with them to their guard. Villeroy himſelf, who had the misfortune to come thither the day before, being awaked by the ſound of the horſes, and the noiſe occaſioned by the confuſion, and flying to his horſe and arms, was known by an Iriſh ſoldier, who took him, and carried him to prince Eugene, who immediately ſet a guard upon him, and firſt conveyed him to the Germans winter-quarters, and afterwards ſent him into the middle of the Alps. Villeroy, in hopes of liberty, offered the ſoldier who firſt knew him, gold, honours, preferments, and whatever he would have; all which he refuſed: whence we may ſee that there is often more virtue and greatneſs of ſoul in common ſoldiers, than in thoſe who are adorned with titles and commands.

Villeroy taken priſoner.

THE Germans, fatigued with the whole night's march, ſwilled themſelves full of French wine. The French, awakened by the noiſe and repeated reports that the city was taken by the enemy, haſted in crowds to the walls; and when a multitude of them was got together in arms, one Macmahon, an Iriſhman, a ſtout man, obſerving the Germans in the wine cellars, and careleſs of their guards, thought it not impoſſible to overpower them; and ſaid, "He would not yet deſpair "of ſaving the city." Macmahon calling upon his fellow-ſoldiers, cut away a bridge of rafts which was laid over the Po, juſt in time to prevent prince Vaudemont paſſing the river, who had been delayed longer than was expected by the difficulties he met with in his march. This ſtop was a great trouble to prince Eugene. Many of the French were killed in the city by the Germans. The Iriſh, French, and Spainiards,

Spaniards, uniting, defended themſelves by fighting gallantly in many places, and looking with contempt upon the condition of all their enemies, ſlew all that came in their way; ſo that there was nothing but blood and tumults in every ſtreet.

PRINCE EUGENE, who had received the ſubmiſſion of the people of Cremona, having obſerved all theſe things; and having notice that the bridge was broken, and the enemy's forces coming upon them in full ſpeed on all ſides, leſt the gates alſo ſhould be ſhut upon him, thought it no time to ſtay; and therefore he ſounded a retreat, and in great haſte withdrew his men out of the city, and returned to his winter-quarters, but not by the way he came. The French, ſuſpecting an ambuſh, contented themſelves with having recovered the city; and choſe rather to bury their dead, and to repair their ruins, than to expoſe themſelves to freſh dangers; and therefore they did not purſue the enemy. The marquis de Crenan, a French commander, was run through the body, with many other brave men; and the city was obliged to ſwear allegiance to prince Eugene, which proved to be of no advantage to him. A great number of the Germans were killed in the cellars; and prince Eugene, the conqueror himſelf, narrowly eſcaped being made priſoner in the very city he had newly taken. The report of this action filled all Italy with the name and praiſes of the prince. The French priſoners were ſent into the country of the Griſons, and Eugene returned into his winter-quarters.

AFTER this commander had lain ſome time in the Mantuan, he turned his thoughts to other attempts. When the French king had notice of this, he ordered new levies to be made; and ſent the duke of Vendoſme immediately into Italy, to take upon him the command of the army there, without any regard to the duke of Savoy. Count Mansfield, preſident of the council of war at Vienna, ſent neither men nor money to prince Eugene, neither did he behave himſelf in the management of the war, like one that was to be accountable for his conduct. Moſt people charged him as the author of all the public misfortunes, and cenſured him every where with great freedom.

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Siege of Mantua.

PRINCE EUGENE, that he might not ſeem to have laid aſide all thoughts of action, reſolved to beſiege Mantua, though his ſmall army did not now amount to twenty-two thouſand men, and he was reduced to great want of corn and other neceſſaries. The French king haſtened Vendoſme into Italy, to raiſe the ſiege of Mantua; and made up an army to him of full ſeventy thouſand men. To theſe were alſo joined a great number of volunteers, who courted king Philip's favour. For it was the French king's intention to give him the firſt experience of war this year in Italy; and that he might appear in it with magnificence, care was taken that this army ſhould not want any thing that was proper, either for action or pleaſure. After the ſkirmiſh at Cremona, no ſooner did the duke of Mantua, who had been ill uſed by the French, on account of his wife, whom he had ſent back to France, hear of prince Eugene's deſign to beſiege his capital, than he removed from Mantua with his daughters, his houſehold goods, horſes, and family pictures, and a band of muſic, and other inſtruments of pleaſure, into the territories of Venice; and ſettled himſelf in retirement at Padua. Prince Eugene ſeized the poſts in the neighbourhood of Mantua, as well as the bridges and fords of the river, provided veſſels for paſſing the lake, and gave orders to ſtraiten the place as much as poſſible, to prevent the French from ſending ſoldiers or proviſions into it. When this was done, he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender. On the notice of this the French king commanded Vendoſme to relieve Mantua, and ſent his forces with all ſpeed over the Alps. Great exertions were made on both ſides. The more diligent prince Eugene was in the ſiege, the more cloſely did the French preſs upon him in the rear. The duke of Vendoſme, ſending a party of ſoldiers before towards Mantua, ordered a camp to be fixed of twenty-five thouſand men at the town of Motta in the country of Placentia, both to hinder the enemy from going toward Milan, and to favour his own advance to Milan beyond the Po; and prince Eugene's men, who wintered alſo in the ſame country, left their quarters, leſt they ſhould be ſurrounded in them on all ſides by their enemies. Vendoſme, marching directly towards Mantua, ſent Montperoux before to the river Oglio; this general, having defeated a party of the Germans, made himſelf maſter of the bridge

bridge on that river, and broke down the bridge which was over the river Mela. After this, prince Eugene, being without money, without any hope of ſupplying his wants, without winter-quarters, and without any hopes of ſupplies from Germany, followed the laſt council of war, and took his reſolution from the nature of the place he was in. But while the enemy thought he was departing towards the mountains of Padua, in order to hide himſelf and his men among the Alps, he turned about to the Po, leaving garriſons in the places near Mantua: and to defend himſelf by the marſh grounds, he laid a bridge acroſs the Po, and fortified his camp; with this intent eſpecially, that he might provide himſelf with corn out of the territories of Bologna and Ferrara. This was grievouſly complained of by the pope. The emperor's ambaſſador, being very much incenſed at his holineſs, left Rome.

THE pope, little regarding theſe matters, was at that time greatly taken up about the wickedneſs of certain nuns; who, forgetful of their vows, the heat of nature prevailing over religion, permitted one Benin (as I think his name was), a luſty wicked prieſt, to frequent their converſation in the night-time. This was matter of great grief, not only to the pope himſelf, but to all the women of honour in Rome. For father Benin was a man of ſuch high reputation for piety among the Roman ladies, that there was nobody to be compared to him; ſo that he was not only confeſſor to that nunnery, but to moſt of the principal ladies and gentlewomen in Rome. The pope, in order to atone for the crimes of thoſe nuns, ſhut up thoſe who had been defiled in cloſe confinement, and ſent Benin to the gallies, after he had firſt cauſed him to be degraded. Theſe are ſome of the principal actions of popes; and this is their method of reforming matters of religion.

PRINCE EUGENE, drawing together the few forces which he had, moved ſometimes to Oſteano, and ſometimes to Borgoforte; ſo that in caſe the enemy attacked him on the one ſide of the Po, he might paſs over to the other, and likewiſe have a communication with ſeve-

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ral places convenient for ſupplying himſelf with corn, as all the way to Mantua was almoſt open to the duke of Vendoſme. This general, in his march towards that place by night, narrowly eſcaped a ſtratagem of prince Eugene's, by which he was very near falling alive into his hands. This, and the diſhonour at Cremona, made the French ſo cautious, that wherever they went, they were afraid prince Eugene had laid ſome ſnare for them, and did not think themſelves ſafe in any place; nor was it an eaſy matter for prince Eugene both to fortify and defend his camps on the Po. There was but a narrow compaſs for his foragers, and his horſe were become almoſt uſeleſs; and a report was alſo ſpread abroad that his camp was beſieged. The duke of Modena, to avoid the reſentment of the French, removed to Bologna. Alberoni recommended himſelf to the duke of Vendoſme by diſcoveries and intelligence.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Italy, the Dutch were negotiating with the count D'Avaux, the French ambaſſador, concerning the continuance of peace and friendſhip: but after their garriſoned forces were reſtored to them, their ſafety ſeemed to be out of danger. They now demanded certain fortified places on their confines to be delivered up to them in the name of a barrier; namely Venlo, Ruremond, Dan, and St. Donats. Mr. Stanhope alſo, the Engliſh ambaſſador, demanded the ſame in the name of king William; and further to have Newport and Oſtend added to the reſt, as a ſecurity to the maritime nations.

THE French king received theſe propoſals with great indignation, and talking very highly of the favours ſhewn to their republic by his anceſtors, and of his own virtues and power, refuſed to grant their demands, raiſed armies, and ordered his generals and other officers with ſupplies to the frontiers; that, according to his cuſtom, he might fall upon the allies, before he ſhould diſcover any appearance of ſuch a deſign. And laſtly, he put himſelf in readineſs for hoſtilities every where, both by land and ſea, and demanded money of the clergy; which the biſhops and tax-gatherers immediately contributed; vaſt

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ſums were levied in France, and ſent into Italy; by the return and exchange of which great profit was made by the merchants and bankers of Geneva and Lyons.

KING WILLIAM highly reſenting the French king's anſwer, and eſpecially, as has been already mentioned, the diſhonour done him, by ſupporting a pretender to the crown, reſolved upon a war, if he could not have a peace to his mind: but he was rather deſirous of having it thought that he was forced to it by neceſſity, than that he had engaged in it of his own accord. When he returned to England, he conſulted the earl of Sunderland, who could himſelf now ſee how much one man is better than another, what the new miniſtry aimed at, and what they meant by their ſpecious pretences of the church and an Engliſh heart. The king, therefore, thought fit to change his miniſtry, leſt his adverſaries ſhould renew their old plauſible attempts in favour of the church in time of war. The earl of Rocheſter, full of envy againſt the earl of Marlborough, returned to England in the midſt of this buſtle of parties, and entreated the king, that ſince he was ſo inclined, he would not ſuffer him to remain longer in that troubleſome government of Ireland; and ſo he laid down his office of lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. His reſignation was accepted; and the king diſſolved the parliament, and called a new one. The elections occaſioned a great ſtruggle; and the choice of a ſpeaker not a leſs one. Some people were deſirous that the king ſhould interpoſe his authority, and that Mr. Harley ſhould decline being a candidate for it. But Mr. Harley would not wait upon the king, though much preſſed to do it, ſuſpecting what was deſigned. However, when he came to the houſe the next day, he was choſen ſpeaker; and being choſen, was readily approved by the king. For the king was a man who readily gave way to the humour of the times; eſpecially when he was in hopes thereby to draw the nation into his own meaſures. He had ſo great a regard to the freedom of election, that he would not be prevailed on by the importunity of thoſe about him, to withdraw his favour from thoſe who oppoſed the court party; and much leſs did he require an abſolute obedience, like that of ſoldiers, in parliament. Neither would he ſuffer any member to be turned

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turned out of his office, civil or military, on account of his vote in political queſtions.

At that time, Mr. Joſeph Addiſon, a man of excellent parts, improved by the moſt uſeful arts and ſciences, was ſent to prince Eugene and the princes of Italy; as a certain perſon * was alſo into France by the king's authority. Rear admiral Bembow, with a fleet of ſeven ſmall ſhips, was ſent into America, to protect our colonies, and curb the inſolence of the pirates: and in caſe of a war, he was to take the command of the reſt of the ſhips in thoſe ſeas, which were twenty-five, and with them to fall upon the enemy. The French and Spaniards had a fine fleet, and not inconſiderable in numbers. In the ſtrength of ſhips, it ſeemed to be ſuperior to ours, though not ſo ſwift in ſailing, becauſe they had been long at ſea, and much weaker in ſailors and ſoldiers. As the Britiſh ſailors are reckoned to exceed all other nations in courage and exerciſe; ſo the French king muſt be owned far to exceed all the other kings in our memory in the order and diſcipline of his naval affairs, by every perſon who has ſeen his arſenals, his poſts, and fleets, and read his maritime laws: his exertions relating to naval affairs are almoſt incredible. As the French government at home is ſevere, and hardly reſtrained by any laws, ſo that of Britain is gentle and legal; on the contrary, in the colonies abroad, the French government is regular and legal, inſpiring good order and induſtry; whereas ours is ſtrict and tyrannical, conniving at plunder, and the moſt ſcandalous rapine, as if poſts of government and convoys of trade were granted to the governors and commanders for the purpoſe of gratifying their rapacity. The cauſe of theſe grievances, and the means by which, abroad, plunderers make friends at home to ſkreen them from juſtice, deſerve to be inquired into by thoſe who are concerned, and who have authority to redreſs them.

King William, having an exact account of the forces, horſe and foot, money and proviſions, old and new, throughout all France, reſolved to make war upon a ſimilar ſcale, unleſs he ſhould have it in

* The author here means himſelf.

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his own power to adjuſt the terms of peace; not thinking that he ought to prolong the war above four years. For as Britons are ſoon accuſtomed to arms, and the new-raiſed men in a ſhort time become as good ſoldiers as the veterans, ſo they have an averſion to long continued wars, either in their own natures, or out of regard to trade. The French king, perceiving that every thing in Holland tended to war, recalled his ambaſſador from the Hague: the ſtates deſired him to defer his departure, to continue the conferences, and to conſult with them about terms of peace, that all differences might be amicably adjuſted: and the baron Dyckvelt, now grown old, dedicated the remainder of his time to that end, with the approbation of king William.

When the new parliament of England met, many were turned out of their employments; others reſigned their poſts, who now following the earl of Rocheſter, were called Tories. Mr. James Bryges, Mr. James Craggs, and a great many more, who took the denomination of Whigs, made their court to the earl of Marlborough, to gratify their own avarice by war. Whence the party known by the name of whigs degenerated greatly from their old maxims, and became variable, uncertain, and unprincipled. Mr. Harley, the ſpeaker, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, and Sir Edward Seymour moved in a courſe between both parties. Mr. Henry Boyle, Mr. Peter King, and Mr. Robert Walpole, then young men, acquired great praiſe in this parliament for their eloquence.

The king made an excellent ſpeech to the parliament, of which this is the ſubſtance: "All hope of ſafety, at preſent, depends upon our "arms. You have now one, and only one opportunity to preſerve "the public, and defend your country, as well as to provide for your-"ſelves and your poſterity: but if ye do not ſeize this occaſion, ye "have no reaſon to hope for another; ſince, upon this alone now "depends the preſervation of your religion and liberty." This ſpeech being printed, was not only preſerved in every man's houſe, but the king's words made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the minds of all men during the whole time of the war, that they ſeemed to think they were never likely to have another opportunity of exerting themſelves.

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For neither the authority of the court, nor the uſe of the public money, had yet gained ſuch an influence in the houſe of commons, that every ſoldier, or gentleman, or merchant, or pedlar, or any of the loweſt dregs of the people, who could make a ſhew of great riches, though perhaps immerſed in debts, could get himſelf choſen a member of parliament.

THE inhabitants of the circles, and the confederate cities, bordering upon the Rhine, whoſe territories lie extended towards France, are of a mixed religion, and under the German juriſdiction. Every city has not its own religion; but all of them, like the Greeks of old, eaſily tolerate different modes of worſhip; and humanity and common civility are never interrupted by the difference of their opinions or the quarrels of their clergy; for they all conſult their common ſafety, and are always tenacious of the German rights and cuſtoms. At this time the condition of thoſe people was deplorable; for they neither dared to call in others to aſſiſt them, nor declare themſelves on either ſide: neither could they think of a neutrality, leſt they ſhould be ſwallowed up on both ſides; they therefore anſwered, They would take time to conſider of it. They were moſt afraid of the French king, becauſe by the reduction of Straſburg, their country would be laid open to his depredations. They were alſo bound to the emperor in the duty of allegiance, as well as his tributaries. They therefore privately ſignified to king William, in whom they had great confidence, that they would rather remain in that liberty and religion which they had received from their anceſtors, than ſubmit to a yoke of foreign ſlavery. Their conſtancy was chiefly owing to the margrave of Anſpach and the duke of Wirtemberg; whoſe virtue and fidelity, in this declining ſtate of the houſe of Auſtria, was eminently diſtinguiſhed, not only by their counſels and faithful ſervices, but even by their blood.

BESIDES the forces which the prince furniſhed in the Engliſh and Dutch pay, theſe circles ſerved the emperor with fifteen thouſand men, who might very juſtly be called auxiliaries. The troops of almoſt all the princes of Germany were formerly wont to ſerve in the emperor's pay, in proportion as the princes themſelves were tributaries to the

German empire. But, in later times, they have been accuſtomed to ſerve the Engliſh and Dutch; and now they would rather ſerve theſe than the emperor; for thoſe people do not now fight from a ſenſe of duty, but for pay. The muſter of forces, therefore, which is every year made in the courts of Germany, is nothing elſe but the making a market of their ſoldiers, wherein every body is at liberty to purchaſe or hire them.

THE grand alliance entered into between the emperor and England, and the high and mighty ſtates of Holland, and ratified by them 11th September 1701, was in ſubſtance, "That they agreed to aſſiſt each "other with all their forces in the war, to do nothing without conſult- "ing each other, and that they ſhould all have the ſame end in view; "that, when the war was once begun, none of them ſhould enter into "any treaty of peace with the enemy, ſeparately, without the con- "currence of the reſt; and that whatſoever ſhould be taken from the "enemy in America, ſhould, by right of war, belong to the con- "queror; and that they would not lay down their arms, before the "French king had reſtored to the allies whatever he had taken from "them, and made them ſatisfaction for all the damage done them." But how much every one ſhould contribute, as his quota, for the war, was left undetermined. However, the Engliſh and Dutch agreed, 11th November, that both nations ſhould break off all commerce with France; and that each of them ſhould carry on the war in proportion to their ſtrength; which was eſtimated to the Engliſh, ſometimes at two-third parts, and ſometimes at three-fifths.

THE king's mind being intent upon war, the parliament reſolved to raiſe him three millions of pounds in the nature of ſubſidies; of which five hundred thouſand pounds were for raiſing an army; ſix hundred thouſand for the navy; ſeventy-five for the king of Denmark: and how much was aſſigned to the king of Pruſſia, the princes of the houſe of Lunenburg, the elector palatine, and the landgrave of Heſſe, will be mentioned hereafter.

AFTER the death of king Charles II. of Spain, the Dutch had raiſed thirty-four thouſand men, which were now increaſed to fifty thouſand.

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The Dutch forces, therefore, in all, were a hundred thouſand men; whereof forty thouſand were appointed for ſecuring their ſeveral garriſons, and ſixty thouſand for the field. Theſe reſolutions being taken by king William and the Dutch for carrying on the war, the king acquainted the houſe of commons, by Mr. ſecretary Vernon, that the ſtates-general would this year bring ſixty thouſand men into the field, to forty thouſand of his. This appointment ſeemed to many, to be unequal and diſproportionable to the ſtrength of the Dutch. However, the Dutch themſelves reſolved to bear it in the beginning of the war, to prevail with the allies, by their example, to enter heartily into the conduct and proſecution of it. They did not oblige themſelves to contribute the like proportion for years to come.

But there were many in the parliament of England, who, concurring in opinion with the earls of Sunderland and Marlborough, and the lord Godolphin, were lately forward to accuſe others for yielding a part of the Spaniſh dominions to the French king; but being now averſe to a war, were content to let him take the whole. Theſe plainly ſaid, "This was not a time to expoſtulate with the French "king; that the violent rage of a lion is to be dreaded, not to be "rouſed; and that whatever injuries the French king had done to "others, we ought not to repay him with the like, leſt we ſhould be "as unjuſt as he." However, the opinion of thoſe prevailed who declared for war.

The French king obſerving theſe things, endeavoured to draw over ſome of the German princes to his party. But king William judging it neceſſary, by all means, to prevent this, wrote to the elector of Hanover, and the duke of Zell, leſt any part of this war ſhould reach their countries.

After prince Ragotſki, projecting freſh troubles, had, by corrupting or deceiving his keepers, eſcaped out of priſon into Hungary, in hopes of raiſing a new war in that kingdom, king William adviſed the emperor, in this ſuſpicious time, not to ſuffer himſelf to be diverted from his engagements to his allies by any new accident, or on account

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of religious matters. For the king was no ſtranger to the imperial court, or to their uſual behaviour. He knew that the emperor's miniſters were deſirous of a war in Hungary, at that time, above all things, as being the moſt likely to yield them a plentiful harveſt. Money was rigorouſly exacted throughout all Hungary; and divers ways and means were invented by the governors and tax-gatherers by their own private authority to gratify their avarice. The jeſuits watched all opportunities to ruin the proteſtants. The primate of Poland being offended with his king's behaviour at maſs, fixed upon him the imputation of madneſs, and entered into a private concert with the king of Sweden, in order to dethrone him. The biſhop of *Five-churches* raged againſt the proteſtants, whence freſh troubles were likely to be raiſed by the help of Ragotſki, which king William foreſaw, though death prevented him from putting a ſtop to them. Leſt, therefore, the burden of the war ſhould fall entirely upon himſelf, he not only required ſuch words to be inſerted in the articles of treaty, as ſhould expreſs the emperor's reſolution, but, to verify the ſame by actions, inſiſted alſo, that the emperor's army ſhould advance to the Rhine before he would declare war againſt France.

The French king ſent the marſhal de Catinat, and the count de Villars, to the Rhine; and the emperor made prince Lewis of Baden the general of his army in that quarter. A packet of letters from the French king to the duke of Wolfenbuttle being intercepted, the elector of Hanover, by this and other diſcoveries, found out the truth of that monarch's deſigns, which were juſt what king William had ſuſpected them to be; and therefore, at the inſtance of the duke of Zell, he thought he had ſufficient cauſe now to proceed againſt the duke of Wolfenbuttle, by the authority of *Directors*; but the holidays, the ſeaſon of the year, and their affection for their kinſmen, made them backward to make war upon him: therefore, before they would attempt any thing by arms, notice was given to the duke of Wolfenbuttle, either to diſband his forces, or elſe to enter them into the ſervice and pay of the allies, leſt now, at laſt, he ſhould ſeem to have loſt all regard to his own country, and to the whole Germanic body. To this the duke of Wolfenbuttle, depending upon the friendſhip and

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aſſiſtance of the French king, anſwered, "That he ought not to be "interrupted in the exerciſe of his own right by others;" and took poſſeſſion of the city of Brunſwick, with all his forces, which were ſcarce enough for a garriſon to that large town. The duke of Zell, not thinking it time for him to delay any longer, conſulted the elector of Hanover. And theſe princes joining their forces together, marched to Brunſwick by night, and having ſeized all the avenues to the city before day, ſurpriſed the enemy. The citizens, fearing to be plundered, gave notice of all that had happened to the duke of Wolfenbuttle, and that the enemy was at the gates, preparing to beſiege the city. The duke, on this, ſent to the princes his kinſmen to enquire what they would have? They anſwered, That he would open his gates. He being unable to reſiſt, obeyed; and a treaty was ſet on foot about a ſurrender: and upon a promiſe of general indemnity, the princes were admitted. They behaved with ſuch humanity, that it was hard to ſay, whether the enemy feared their valour in fight, more than they praiſed their clemency after the ſurrender.

THIS happened at Chriſtmas: after which the holidays were obſerved with dances and all ſorts of diverſions, as uſual. And two years after this was ſolemnized the marriage of the beautiful daughter of the duke of Wolfenbuttle with king Charles III. which added not a little to the luſtre of that houſe.

Affairs on the continent.

IN the mean time, the French king filled the territories of Cologne with French troops, and the towns with military ſtores, in the name of auxiliary troops of the circle of Burgundy, with the conſent of the elector of Cologne, but againſt the will of the canons, who have alſo a ſhare with him in the government. This the directors of the circle of the Rhine durſt not oppoſe, by reaſon of their neighbourhood to the French king; who was now ſo proud of his ſucceſs, that he would not allow others to do what he did himſelf. King William, underſtanding what had paſſed, thought it adviſable to guard againſt the dangers of his friend as well as his own. He wrote to the elector palatine, director of the circle of the Lower Rhine, to look well to the navigation of the river,

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and his own ſafety; and that thoſe ought to begin the confederate war, who were moſt immediately intereſted in its ſucceſs.

THE king of Sweden, having obtained a ſignal victory over the Muſcovites at Narva, wherein thirty thouſand were killed, and twenty thouſand taken, with all the riches of their camp, on the 10th day of November 1700, returned to Livonia to revenge himſelf for the revolt of that province; of which count Patcul was looked upon as the author: and having reduced thoſe people to his allegiance, he turned his arms againſt Auguſtus king of Poland, whom he overthrew in ſeveral battles.

KING WILLIAM, putting the king of Sweden in mind of the ſervices he had done him, and of the promiſe he had made him, earneſtly entreated him not to purſue the war againſt Poland and Muſcovy: he ſaid, "There was blood enough ſhed, and that the victories he had obtained were ſufficient to raiſe him to the higheſt pitch of glory:" he therefore exhorted him now to perform the part which he had ſecretly taken upon him in the late treaty of pacification; and told him he had prepared an army for him to command. *It is hardly credible indeed*, that king William had furniſhed the Swede both with ſhips and money, without any conditions; for tranſactions between kings are not, in the preſent times, governed by motives of compaſſion, but of policy. It was alſo reported, that the king of Sweden had engaged himſelf to undertake the command of an army on the Lower Rhine; part of which was to be maintained by the allies, and part by his own pay; which report, it is certain, was ſpread abroad by king William's counſellors. And I myſelf have ſeen a letter from the king of Sweden to queen Anne, wherein he excuſed himſelf for not having yet undertaken what was deſired of him in the confederate war; and offered no other reaſon for his delay, but his being at preſent prevented by wars he was engaged in; he alſo added an acknowledgment of the benefits he had received of king William, but inſinuated that the obligation was rather due to the king himſelf than to the kingdom and his ſucceſſors, and that it was even at an end at that king's death.

KING

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KING WILLIAM's whole thoughts, attention, and care, were now employed how to provide for the public ſafety; and though he was in a very weak ſtate of health, he neither declined any buſineſs, nor ſeemed much concerned at his approaching end. The embaſſy of the Methvins in Portugal proceeded ſucceſsfully. The king of Portugal, indeed, at that time, was in a very critical and ſingular ſituation: for he alone of all the princes and ſtates of Europe, durſt neither complain in ſecret, nor demand aſſiſtance from others; and therefore he delayed to enter into the alliance for ſome time. He ſhewed extreme civility and complaiſance to the French; and his miniſters courted them by marriages, and contracts of marriage, and all the other arts of peace. He alſo rejected the league with the allies, but concluded an advantageous treaty with the Methvins relating to the commerce of England. The French being as full of vain glory, as if they had already acquired the empire of the weſt, admoniſhed the confederates every where to remember their former loſſes in times paſt, the ancient valour of the French, and the fortune of their invincible monarch. The French king, by his ambaſſador, offered the king of Portugal what ſhips he deſired for the ſecurity of his coaſt. The king of Portugal excuſed himſelf to him; being more afraid of thoſe auxiliaries than any other enemy: but he ſaid, there was no occaſion for them as yet, while negotiations of peace were on foot, and a war was only ſuſpected.

MR. CADOGAN, who had now very much recommended himſelf to the earl of Marlborough by his diligence, was diſpatched by the king of Denmark, to prevail with him to haſten his troops, and to raiſe more. At the ſame time, the elector of Bavaria, arriving in Germany, levied forces, trained up his ſoldiers, provided horſes, and got every thing in readineſs for war; but there were different opinions as to the part he would take. Many mutual acts of friendſhip had paſſed between king William and him. He was alſo in great favour with the Dutch; but very much averſe to the court of Vienna. For the emperor's miniſters had no regard for any prince who was not of the houſe of Auſtria: and it was out of reſpect to the emperor himſelf that any ſtranger went thither; for the emperor was as apt to careſs them, as the haughty Auſtrians were to deſpiſe them. It is certainly the na-

ture of thoſe who are conſcious of their own want of virtue, to envy that of other men. Beſides all this, there had been much private hatred between the elector of Bavaria and the king of the Romans: and the French king was alſo, by his forces, to gain kingdoms, not only for the elector of Bavaria himſelf, but even for his wife's brothers, who were children of John Sobieſki, late king of Poland, whoſe mother was a Frenchwoman. The French perſuaded prince Alexander, that he might alſo aſcend the Poliſh throne, by the aſſiſtance of the king of Sweden, with whom they pretended to have great intereſt; and to prince James, to whom the emperor had given his empreſs's ſiſter in marriage, and by whoſe favour he had obtained the regency of a province, they promiſed to procure the principality of it. As that province bordered upon Bohemia, and was alſo averſe to the emperor's government, that kingdom was to be divided between him and the elector of Bavaria. The French miniſters ſhewed, "That it "would be eaſy for them to carry this project into execution." But while the French king was intent upon this object, both the Sobieſkis were intercepted by king Auguſtus. It would have been as eaſy to have ſubdued Norway and Sweden by the aſſiſtance of the Swiſs, who might pretend to have a great intereſt in thoſe parts. The Swiſs furniſh the French king with troops; and are wont every year to recruit his cavalry with horſes procured out of Germany. And in order to enlarge the elector of Bavaria's juriſdiction by degrees, the French king perſuaded him to paſs into Italy, through Swiſſerland, and to let the cantons know that his reſolution was not to do them any injury in paſſing through their country: but foraſmuch as he could not march any other way, to deſire their conſent to this; and if they ſhould refuſe it, that then he might open a way for himſelf by force of arms.

THE elector of Bavaria, grown powerful by liberalities, favour, and forces, began now to ſtudy innovations, and how to have many cities in his power which bordered upon France, and lay convenient for forage; ſo that, to which ſoever ſide he ſhould join himſelf, he might carry the fortune of the war along with him. The Italians, through the great numbers and diſſenſions of their princes, as well as by the means of the court of Rome, and the example of their prieſts, being ſunk into the

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the moſt ſlothful indolence, laid aſide the thoughts of war. It is the cuſtom of the French to feed their allies with hopes in time of war; and when peace comes to be treated of, to reward them with ſome ſhare of their enemy's country, but not to part with any of their own.

DURING this time, king William, though in a bad ſtate of health, taking no leſs care of the ſea-ſervice than of the land, built a great many ſhips, and repaired the old, in which he knew the main ſtrength of the navy conſiſted. He gave the command of the army in Flanders to the earl of Marlborough, and earneſtly recommended to him the common ſafety of the maritime nations; for the better aſſurance of which he gave him a caution not to truſt or rely too much upon the court of Vienna. And he made the earl of Pembroke lord high admiral; who was equally dear to himſelf, and to the merchants; and than whom there was not a juſter, better man living, or one more affectionately attached to what is right. He well knew thoſe men to poſſeſs all the chief qualifications requiſite in a commander; and that the fortune of war does not ſo much depend upon the experience and ſpirit of the commanders, as upon their fidelity and prudence. Having ſettled theſe things, the king declared to his court the ſituation of public affairs, and to whom he had intruſted the command of his armies. The choice made by the king inſpired great hopes of a ſucceſsful and not too tedious a war. He believed it would not require more than four years to complete what he deſigned. "For," ſaid he, "we ſhall eaſily gain the duke of Savoy, but not the elector of Ba-"varia, unleſs I could have an interview with him: there are alſo "many Spaniards and Italians, and others whom we have not yet "been told of, who wait our motions, and a proper time to declare "themſelves; and by whoſe aſſiſtance the war may be either happily "concluded, or the French king be ſoon brought to reaſonable terms "of peace."

Deſign upon Cadiz.

A GLORIOUS fleet now lay at anchor completely furniſhed with men and all ſorts of proviſions, and waiting only for ſailing orders. The earl of Pembroke, being ſupplied with money, was ready to go on board; his orders were to ſail for Spain, and there to lay ſiege to Cadiz

Cadiz in the month of May, before the French could fortify the harbour, and put a garriſon into the city. This deſign, according to the opinion of many people, the king had in readineſs for execution: and if we may believe ſome Spaniards, who are men of credit, the citizens would have opened their gates to the earl of Pembroke. The reſt of the fleet was ſo diſpoſed on the coaſts of the Weſt Indies, that it might have eaſily been got together in a ſhort time, under the command of the rear-admiral Bembow, who was worthy of a better fate than that which afterwards befel him. The Dutch had alſo this year a fleet of fifty-five men of war; ſo that I cannot believe the king ſpoke unadviſedly, when he ſaid he would ſoon cut off the Spaniards from their trade to the Indies.

If queen Anne had carried on the war according to the plan laid down by king William, probably the kingdom had been more eaſy under her, and ſhe herſelf had met with leſs trouble from her ſubjects. But I do not blame others for a different management of the war. For if councils were at any time to be judged of by the events, as the vulgar are apt to do, no general in the world was ever wiſer, or more ſucceſsful than Marlborough: and thoſe who think the war was of a long continuance, ought to conſider how great it was, and how far it extended. And moreover, in order to ſecure the peace at home, the king propoſed an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland upon reaſonable terms; he alſo founded charity-ſchools for the education of children of poor people; and laſtly, he wonderfully encreaſed the reputation and commerce of England; ſo that one would have wiſhed that a life that was given for the ſecurity of theſe nations, and of the proteſtant religion, might have been prolonged to us for ever, rather than have been ſubject to the laws of death. But how deceitful are the ways of mortal man! how vain our wiſhes! and how ſlippery is the path of human life!

King William's fall.

For now it unhappily came to paſs, that the king, in hunting upon a freſh and ill-managed horſe, received a fall, and broke his collar-bone. His attendants, who were by him when he fell, brought him to Kenſington. The bone was ſet, and there was no apprehenſion of

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danger to the king's life from the hurt he had received. His majeſty, as has already been obſerved, was in a very bad ſtate of health; for his legs were inflamed, and he ſwelled in the extreme parts to ſuch a degree, that the blood did not circulate through his whole body; ſo that the weaker parts, from want of nouriſhment, neceſſarily decayed. The phyſicians could not find out the cauſe of his diſtemper, which ſeemed to them to be what they call a polypus in the *vena cava*. When the ſurgeon took off the bandages, the bone ſeemed to give way, but was preſently ſet again; after which the king had a good night's reſt; and thoſe about him had good hopes that he might recover of this hurt. But as the eyes and thoughts of all men were fixed in expectation of a hot and bloody war, of which the king was not only the head and director, but their only defence againſt impending dangers, the accident that had happened to him was univerſally lamented.

THE ambaſſadors of foreign princes ſent expreſſes every where to notify to their maſters what had befallen the king of England. The firſt meſſenger of this news to the duke of Savoy, diſpatched his journey in eight days; and from Turin proceeded to Rome in forty hours. When the letters were read there, nothing but ſorrow appeared in every countenance. But among the French there was extraordinary joy and gladneſs; as if they had now eſcaped all the dangers of war. The news was immediately ſpread through the city; and cardinal Janſon not only notified to the pope, but officially reported alſo to the cardinals, that king William was dead; that by what they ſhould ſay on receiving this intelligence, he might diſcover how they ſtood affected with the French king. If they were ſorry, he would hence conclude that they were friends to king William. And, indeed, it is certain, king William had a great many friends in Rome. The cardinals ſuſpected Janſon's deſign; and cardinal Ottoboni, who was a man of ſingular humanity, took it very ill of cardinal Janſon, not that he was perhaps a friend to king William, but becauſe Janſon endeavoured to introduce into their college new cuſtoms, which had formerly given them much trouble. He made no anſwer to cardinal Janſon; but ſent to enquire of ſome of the Britiſh gentlemen, what news they had of the matter. They ſent him word, that when their laſt letters were written, the king was ſtill alive;

alive; but that they had very little hopes of his recovery. "Then," ſaid he, "cardinal Janſon had no occaſion to congratulate us on the "death of a great king, and the French king's friend; he might "ſurely have waited to ſee what would become of the king, and what "might be the event of the war." Cardinal Ottoboni plainly ſaw that the end of all Janſon's officiouſneſs was only to lay a ſnare for his brethren. Two days after, cardinal Janſon's houſe was illuminated, and he had a fine concert of vocal and inſtrumental muſic all the night long, while, in all other places, nothing was to be heard but ſighs and ſorrows. For the friends of the allies concluding, as the truth was, made no doubt of the king's death, and many eyes were ſuffuſed with tears. But it is now time, from Rome, to return home.

At this critical juncture the Engliſh parliament was full of buſineſs. And they thought fit to attaint the Pretender to the crown of England, and to impoſe an oath for the abjuration of his right by act of parliament. The king, for ſome years paſt, having been much indiſpoſed, was wont to divert himſelf in his weakneſs by exerciſe; and, being ſenſible of his approaching death, had two years before diſpoſed of his effects by will. And now, when his late hurt had confined him at home, ſo that he could not recreate and cheer himſelf with the purſuit of pheaſants and partridges, as he had been accuſtomed to do, nor diſperſe the humours by any exerciſe, they fell into his knee, and affected him with violent pains. Death, which he had ſo often braved with intrepidity in the field, now ſtared him in the face at home. Within four days, reſting on his couch, he was ſeized with a ſudden ſhivering, which turned to a fever, and ſpread itſelf farther. The fever was accompanied with a cough, which every day increaſed; on perceiving this, the king's phyſicians began to deſpair of his life; for he laboured under a violent diarrhœa and want of ſleep. And now to diſplay in his laſt moments that noble conſiſtency and propriety of conduct which diſtinguiſhed his life, he gave the royal aſſent to the act for abjuring the pretender, which had paſſed the two houſes of parliament, without being biaſſed either by love or hatred. And this he did at the requeſt and by the advice of his parliament and friends; and at the earneſt entreaty of the princeſs Anne, leſt, by any alter-

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ation of the times, what he had done for the public ſafety, religion, and liberty, might be turned to her prejudice, and to the ruin of her friends.

THE king, to the very moment of his death, retained the perfect uſe of his ſenſes; and his memory was almoſt as ſtrong as when he was in his beſt ſtate of health. As he lay upon his bed, he talked to thoſe about him with gravity and gracefulneſs; and prepared himſelf for his departure in ſuch a manner as contributed to heighten the eſteem and veneration which had formerly been paid him by all who were near him. At laſt he called for the archbiſhop of Canterbury to adminiſter to him the holy ſacrament; and after having received it in the uſual manner, he died, with an even and conſtant mind, and without the leaſt alteration of countenance or diſorder of body, 8th March 1702.

AT the very laſt moment, when his mind was otherwiſe oppreſſed, he retained a juſt ſenſe of the redemption of mankind, and the remembrance of his good ſubjects. Thus he lay ſo quietly and compoſed, with his eyes fixed upon heaven, when his ſpeech failed him, that no man could die either better prepared, or with greater conſtancy and piety than this prince, of whoſe juſt praiſes no tongue ſhall be ſilent, and no time unmindful. And if any king be ambitious of regulating his councils and actions by the bright examples of the moſt famous men, he may form to himſelf an idea of a great prince, and a grand empire, not only from this king's life, but from the public records of the Engliſh and Dutch nations. If he was apt to be too eaſily reconciled to his moſt inveterate enemies, it was only that thoſe things which he had done for them might be delivered down more complete and ſecure to the Britiſh empire, and the commonwealth of Holland. He is ſaid never to have repented ſo much of any thing in his whole life, as that he had two years before his death changed his miniſters, and particularly the lord Somers, for whom he had a great eſteem.

As the great William prince of Orange, the founder of the commonwealth of Holland, was, in a time of great danger, unhappily

cut

cut off by the hand of an aſſaſſin, in the very heart and boſom of his own country; ſo the death of king William rendered this a moſt melancholy time to all good men. As ſome people divided among themſelves what the deceaſed king had left at court in his life-time; ſo there were others who paſſed reproachful cenſures upon the whole family of Orange, on account of the untimely death of theſe two Williams: ſome cried up the aſſaſſin to the ſkies, and others praiſed the houſe. But whoever they be that endeavour to gratify their revenge for the great things done by the houſe of Orange, or their hatred for diſappointments, let them have the aſſaſſin; let them take the horſe; and may thoſe brutes never want ſuch a beaſt to glory in! Death awaits all mankind; nor can any one foreſee what ſhall befal him before that time. Some allowance muſt be made for human nature, but all depends upon the providence of God, whoſe councils concerning every one are ſecret and unſearchable; however, death is not ſo much deſtined as a puniſhment to mankind, as it is a reſt from their labours, and the condition of our nature. It is not by the manner of men's death that we can form any judgment concerning either their acceptance or rejection by God, but by the tenour of their lives; a matter confirmed by the religion and the laws of all nations; leſt, through a falſe opinion of divine providence, wicked men ſhould pretend to ſome authority to defend their actions; or the reins of licentiouſneſs be let looſe to furious and fanatical ſpirits to perpetrate all manner of crimes.

It is agreed on all hands, that no ſociety of men is more moderate, none more cautious, none more juſt, either in ſpeaking or writing, than the republic of Venice; but how it came into Garſon's head to invent preſages in this part of his hiſtory, no man alive can conceive; but that author ought to have known that neither nature nor religion gives any warrant for the practice of calumny; nor is there any reaſon to think he could recommend himſelf to the republic of Venice on that account. If foreigners may be pardoned, they have a better excuſe than ſubjects have; ſome of whom having received more of the king's favour than any merits of their own could intitle them to, afterwards gave evident proofs of the blackeſt ingratitude, repreſenting the king as cold, ſlow, remiſs, and careleſs as to all affairs, and unfit either for action

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action or council, and ſuch as his moſt open enemies would never have repreſented him. I ſhall not here mention the injurious character which biſhop Burnet, out of prejudice, reſerved till after the king's death; for as to that, few people trouble their heads about it, and falſehoods die away in time of themſelves; but men ought to be eſpecially careful to abſtain from thoſe very crimes with which they upbraid others. However, it may not be improper to ſhew the ſecret motive of Burnet's hatred: he was a very hot man, and reſtleſs, and frequently guilty of acts of imprudence; though often repulſed in his purſuit of dignities, he never would deſiſt from his impudence in renewing his petitions, ſo that the king at laſt could not endure him; he, therefore, iſſued forth thoſe ſcandalous reproaches upon the king's memory.

On the death of king William, who had been long looked upon as the ſoul of the public ſafety, and the author of all the leagues in Europe, the weight of affairs in England fell upon the Earl of Marlborough; but in Holland, where every place was full of diſſentions among the people, and fear of a war with France, the care of the public ſafety, and the burden of the war, were laid upon Heinſius, Fagel, and Singerland. The baron Dyckvelt, whoſe life was almoſt worn out in the public ſervice, was now at death's door, and, beſides, he was ſo obnoxious to the people of Utrecht, that he had no influence among his countrymen. Heinſius and Fagel, therefore, thought fit to follow the king's ſteps, and reſolved to oppoſe the common danger; to bear many inconveniencies among their own people patiently, and to concert meaſures with the earl of Marlborough, ſo that they might, on the firſt opportunity, and as well as they poſſibly could, free their republic from its dangers, and themſelves from the burden of public affairs.

This blow, which ſeemed fatal to the league, neceſſarily rouſed the attention of the confederates to many different objects. Above all things, it was neceſſary that they ſhould exerciſe the utmoſt vigilance and caution, leſt the French king, who began to ſuſpect them, might, by ſome accident, penetrate into their ſecret councils. The people of Holland were greatly divided, both in religion and affection; but in England nothing was to be feared from the people, who retained an incredible

incredible affection for the memory of the deceaſed king; inſomuch, that foreigners were wont to ſay, they could not comprehend why the Engliſh ſhewed a greater regard for their kings when abſent than preſent, when dead than alive.

KING WILLIAM was of a middle ſtature, and had cheſnut coloured hair; he had a piercing eye, a hooked noſe, round ſhoulders, and ſlender legs; his appearance was not uncomely, whether ſtanding or ſitting; but he was moſt graceful on horſeback. In his common converſation he was courteous and affable; in matters of importance, grave and reſerved; and on no occaſion did he ſink below his dignity. He was ſometimes apt to be choleric, but the heat of his temper ſpent itſelf among his bedchamber-men and phyſicians. He was ſo mild and merciful that he would have pardoned his worſt enemies, and even thoſe who had conſpired againſt his own life, if the parliament had not prevailed with him to the contrary. In various kinds of eloquence, no man was more acute, ſententious, or polite. In doubtful or dangerous caſes he diſplayed wonderful quickneſs, alacrity, and ſingular benevolence; and not leſs addreſs to gain the favour of other princes, and to endear himſelf to God and man: and ſuch was his benignity that he ſeemed not either in his private capacity deſirous of riches, nor in his public ambitious of crowns to gratify his avarice, but to qualify himſelf the better to become an inſtrument of doing good.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

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Acceſſion of Queen Anne.——Manner of Courtiers.——Marlborough the principal Favourite at Court.——Changes in the Miniſtry.——Marlborough's Character.——Opinion of Parliament concerning the War.——The Queen's Letter to the States-general,——and Ambaſſador in Holland.——Dyckvelt's ſubtle Counſel.——Prince of Denmark, Generaliſſimo of her Majeſty's Forces in England by Land and Sea.——Differences between the Earls of Rocheſter and Marlborough.——War declared.——The Grounds of it.——Siege of Kyſerſwaert.——Kyſerſwaert taken.——Siege of Landau.——Landau taken.——Nimeguen in Danger.——The Dutch in Conſternation,——and in Diſtreſs.——Marlborough arrives in the Camp,——deſigns to fight Boufflers,——prevented by the Dutch.——Young Volunteers.——Ulm taken by the Elector of Bavaria.——Conference between the Elector of Bavaria and Count Slich.——Slich overthrown by the Bavarian.——Siege of Mantua raiſed.——Character of the Neapolitans.——King Philip ſets out for Italy,——and arrives at Naples;——complimented by the Pope and Princes;——eſcapes an Aſſaſſination;——leaves Naples;——arrives at Milan;——goes to the Camp.——Battle of Luzara.——King Philip returns to Spain.——The Duke of Ormond's Expedition to Cadiz.——The young Queen of Spain's Courage.——Fidelity of the Governor of Cadiz.——Spaniſh Galleons taken at Vigo.——Inquiry into the Conduct of this Ex-

pedition.——Venlo beſieged,——and taken,——and Ruremond, and the City of Liege,——and Stevenſwaert.——Marlborough taken by the Enemy, and freed.——Villars's Expedition into Germany.——The Battle of Fredlingen.——Tallard's Expedition into Germany.——French Lines.——Death of Sunderland.——Proceedings in the Parliament of Scotland.——Treaty of Union ſet on foot.——King of Sweden's Victory over the Poles.——The Grounds of the War in Hungary.——The Hardſhips of the Imperialiſts in Italy.——The Reſolution of the Venetians.——The Adriatic Sea invaded.——Freſh Quarrel with the Emperor.——Embaſſy to Hanover.

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IN the room of the late king, as had been formerly determined by the authority of the three eſtates of the realm at the Revolution, ſucceeded queen Anne, the younger daughter of king James II., on the eighth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1702, in the 39th year of her age. Nor were meſſengers wanting to give immediate intelligence to the new queen of the king's death. The courtiers, who had vented ſo many ſighs and groans, and ſpent themſelves, as it were, in ſorrow, now all left the king's body, and the royal palace at Kenſington, in the neighbourhood of the town, and made the beſt of their way, haſtening in crowds, as faſt as they could, out of breath, and full of joy, to the court at St. James's, to pay their compliments to their new miſtreſs, and congratulate her on her acceſſion to the throne, comforting themſelves for the loſs of the deceaſed king with the hopes of new advantages; for in courts, the ſtate of affections changes as ſuddenly as the ſtate of affairs.

Manner of courtiers.

THIS was a glorious day for the duke of Buckinghamſhire, though a gloomy and mournful night to the public. But many who had been loaded with favours and honours by the king, and raiſed from ſmall fortunes to the higheſt offices in the kingdom, and who, by the common rules of gratitude, were bound to have kept his name in their memory as a ſacred treaſure, not only joined in congratulations to the queen on the happineſs of that day, but alſo by reproaching his miniſters, caſt a blemiſh even upon the glory of his life; while others, who had received no favours or benefit from the king, either preſent or

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abſent, in his life-time, more than a ſhare of his common protection to all, were grateful to his memory after his death. The lord Halifax and the biſhop of Saliſbury coming to court, expatiated on the virtues of the queen; adviſed that the enmities of the late times and paſt differences ſhould be buried in utter oblivion; and deſired that all offences which the king's death had atoned for, with all factious thoughts, might be laid aſide, and offered up, as it were, a ſacrifice to the happy beginning of her majeſty's reign.

THE queen, by the advice of Marlborough, who had now the chief direction of affairs, and who made no difference between thoſe who attended, and thoſe who did not, readily excuſed all ſuch perſons, as either through exceſs of grief, or regard to decency, did not appear that day at court. From this circumſtance men preſaged every thing from the hands of the queen that was fair and honourable.

IN the firſt place, care was taken, by public proclamation, to order all things to remain in the ſame ſtate as they were, in the time of the late king. The queen commanded her magiſtrates and people to continue in their duty as before, till ſuch time as her majeſty ſhould nominate and appoint other magiſtrates, and give freſh directions for the government of the kingdom, by her own authority. But within the palace itſelf there was a very buſy market of all the offices of government. For the queen's own relations being kept at a diſtance, all things were tranſacted by the ſole authority of one woman *, to whom there was no acceſs but by the golden road: and it was to no purpoſe for the earl of Rocheſter to ſet forth his own fidelity, duty, affection, and the rights of conſanguinity.

BUT, not to be very particular about the contentions and diſputes of aſpiring men concerning places and preferments, ſince the council was at that time full of buſineſs, the queen's firſt care was to ſee, in what ſituation the king had left the public ſafety, and the intereſt of the allies. And therefore the earl of Albemarle, and mynheer Van-

* The dutcheſs of Marlborough.

hulſt,

hulſt, who had been the king's private ſecretary, were ordered to attend; they gave a full account of every thing, and related his majeſty's tranſactions faithfully; though the earl of Marlborough either knew before, from the king himſelf, all that paſſed, or had found it out while he was ambaſſador in Holland.

Upon the king's death, the offices of all his miniſters and domeſtic ſervants became void; and therefore, according to the cuſtom, they waited upon the queen immediately, to deliver up to her majeſty in form the enſigns of their reſpective offices. Upon which the queen returned the ſame again, for the preſent, to every one of them, except only to the lord Wharton, whoſe white ſtaff ſhe gave to Sir Edward Seymour, and delivered it to him before the lord Wharton's face: upon which that lord was ſo extremely provoked that he ſaid, "He "would ſoon provide himſelf with other rods, to whip the backs of "the new miniſters." The earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges were made ſecretaries of ſtate, the duke of Ormond lord lieutenant of Ireland, the duke of Somerſet maſter of the horſe, the duke of Devonſhire, as he was before, ſteward of the houſehold, the earl of Jerſey lord chamberlain; and the earl of Marlborough's daughters and creatures were ſo poſted about the queen, that all the merit of good offices were, in a manner, wholly aſcribed to that ſingle family.

Changes in the miniſtry.

When the queen's houſehold was ſettled, the dearer any one had been to the late king, ſo much the more violently was he attacked with various calumnies. Many people in their diſcourſes reproachfully imputed to them a deſign to have alienated the ſucceſſion of the crown; which as it was neither done nor attempted, ſo neither was it ever thought of. But, in order to clear their reputation from all blemiſh, they thought fit to refer that matter to a ſtrict inquiry in the council.

In the mean time, the lord Godolphin, who before had been the firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, was now made lord treaſurer of England. Godolphin, who was eſteemed a very honeſt and diligent man, and cloſely united with the earl of Marlborough by a long

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friendſhip and affinity, was now favourably received by the queen, and by all men looked upon as the moſt fit perſon, as well for the court, as for the adminiſtration of that office; for he knew well how to do one thing frankly, and another harſhly; to take one thing ill, another well; and to adapt himſelf to every circumſtance as the occaſion required; eſpecially when any body had demands to make upon him. The worſt report of him was, that he perſuaded the queen not to diſcharge any of the king's (William) debts, to any of his creditors, but to ſuch only as he thought fit. Some of them, therefore, he paid, chiefly thoſe who had the beſt intereſt, and others he put off, though the king had left aſſets enough, without reckoning what remained in his exchequer, to ſatisfy all claims, as appeared on the taking an account of his majeſty's goods. It is certain as this frugality was utterly unworthy of a good man, ſo was it inconſiſtent with the civil conſtitution of England, by which every one has a right to the protection of the laws.

AMIDST this plunder of the dead, the king's horſes and equipages were preſented to the prince of Denmark by the earl of Grantham, his maſter of the horſe. The queen herſelf took the royal enſigns of ſovereign of the order of the garter. When the reſt of the king's goods and furniture was divided, the earl of Montague would have commenced a ſuit at law with the counteſs of Marlborough, for his ſhare of it; but this difference was ſoon made up, and ended in a marriage. But I ſhall paſs over theſe ſcandalous affairs, with the inſatiable avarice of the courtiers, and all their controverſies about places and titles. The lord Coningſby not inſiſting on his merits in the late reign, is ſaid to have obtained the queen's favour by the mediation of money, and was made treaſurer of Ireland; nor was there any thing known in England, before or ſince, like that female adminiſtration. At that time ſuch a ſpirit of rapacity prevailed, that not only were bad men, greedy of gain, but even thoſe who were reputed men of virtue, endeavoured to bring all things into confuſion, that ſo they might acquire to themſelves preferments, wealth, and honors. Though the lord Godolphin had found great fault with the late king's miniſters, the unequal diſtribution of money to the ſeveral provinces, and the ſcandalous

dalous market of the public treaſure which was held at London; yet, by his own advice, the queen followed the ſame method in managing the expences of the war, that had been purſued by the king. And the earl of Marlborough, who was attentive to both parties, reſolved to ſecure himſelf, by all the ſtrength he could, againſt his enemies, and recommended the like to the lord Godolphin; only, in his concern for the public, he thought fit to reſerve to himſelf, in a particular manner, Mr. James Brydges, Mr. Craggs, and a few more; every one of whom had his particular part aſſigned to him; and Craggs, though condemned by the general voice of the people, as well as the reſolutions of the houſe of commons, was particularly dear to Marlborough.

When king William's papers were opened in council, many people were in great expectation of diſcovering ſome myſterious tranſaction for excluding the queen from the ſucceſſion to the crown. It is certain no ſuch thing was found there, and the courtiers declared that there appeared no juſt ground for a ſuſpicion of any ſuch intention, either on the part of the king, or his miniſters; but ſince ſome perſons had induſtriouſly ſpread ſuch a report, the lord Somers, and others of the king's friends, thought fit to refer this matter alſo to the examination of the houſe of peers, in order to wipe out all the ſtains of reflection upon the king's memory, or their own honour. But nothing of this kind was diſcovered; though it afterwards appeared, that if any thing had ever been ſecretly tranſacted for alienating the crown, that deſign had been laid by others, and not by the king, or his miniſters; nor yet in favour of the houſe of Hanover. Among the king's papers, there were many particulars relating to the confederacy; to the carrying on the war againſt France, eſpecially at ſea; and to the getting poſſeſſion of Cadiz as ſoon as poſſible; all which were at that time to be concealed, but were ſoon divulged. In order to clear the king's miniſters from the imputation in queſtion, the houſe of peers thought proper to make it known to all men, both by a reſolution and declaration, that there being nothing diſcovered concerning the alienation of the crown, ſuch reports ſhould be diſcouraged and puniſhed. As ſoon as the king's death was known in foreign countries, the kings and princes diſpatched

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patched their ambaſſadors to the queen, to make their compliments of condolence on that occaſion, and to congratulate her majeſty on her acceſſion to the throne.

Marlborough's character.

AMONGST all the queen's counſellors, the earl of Marlborough was certainly the firſt in eminence as well as favour, next to the prince of Denmark, her huſband; for no man could equal him at that time for reputation for war: and as the earl excelled the reſt of the courtiers in good breeding, prudence, military glory, and great experience in buſineſs; ſo his lady, who was a woman of great beauty, high ſpirit, and indefatigable application to her own intereſt, held the firſt place in the queen's favour and authority; for both of them had paſſed their whole life at court with ſo much magnificence, and been ſupported with ſuch powerful intereſt, that no envy could now eclipſe the ſplendor of their name and favour with the queen; but I cannot deny that both of them were as earneſtly ſolicitous to make their private fortunes, as to ſerve the public: for they both had a greater deſire of gain, than ambition of power.

Opinion of parliament concerning the war.

How heavily the members of parliament lamented the king's death, appears from the addreſſes of congratulation preſented by them to the queen, on her acceſſion to the throne. They firſt entreated her majeſty immediately to confirm the treaties with her allies; and then gave her ample aſſurances of their duty, zeal, and ſupport for carrying on the war againſt the French king, till he ſhould be brought to reaſon, and his exorbitant power be reduced to a fair balance, either by arguments or arms; ſince, otherwiſe, that monarch could not, by any human perſuaſion, or change of mind, be prevailed with to reſtrain his luſt of dominion and power within any certain limits; for he could not be bound, either by articles of peace, or oaths. And laſtly, the parliament of England, calling to mind the good offices done by the queen in the revolution; the meaſures ſhe had long ago entered into in concert with king William, on her being declared heir to the crown, and the dangers to which ſhe had been expoſed; exhorted her now to defend, and ſtrenuouſly maintain the ſame cauſe in which ſhe had before voluntarily engaged; declaring that they would aſſiſt her with their lives and fortunes, and ſupport

port her with every thing neceſſary to that end. They entreated her alſo, in a more preſſing manner, to contribute her ſuccours to the allies in this war, for whoſe ſafety they were as much concerned as their own, and as was due to them in fidelity and honour; ſhewing her how ancient and how juſt cauſes of friendſhip had taken place between them and the Dutch, in this critical conjuncture.

The queen's letter to the ſtates-general.

Wherefore the queen gave aſſurance of her amity to the ſtates-general, by a letter, telling them that ſhe had always looked upon the intereſt of Great Britain, and thoſe of their ſtate, as inſeparably united; and that none could be more ſenſibly grieved on account of the late king's death than ſhe was.

Marlborough appointed commander in Flanders,

When the meaſures concerted by king William were reported in the council, and other affairs relating to the war conſidered, ſome approved, and others diſapproved of them; and, as the queen was pleaſed to change her miniſtry, ſo the whole ſcheme for carrying on the war, and the adminiſtration of the government projected by the late king, were altered; except only, that the earl of Marlborough was to command the army in Flanders, who was equally deſigned for that poſt by the king and the queen. He, who then had the affairs of the kingdom chiefly in his own hands, thought it proper to have an ambaſſador diſpatched to Holland; and he himſelf was the only man fit to take that embaſſy upon him. His partiſans ſaid, "What will not he perform by his merit, who has done ſo much already by his authority?"

In the mean time, the French king endeavoured to draw the Dutch into his intereſt, by putting them in mind of former favours, and offering them fair terms at preſent; which, if they would accept, he promiſed them a perpetual continuance of his favour and friendſhip; but the Dutch, after the king's death, were not leſs zealous than formerly to purſue the reſolutions they had taken.

and ambaſſador in Holland.

The earl of Marlborough being honoured with the moſt noble order of the garter, was ſent ambaſſador to Holland; and Mr. Cadogan, a man of diligence, and all neceſſary accompliſhments, but not much

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known, to prepare matters there. The earl himſelf arrived in Holland on the 28th day of March, and immediately held a conference with the penſionary Heinſius, and the ſtates, on matters of the greateſt importance. In conſultation with them for the common intereſt, he told them that the queen would be loth to declare war, till the prince of Denmark ſhould, in ſome manner, be reſpected among them, as having ſucceeded in the place of the deceaſed king. This ſeemed to the Dutch a very hard condition at that dangerous conjuncture, and eſpecially to the adherents of the houſe of Orange, who, from queen Elizabeth's time, had favoured the Engliſh. None of the Dutch durſt aſſent to the earl of Marlborough's demands concerning the prince of Denmark, for fear of the Louvenſtein faction, which had recovered new ſpirits on the death of the king, and who turned their liberty into licentiouſneſs. That faction, therefore, at that time, filled all the provinces with terror and tumults; and king William's friends, even at the Hague, were turned out of the aſſembly: therefore the Dutch made anſwer, according to the difficulty of the conjuncture, that they would conſult about the ambaſſador's requeſt; and particularly Heinſius, who was a wiſe man, and, at that time, in a manner the ſole preſerver of their commonwealth. Amidſt all theſe things, the preſident Dyckvelt, who was a ſubtle man, of great experience, and diſtinguiſhed by an intuitive diſcernment of the tempers of men, being now near his latter end, adviſed his friends to find out the earl of Marlborough's diſpoſition, who ſeemed ſo impatient of delay, and perſuaded them to gain him to their intereſt, by what means ſoever they could, as king William had before adviſed them to do, ſince every thing was now in his power, and managed according to his opinion: and moreover, ſaid Dyckvelt, there is no reaſon to doubt but he will have an eye to his own profit and reputation, as moſt men naturally have.

Dyckvelt's ſubtle counſel.

After many conferences, the Dutch, of their own accord, made an offer to himſelf of the moſt part of what he had demanded of them for the prince of Denmark; thus the terms of agreement were ſoon ſettled. Whereupon the earl of Marlborough, who was naturally averſe to the French king's ambition of univerſal monarchy, and compaſſionately affected to the Dutch; and who, doubtleſs, had always an eye to the dignity

dignity of the common cauſe, and the danger of the confederates, accepted the offer which was made to him; and when he had diſpatched theſe affairs, he returned to England, and made his report to the queen of the undoubted and unavoidable neceſſity of a war, and the juſt grounds of maintaining a firm friendſhip between us and the Dutch. As to what had paſſed in relation to the prince of Denmark, he excuſed the Dutch to the queen, and the prince himſelf, as civilly as he could, by the neceſſity of their affairs; ſetting forth the affection of the lords, and the ſtates general, and their aſſurances of a particular and due reſpect to them both; as the ſtates knew them to prefer the intereſt of the republic greatly before any private friendſhip, ſo they hoped to have it in their power next year, to do what was demanded, and to give her majeſty entire ſatisfaction; for how much ſoever their affairs were embarraſſed, through the divine bleſſing upon their endeavours, they might be recovered. In the mean time, the prince of Denmark was declared generaliſſimo of all her majeſty's forces in England, by land and by ſea; but he, being ſoon after afflicted with an aſthma, ſtayed at home, contenting himſelf with the title of lord high admiral. He had a council of ſeven men for this office; among whom Mr. George Churchill was the moſt eminent, who was, both in perſon and behaviour, utterly unlike his brother the earl of Marlborough, and more diſtinguiſhed by the prince's favour than by his own actions, and who, as if he had been the ſole director of naval affairs, would have every thing managed according to his own humour, rather than the common judgment of the council, which was highly reſented by ſir David Mitchel, and the other admirals.

THE earl of Marlborough having finiſhed his negotiations in Holland, returned to England, and made a report of his embaſſy. The anſwers which he brought back were pleaſing to all but thoſe of the French faction, who not only proclaimed, but even highly magnified both the numbers and valour of the French forces: they were alſo far from concealing the debts of the nation; to which they likewiſe added the burthens and calamities of the laſt war; and other things, which are wont to leſſen men's courage: and at laſt, they fell into impertinencies,

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nencies, and ſcruples of conſcience, as if it were not lawful for Chriſtians to make war.

THERE were alſo ſome noblemen in the queen's council of eminent fidelity, prudence, and virtue, who were extremely averſe to a war, out of envy to the glory of the earl of Marlborough; and who, foreſeeing that in time of war, the management of all affairs would fall into his hands, thought all endeavours ought firſt to be uſed by treaties with the kings of France and Spain, in a friendly and moderate way, before recourſe were had to arms. "The charges of a war (ſaid they) "are great, the burthen is heavy; and what the event of it may "be, no body knows." The earl of Rocheſter, the queen's uncle, is ſaid to have been among the firſt who maintained that opinion.

ROCHESTER was a man of great fortitude and integrity, and inferior to none in politeneſs and eloquence. Having been lord high treaſurer of England under king James II. he was now in hopes, as he had good pretenſions, to obtain the ſame office again; but when the offices of ſtate were diſpoſed of, and that employment was beſtowed upon the lord Godolphin, the reſentment of that diſappointment provoked him to oppoſe the earl of Marlborough. The earl's friends gave out, that Rocheſter was a paſſionate man; and that he was therefore not made high treaſurer, leſt the moſt hopeful and moſt advantageous projects ſhould miſcarry through his heat of temper.

Difference between the earls of Rocheſter and Marlborough.

THE lord Haverſham was drawn into the ſame oppoſition through enmity. This lord being a bold ſpeaker ſaid, among other things: "I am not ignorant, my lords, that I have taken upon me a great "taſk, and expoſed myſelf to great hatred, by now giving you my "real ſentiments with freedom, for the intereſt of the people, and your "ſafety, againſt the judgment of the court, and the inclination of the "houſe of commons; and I doubt not but moſt people will think me "preſumptuous, inaſmuch as I alone riſe up to find fault with thoſe "things which the court has approved of, as if I had greater foreſight "than the queen and all her miniſters; but if you hearken to what "the miniſters ſay for making war, and about neceſſity, there will

Lord Haverſham's ſpeech againſt the war.

"be

"be no end of war, no end of neceſſity; for this has always, and every "where, been a convenient method, and the only one made uſe of by "miniſters and magiſtrates for raiſing money: but it is the part of "wiſe men to try all other methods, before they take up arms."

THE earl of Nottingham, and Mr. Harley, adhered to the earl of Marlborough in this point, and differed from the earl of Rocheſter; ſo that now a capital quarrel aroſe among theſe rivals, who had lately been united againſt the whigs; and this occaſioned a fatal faction, which ſpread itſelf to ſuch a degree, as afterwards almoſt ruined all England.

WHEN the parliament was prorogued, the earl of Marlborough, to whom the command of the army was aſſigned, prepared to ſet out for Holland. On the 4th of May 1702, the war was declared, both at London, the Hague, and Vienna; which many people thought would hardly have been done, if the French king had not acknowledged the pretender as king of England; who, though he was not himſelf in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, might have brought it under ſlavery to the French king: the terror of which being ſpread abroad among the multitude of both parties, was of great ſervice at that time. And now the hatred of the factions being worn out by degrees, the earl of Marlborough prepared for war againſt France, and aſſigned to all the ſervants of the crown their reſpective offices, governments, and commands, as he thought fit. Mr. James Brydges was intruſted with the remittance of money for the ſervice of the war, as paymaſter of the army. War declared.

BY what has been already ſaid, it ſufficiently appears for what cauſe the war was declared; but to theſe, the emperor thought fit to add the injuries and uſurpations of the French king upon the German empire, as well in former as the preſent times. The queen, beſides the French king's having uſurped the kingdom of Spain, and obſtructed the freedom of navigation and commerce, urged the great affront and indignity done to her, by his declaring the pretender king of theſe realms, which had highly provoked many of the people of England, becauſe he would accept the title to this kingdom from the French king's The grounds of it.

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king's grant, rather than ſubmit it to their favour. And the Dutch, beſides the forcible detention of their troops, in the preſent difficult and dangerous ſtate of the republic, thought fit, in their public writings, to enumerate all the injuries both of former and preſent times; the wars, ſlaughters, burnings, frauds, plunderings, and piracies, committed upon them by the French king; and, having ſolemnly made ſupplication to God, they declared war againſt him. Lewis, enraged at theſe proceedings, publiſhed to the world the benefits he had conferred upon them for a long time paſt, and charged them with ingratitude. The Dutch, in anſwer to the objections and reproaches of the French king, ſhewed, that they had never received any benefits from him, ſince the firſt foundation of their republic, except ſuch as had either contributed to reſcue France itſelf from ſome danger, or in ſome other way to promote its intereſts. They further urged, that "They had repaid one piece of ſervice by another; but, if the French "king had a mind to compare his good with his bad offices, let him "ſtate the account, and ſhew the amount of the balance." The French king, highly incenſed at all theſe things, declared war againſt the confederates. By the declaration of war on both ſides, care was taken ſtrictly to prohibit their reſpective ſubjects from aſſiſting the enemy with horſes, corn, or any other neceſſaries whatever; and thoſe who ſhould preſume to do ſo, were to be eſteemed and treated as enemies. About this time, agents, money-changers, and a moſt abandoned ſet of mortals, were every where to be found, who were ready to lend their aſſiſtance, and to furniſh money for the war, that they might accumulate immenſe fortunes to themſelves by exceſſive uſury. Theſe men contracted alſo with the commanders of the army, for victuals and clothing, and cheated both the ſoldiers and the public; and that in ſuch a manner as if they had not been accountable for their frauds, and were never to be called to account for them. The more, indeed, that they plundered, the leſs they were in danger of puniſhment.

But the Dutch, who ſubſiſt by trade, were very much diſpleaſed, on the commencement of the war, with the prohibition of commerce; eſpecially after the French king had obtained for the people of Flanders, who had ſcruples of conſcience about eating fleſh in Lent, and at other

other ſtated times, a diſpenſation from the pope, granting them full latitude in the choice of food. This indulgence was very detrimental to the Dutch fiſhing trade, the merchants in Holland being thereby obliged, in a great meaſure, to purſue other means of making their fortunes; and at the ſame time that their affairs were in ſuch embarraſſment, they were oppreſſed with additional taxes; not only a tribute upon every head, but alſo an hundredth part of their goods, ſmoke-money, door-money, carriage-money; and, in a word, a tax upon every article that could be thought of.

THE elector of Cologne, who but a few years before had been preferred to that dignity, by the conduct of king William, and the aſſiſtance and money of the Dutch, being now drawn into the French king's intereſt, filled the territories of Cologne with French troops, which over-ran them all in the winter. The king, on this, took full poſſeſſion of all the fortified places, and even of the elector's own ſeat, and filled them with corn and military ſtores; and thus he cut off all communication between the upper and lower Rhine, by guards and garriſons properly diſtributed for that purpoſe.

THE French king being aſked what he meant by all theſe preparations; and why he tranſported his troops into Germany? anſwered, that he had a right to make uſe of the troops of the circle of Burgundy; that he did it only to defend himſelf, and not to offer any violence to Germany; and that he had been entreated to come, not to make war, but to ſecure himſelf and his allies. Duſſeldorp, the elector palatine's ſeat, almoſt in the mid-way between Cologne and Keyſerſwaert, was the only place that could obſtruct the paſſage of the French troops by the Rhine. The elector palatine, therefore, who was a friend and ally to the Dutch, gave orders to his people to ſtop ſeveral of the French merchant ſhips laden with military proviſions, in their paſſage down the Rhine towards Keyſerſwaert. Of this the French king, who at that time thought himſelf at liberty to do what he pleaſed, and that nobody would have preſumed to oppoſe his will, complained as a grievous offence. He reproached the elector palatine with being corrupted, and threatened the territories of the Rhine with fire and ſword.

On

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On the other ſide, the palatine juſtified what he had done as juſt and legal.

War begun on the Rhine.

KING WILLIAM's funeral was hardly over, when the French king, in order to revenge this affront, drew his forces together, in order to fall upon the elector palatine; and the winter being almoſt at an end, he deſigned firſt to beſiege Juliers, and, after that, Duſſeldorp. This the Dutch thought it neceſſary to prevent without delay. They therefore commanded all their forces, which, as yet, were called auxiliaries, to be drawn out of their winter quarters early in the ſpring; which, after two days march, paſſed the river Lyppe; and being furniſhed with all inſtruments of war, and materials neceſſary for a ſiege, made a ſtand before Keyſerſwaert, which town formerly belonged to the people of Zutphen, and was by ſome called *Colonia Trajana*, but now belonged to the electorate of Cologne, and was poſſeſſed by a French garriſon. As this town was dangerous to the frontiers of the united provinces, and might open an eaſy paſſage to the French army into their dominions, the Dutch thought it abſolutely neceſſary to prevent it; for there they had conſtructed their grand magazine, and from thence they had a free navigation into Holland. At the ſame time, general Cohorne was ſent into Flanders, to level the enemy's lines, and to haraſs them in thoſe parts. In the mean time, the French troops advancing towards the Dutch frontiers, filled the whole country with the utmoſt conſternation; for they had been ſo accuſtomed to victory, that they ſeemed confident that they ſhould be always victorious.

Keyſerſwaert beſieged.

THE prince of Naſſau Saarbruck, who had the command in the attack upon Keyſerſwaert, opened the trenches before it on the 18th day of April 1702, and gave orders for the defence of them. The ſtates general ſupplied him with proviſions; and the circumvallation of the camp being carried on within a ſmall diſtance of the walls of the town, to favour the pioneers in their working, the prince of Naſſau broke ground in the night, and began to work the mines, having commanded a van-guard of four hundred men to advance, to cover the workmen, and withſtand the aſſaults of the enemy. The pioneers, labouring hard all night, had carried on the works one hundred yards before

before day-light. As ſoon as the enemy diſcovered them, they fired upon them briſkly with their cannon; and the beſiegers did great execution on the other ſide, with their bombs. On the 20th day of April, the beſieged made a vigorous ſally to deſtroy the beſiegers works, and drove the Dutch ſoldiers from their poſts. The fight here was very long and fierce, till the cavalry coming up, the Dutch took freſh courage, rallied their forces, repulſed the enemy, and recovered their works. On the 23d, the beſiegers made another ſally, with greater force, but were again repulſed, with the loſs of their commander, who was taken, and many of their men, who were killed. The next day, the prince of Anhalt, general of the Pruſſians, attacked an iſland on the Rhine, oppoſite to the town; and having laid ſiege to it from morning to night, made himſelf maſter of it by a briſk aſſault as ſoon as it was dark. The governor of this iſland is ſaid to have killed himſelf out of indignation that his men did not obey his command; and his officers, endeavouring to eſcape in a boat, were drowned in the river by the Pruſſians. And now, when the beſiegers thought the ſiege was almoſt at end, the French army, drawn out of their winter quarters, omitting the ſiege of Juliers, advanced to the Dutch confines, in two bodies: one of them marched towards Cleves; the other, under the command of count Tallard, encamped on the oppoſite bank of the Rhine, in hopes to raiſe the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert; and threatening the elector palatine, and his capital, with fire and ſword. Tallard's arrival gave freſh courage to the beſieged; and then, having either built or brought thither a number of wherries and ſkiffs, he loaded them with ſoldiers and proviſions, and ſent them by water into the town; relieving their guard every day with freſh ſoldiers, and encouraging his party to haraſs the beſiegers, and diſturb their works with frequent ſkirmiſhes; and thus the ſiege was prolonged for two months: but though the progreſs of the ſiege was, by thoſe means, retarded, and the ſoldiers were all that time expoſed to the cold, and continual rains, yet, by their indefatigable zeal and valour, the beſiegers ſurmounted all difficulties. The prince of Naſſau having finiſhed his works, and ſecured his approaches, ſtunned the ears, and diſcouraged the hearts of the beſieged, with the inceſſant diſcharge of forty-eight great guns, and ſhook their walls, as if they had been thunderſtruck, or ſmitten

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with various kinds of fire from heaven, ſo that their centinels could ſcarcely keep their poſts on the watch-towers. On the 9th day of June he made a general attack upon the counterſcarp: the enemy made a brave reſiſtance; for they had ſtill freſh hopes of victory, by ſeeing their wearied ſoldiers conſtantly relieved by freſh men out of Tallard's camp. They obſerved alſo, that the confederates could not openly appear to the ſupport of their party; and therefore the fight was bloody between them for about two hours. The count de Tallard, and the marquis of Bleinville, encouraged their men with rewards and promiſes; and the prince of Naſſau gave like encouragement to his. At length, the beſieged giving way to ſuperior valour, were forced to quit their ground, and the beſiegers preſſed them cloſe, ſo that the fight was renewed in many places, till at laſt they became maſters of the counterſcarp. The chief obſtacle that retarded the prince of Naſſau, was, that, being reduced to the want of ammunition, his workmen were ſometimes forced to ſtand ſtill; the overflowing of the Rhine, and the continual rains, were alſo a great interruption to him: but now, when freſh ſtores were brought to him, when a ſufficient breach was made in the walls, and hurdles and buſhes cut out of the neighbouring woods for filling up the ditch, and the ſoldiers were drawn out in readineſs for the aſſault, the prince of Naſſau ſummoned the governor, by a herald, to ſurrender the place. Monſieur de Bleinville ſent to Tallard, to conſult him about the ſurrender; in the mean time, he demanded liberty of the Prince of Naſſau to bury his dead. Upon this, a ceſſation of arms was agreed on; and the one party gave over the attack, and the other the defence. When the count de Tallard ſaw that he could not be of any ſervice to the beſieged, leſt the town ſhould be taken before his face, he broke up his camp, and removing from that place, ordered his quarter-maſters to mark out another, far out of ſight of the town; and, leſt the ſurrender ſhould raiſe the hopes of the confederates, or leſſen the zeal of their own party, the French capitulated upon the 15th day of June. As ſoon as the confederates were in poſſeſſion of the town, the walls of Keyſerſwaert, whence the confederate war took its riſe, were levelled with the ground; leſt, if that town had been left fortified, which was ſo dangerous to their republic, the articles might be deceitfully broken, and themſelves hereafter

Keyſerſwaert taken.

hereafter, have the mortification to ſee their valour and clemency made a ſubject of ridicule.

In the mean time, general Cohorne being ſent into Flanders with ten thouſand men to deſtroy all the French lines in the province of Antwerp, performed that undertaking with ſo much prudence and military conduct, that, before Keyſerſwaert was taken, he had not only levelled the lines with the ground, but had made himſelf maſter of the forts of Iſabella and St. Donat, and laid all the Chatelenie of Bruges under contribution. And when the marquis of Bedmar was advancing againſt him with a ſtronger body of French troops, Cohorne laid the whole country under water, and thereby forced Bedmar to retreat towards his own cities, while he himſelf lay ſafe under the walls of Sluys, and kept his men in their camp unmoleſted.

While theſe things paſſed on the Dutch frontiers, prince Lewis of Baden, who was a great maſter in the art of war, and had the command of the emperor's army on the Rhine, being fired with a great ardour for military glory, reſolved to begin the confederate war in thoſe parts, with ſome very ſignal undertaking. Therefore, drawing his forces together, and paſſing the Rhine, he determined to beſiege Landau, a town ſtrongly fortified by the famous engineer Vauban. The ſame day that the French marched out of Keyſerſwaert, prince Lewis took poſſeſſion of all the approaches towards Landau, and inveſted the town. The next day he ſent a meſſenger by a herald to the count de Melac, governor of the town, intimating, that the matrons, virgins, and all the weaker ſort of the people, might have leave to retire out of the town. Melac, thinking it a joke, intended to affront him, made anſwer, "Did prince Lewis think he had any reaſon to diſtruſt his courage, and the women's honour?" The herald aſſured him the meſſage was not a joke, but ſerious: to which Melac replied, "That he had no command over the women, nor would concern himſelf about them; he ſhould find what metal prince Lewis was made of, and that he would take care both for the ſafety and honour of the women. And ſince he had brought him this

Siege of Landau.

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" this meſſage from prince Lewis, he deſired to return his compli-
" ments and anſwer, but not to come any more to him."

PRINCE LEWIS began to aſſault the town, in three places, on the 25th day of June. Melac, ſallying out with two hundred horſe, endeavoured to deſtroy the works of the beſiegers; and was met by a hundred and fifty of the emperor's horſe. The imperialiſts giving way were ſupported by a party of their foot, and the French were driven back into the town. The continual rains at that time made the works of the beſiegers go on very ſlowly.

ON the 27th of July, Joſeph, king of the Romans, having left his queen at Heidelberg, came to the camp, where he ſhared with them in all their dangers, and by his example and bounty greatly encouraged the ſoldiers. On the 16th of Auguſt, the works being far advanced, and every thing ready for attempting the walls of the town, the imperialiſts made an aſſault. Twice they were repulſed by the enemy; but, returning a third time to the attack, and being conſtantly well ſupported by freſh men, they, with great courage, took poſſeſſion of the wall, and covered themſelves there. Here a rencounter happened by night, which ought carefully to be avoided; ſince the ſoldiers, who ſometimes are willing to deſert, have the greater opportunity of doing ſo in that ſeaſon; for men are kept to their duty through ſhame or fear: but the night lays no ſuch reſtraint upon them; and common ſoldiers ſometimes are more influenced by fear than duty, and are apt by night to conſult their ſafety more than their glory; whereas, on the contrary, the light makes them ſenſible of ſhame, and the ſight and preſence of their commanders fills them with emulation, and inſpires them with courage to fight. On the 9th of September, general Thungen attacked the citadel, and took it without much difficulty; upon which Melac, deſpairing of any relief from marſhal Catinat, hung out a ſignal, and began to treat of a ſurrender. And on the 12th of September, Landau was delivered up to the king of the Romans, who entered the city with his queen in triumph, and from thence returned to Vienna filled with glory.

Landau taken.

THE

THE French king, to whom God had permitted a long proſperity, with impunity, was grown ſo proud of his ſeries of ſucceſs, and carried himſelf with ſuch inſolence, as if all things depended abſolutely upon his ſole will and pleaſure; and now, fancying himſelf to be invincible, he ſent the duke of Burgundy, as ſure of victory, to command his army, with the aſſiſtance of the marſhal Boufflers. The marſhal, having lain long encamped in the dutchy of Cleves, and in Guelderland, which place formerly belonged to the Menapii, and borders upon the United Provinces, the wiſeſt of the Dutch, and even the ſtates themſelves, were filled, as they had reaſon, with dreadful apprehenſions; ſuſpecting that he ſtayed ſo long in Cleves, and thoſe parts, with ſome other deſign than what was given out. The common people alſo ſuſpected the ſame; and, as it often happens, found out his real deſign. And as the commons are of ſo great authority among the Dutch, that their governors are ſcarcely able to reſiſt them, the ſtates-general now, ſeriouſly taking into conſideration the ſituation of their affairs; and being in great apprehenſion for their frontiers, ſent orders to the earl of Athlone, who then commanded their army, to advance towards Nimeguen, which, at that time, was a principal bulwark of their commonwealth, and to lay himſelf in the way of the enemy as ſoon as he poſſibly could. Athlone, haſtening his march, encamped himſelf not far from the enemy, to watch their motions as they paſſed by their confines.

Nimeguen in danger.

THE French, being greatly ſuperior in number, and accuſtomed to victory, no ſooner heard of the taking of Keyſerſwaert, than they ſuddenly broke up from the neighbourhood of Cleves, and fell upon the earl of Athlone's camp. The firſt party of them was overthrown, and the reſt put into diſorder; but the Danes made a vigorous and reſolute oppoſition. The earl of Athlone, not being ſtrong enough to fight the enemy, thought it moſt adviſable to retire, and ſecure his men in the outworks, and under the cannon of Nimeguen, leaving a party behind to cover the retreat. The marſhal de Boufflers preſſed them ſo cloſe in the rear, that they felt ſevere tokens of his angry diligence and reſentment. The Dutch fought ſtoutly, and ſeveral times repulſed the enemy, purſued them, and carried ſome of them

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priſoners with them into the city. In this general conflict, ſometimes the French purſued the Dutch, and ſometimes the Dutch purſued the French. There was an univerſal terror, but little ſlaughter. Nor was there leſs confuſion within the city itſelf, from a dread leſt the purſuing enemy ſhould enter the city along with their friends, or make themſelves maſters of the bridge upon the Rhine, as the enemy ſeemed ready to break in upon them intermixed with the flying party. For the citizens, full of care for their liberties, and alarmed with the danger, and rumour of ſtill greater danger, ran up and down every where; ſome calling out for the prince of Naſſau their governor, ſome for the keys, and others, in ſuſpence, calling out for help to God. And as they ran about, they cried, "All was loſt; their republic, their "country, their property was all ruined!" and no wonder; for, while the city was in all this conſternation, the governor gave out no orders, nor was to be found by his people, even when the city lay open to the enemy. On the contrary, he had withdrawn himſelf from danger, and had left no orders with any body. The very guns lay upon the ground without carriages; the armories were empty, and ſhut up; and every thing left in ſuch a negligent manner as utterly diſgraced him, in ſuch an unſettled ſeaſon, and ſuch dangerous times. It was afterwards found out how matters ſtood: but, however guilty the common people looked upon him to be, he was never openly convicted of treaſon; but he was no more thought of in thoſe parts.

The Dutch in conſternation.

THESE were the inſtructions in the art of war, this the proof of bravery, without any trophies, without any enſigns taken, which the marſhal Boufflers gave to the duke of Burgundy, now making his firſt campaign! He fretted with indignation that this opportunity had ſlipped through his hands; and it was not without difficulty that he excuſed himſelf to his king from the cenſure of ill conduct.

THIS beginning of the confederate war ſeemed very ominous to the Dutch, and to portend the ruin of their republic. For the breaches in their dykes, the inundation of the ſea into the Vlie, the death of king William, deadly feuds among the people, tumults, contentions for places, and the immoderate heats of faction, muſt have inevitably

The Dutch in diſtreſs.

brought their ſtate to deſtruction, if to all theſe evils there had not been added the dread of a foreign enemy. But thus, as I have ſhewn, the Dutch broke the force of all the French king's thunder. And now, at laſt, they experienced the great advantage of conſtancy, which king William had often preſſed upon their minds; a prince whoſe virtues are now recorded for everlaſting remembrance, and his very name rendered immortal, and, as it were, enrolled among the gods.

Marlborough arrives at the camp.

AFTER this, the earl of Marlborough arriving in the camp near Nimeguen, reviewed the army, and reſolved to march towards the enemy; having ſent before him ſome of his own party, to mark out a camp for him. When Boufflers was informed of his arrival, he laid aſide all thoughts of taking the city, and marched off to his own frontiers, in order to defend the Maeſe. At that time, an incredible fervour had ſeized not only the Dutch towns, but alſo their very deputies and ſoldiers, ſo that they were in the utmoſt ſuſpence; but the earl of Marlborough's arrival wonderfully raiſed the ſpirits of the ſoldiers.

THE earl of Marlborough made a feint as if he intended to attack Coutray, and, after various marches, proceeded to the Maeſe, through the territories of Bois le Duc, and made an halt between Maeſtricht and that town, both to defend the Dutch confines, and either to take, or ſtraiten the fortifications which the enemy had in thoſe countries upon the Maeſe. When Boufflers perceived this, in order to cut off major-general Lumley, who was marching up to the camp with the Britiſh horſe, and to intercept the earl of Marlborough's proviſions, he moved from his former ſituation, and ſat down between Bois le Duc and Marlborough's camp, which filled the Dutch again with freſh terrors; but Lumley being informed by mynheer Fagel, of the enemy's deſign to intercept him, left his camp by night, and returned to Grave, and ſoon after came up ſafe to the grand army.

THE earl of Marlborough obſerving marſhal Boufflers' deſign, did not think fit to meet him; but as he was cut off from his own proviſions, ſo, in like manner, he cut off Boufflers from his; but, leſt the confederates

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Deſigns to fight Boufflers;

confederates army ſhould be much ſtraitened in the camp, he ſent out ſpies to diſcover the ſtrength of the enemy, and the nature of the place. Upon their report, the earl of Marlborough, being deſirous of fighting the enemy, called a council of war, and declared to the generals what intelligence he had received; deſiring them all to ſpeak their minds, and what they thought beſt to be done. Many declared for fighting; the Dutch deputies alone oppoſed it, excuſing themſelves by theſe reaſons: "The enemy," ſaid they, "has not given us a fair opportunity; "the ground which lies before them is marſhy; and we ought not, "raſhly, to run any hazard on our own frontiers." On the other ſide, the earl of Marlborough inſiſted, "That the marſhes were paſſable, "and the place not unfit for an engagement: that the council was of "opinion the enemy had now given a fair opportunity: that, in war, "moſt accidents were contingent and uncertain; yet ſome things "ought to be attempted: and, that councils are not always to be "judged of according to the event."

prevented by the Dutch.

When Boufflers heard what was propoſed in the council, and that, moſt probably, Marlborough would attack his camp that day, he broke up from that place. The day after the enemy had retired, when the confederate ſoldiers found that the marſhes between them and the enemy were paſſable, they were heartily grieved that the enemy had eſcaped out of their hands, and that the Dutch deputies had not agreed in opinion with the earl of Marlborough; but the earl himſelf, who knew very well, that in war many great events happen through ſmall accidents, and that the Dutch would not alter the cuſtoms of their country, and the maxims of their republic, out of regard to him, is reported only to have ſaid, "They had loſt an opportunity of a great "action that day; and they might probably wait long enough for ſuch "another." The deputies covered their own fears with the cloak of prudence; ſo that it is not eaſy to determine whether their prudence or their fear was greater. The malcontents, alſo, in England, raiſed a loud clamour, that the enemy was ſuffered to ſlip through our hands; and that an end might have been put to the war that day, if the opportunity had not been neglected; though, in their hearts, they were well pleaſed with what had happened. It had, however, this good conſequence,

conſequence, that the ſoldiers had afterwards a greater confidence in the earl of Marlborough, and paid an abſolute ſubmiſſion to his authority. The earl purſued the enemy in their retreat from the Dutch confines, and pitched his camp in a proper place, that he might fall upon the enemy's garriſons, which was now the moſt adviſable undertaking.

Young volunteers.

AT this time, prince Erneſt, of Hanover, a youth who eagerly aſpired to military glory, the marquis of Lorne, the earl of Huntingdon, Mr. Dalrymple, afterwards Earl of Stair, Mr. Richards, Sir Richard Temple, and other young gentlemen, ambitious to learn the art of war, and to purſue the paths of glory, came now to make their firſt campaign. By their gallant actions, the military art itſelf was not a little ennobled throughout the confederate war, and the earl of Marlborough's head deſervedly adorned with many laurels.

ABOUT the ſame time, the Jeſuits were very buſily employed in attempts to raiſe a civil war in Holland; for which they were prohibited the exerciſe of holy offices at Amſterdam, and other places, by the authority of the ſtates; who gave orders, that all men ſhould confine themſelves to their proper ſtations; the clergy to their devotions; the common people to their duty; and the magiſtrates to the exerciſe of their offices. The Jeſuits made loud complaints of the ruin of religion to the pope, who adviſed them to look well to their own conduct, and then ſignified that it would be acceptable to him to refer the dangers of religion to his care.

THE French king began now to diſcover his own ſecrets. He is reported to have ſaid, but a few days before, "that he was perſuaded "his forces were then in poſſeſſion of Nimeguen;" which very much confirmed the ſuſpicions of the Dutch, that ſome of their commanders had been guilty of a conſpiracy. But when he was informed of the miſcarriage of his troops in Holland, and that Landau, upon the Rhine, was cloſely beſieged by Joſeph, king of the Romans, he ſtirred up the elector of Bavaria, for whom he had engaged to procure a kingdom, to excite freſh troubles in Germany. Bavaria was a very affable and obliging prince, highly eſteemed by his own people, and had acquired great

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great military reputation: but now, having, as it were, miſtaken his road to glory, he deemed it an higher honour to be feared than to be beloved by the neighbouring princes. He indulged a conceit too, that he was more powerful than all the princes of Germany, and entertained a deſign of oppreſſing them, together with his country, and compelling them to revolt from the common cauſe of the empire.

Ulm taken by the elector of Bavaria.

THE elector of Bavaria, then, being ſeduced by the allurements of the French king, prepared himſelf for raiſing a war in Germany; and on the 8th of September, without any provocation, according to his agreement with the French king, treacherouſly ſurpriſed and took Ulm, an imperial city; having privately ſent a number of ſoldiers for that purpoſe through the confines of Nortgaw, under the conduct of baron Hicman. This party being dreſſed in the habit of country people, made their way thither ſecretly by night; ſome hid themſelves among the buſhes, and in the ſuburbs; others, in women's apparel, and carrying apples, fruits, flowers, and other things, as it were to the market, fell into company with the waggoners who came to the gates by break of day. Theſe men, as ſoon as the gates were opened, ruſhed into the city, and ſuddenly fell upon the guards. A tumult enſuing of courſe, thoſe who had concealed themſelves among the buſhes, ruſhed out of their ambuſcade at once, and entering the city in three bodies, completely armed, brought relief to their friends, who, being hard beſet, ſtood greatly in need of it; for there was a great ſlaughter at the gates. Hicman, their commander, through the fatigue of that action, and a wound received in it, fell; but was carried by the Bavarians into a place of ſecurity. At length, the guards being either killed or diſperſed, the enemy became maſters of all the gates, and immediately mounting the walls, turned the cannon of the garriſon againſt the citizens, threatening them with utter deſtruction, unleſs they would lay down their arms, and ſubmit to their commands. The citizens demanding what they would have, and what they meant by this aſſault? the Bavarians anſwered, "To preſerve the peace of Germany." The elector of Bavaria ſent other ſoldiers alſo into other places; and the whole territory of Nortgaw was reduced in an inſtant.

WHEN

When theſe things were reported to the emperor, he called his council together, and demanded, what they thought beſt to be done in this dangerous ſtate of affairs? Some thought he ought immediately to fall upon the Bavarian; others were of opinion that he ought to treat him gently. The emperor himſelf was inclined to the gentler way, having been his father-in-law. Whereupon, count Schlic was diſpatched to him with the emperor's inſtructions, to exhort him, out of regard to the many great benefits he had received from the emperor and people of Germany, not to perſiſt in his oppoſition. The elector gave him audience, and the liberty of a free conference. And when the count had politely and at large aſſured him of the emperor's pardon for all that was paſt, and made ſuch honourable profeſſions as he had in charge, together with his own compliments, the elector having premiſed a declaration of his duty to the emperor in all times, made anſwer, "That for whatever benefits he had received of the emperor, he had ſpent his life and fortune in the emperor's ſervice in the Hungarian war, and repaid him benefit for benefit: but now, in this war with the French king, which was ſolely entered into for the emperor's own intereſt, and to which he had not yet made himſelf a party, he was at liberty to hold a neutrality; and as he was a prince, and director of the circle, he had a right not only to defend his own frontiers, but alſo to take poſſeſſion of what cities he thought fit; to levy forces, and even to treat with the French king, who was only the emperor's own proper enemy, leſt the common intereſt of Germany might ſuffer any damage, which he affirmed to be the ſole end he had in view."

Conference between the elector of Bavaria and count Schlic.

After this, the elector gave count Schlic one or two audiences more, in a very friendly manner. The count offered Mantua to him, and other favours, on condition that he would unite his forces with the emperor's. The elector ſeemed inclined to comply with the emperor's propoſal, and never hereafter to be unmindful of his duty, or to recede from the authority of the diet; and to rely upon count Schlic's ſole aſſiſtance, to make up all differences, as much as the emperor himſelf did. The count, who was bred up not ſo much in buſineſs of any kind as in amours, hearkened to all this with open ears:

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and, being deceived with the elector's ſpeeches, he undertook to the emperor, at his own hazard, to reduce the elector to his duty; and promiſed for him, that every thing ſhould be compromiſed in a ſhort time. But many people were of another opinion.

When the elector of Bavaria had taken Ulm, in order to exerciſe his valour, he ſent the count D'Arço, with ten thouſand ſoldiers, towards the Rhine, there to join his forces with the French. The count, on his march, was met near Scauffhuſen by a formidable body of Swiſs, who came to ſtop his progreſs. This they earneſtly perſuaded him to do; and from words they were very near coming to blows. But D'Arco perceiving this, and being afraid to be cut off from all communication with his own garriſons, and in deſpair alſo of the French coming up to join him, directed his march another way, and returned back into Bavaria.

In Bavaria matters grew worſe. Count Schlic, at length, found himſelf impoſed upon and deceived. On his return from thence, he was preferred to the command of twenty thouſand men, to obſerve the elector of Bavaria's motions. A man who had been bred up amidſt the pleaſures of the court at Vienna, and a ſtranger to the hardſhips of war, was made choice of by the emperor to oppoſe one of the moſt warlike princes of his age. The elector of Bavaria advanced to the river Ins; where, having outſtripped the report of his march, he unexpectly fell upon count Schlic, and overthrew the imperial army; and no wonder: for, in the preſent times, new-raiſed men are not able to ſtand againſt veteran ſoldiers. Having overthrown the imperial army, he forced the country troops and others to croſs the Ins: after which he took the caſtle of Cuffſtein, and other places upon the Ins, without any great difficulty, the emperor's garriſons being, at that time, for the moſt part, unprovided of every thing. Count Stirum, who commanded the country troops, occupied ſuch poſts as he judged to be moſt proper for oppoſing the elector of Bavaria. But the elector, having ſeized Paſſaw, and all the country bordering upon Bohemia, fortified a bridge laid acroſs the Danube. The van-guard of the Bavarians overthrew and killed the prince of Anſpach, a youth of ſingu-

Schlic overthrown by Bavaria.

lar courage, who was forward to purſue the enemy. The elector of Bavaria ſtruck a terror into the people of Nuremberg, and all their neighbours, laying the country under contributions. He ſent a meſſenger to Ratiſbon, the ſeat of the German diet, to let them know the progreſs of the war; and to caution the diet and ambaſſadors of the princes there, not to proceed to any adverſe meaſures againſt him, if they had any regard for their own ſafety; informing them withal, that he would protect them if they would conform themſelves to his wiſhes. The magiſtrates and citizens of Ratiſbon were inclined to liſten to the demands of the conquering hero; for which way ſoever he moved, he was looked upon as a thunderbolt of war; and even the Bohemians wiſhed for ſucceſs to the Bavarian arms.

And now he ſent his troops for a while into quarters of refreſhment; or rather gave up cities to them to be plundered: after which he demanded to be put in poſſeſſion of the ſtone-bridge at Ratiſbon, and kept a guard upon it a long time; ſlighting the authority of the diet, and deſolating the whole German empire, which he had lately promiſed to protect. At laſt it was propoſed in the diet of Germany, to proceed againſt the elector of Bavaria by way of proſcription. For, beſides his anſwer given to the emperor by count Schlic, he had written letters to the princes to the ſame purpoſe, declaring himſelf willing and deſirous to ſhare with them in their common fortune, and reſolved never to withſtand the authority of the diet.

Siege of Mantua raiſed.

While theſe things were tranſacting in Germany, prince Eugene in Italy being much inferior to the enemy in numbers, was forced to raiſe the ſiege, and retire from before Mantua, nearly about the time king Philip V. of Spain reſolved to go into Italy. Whereupon the French king wrote to the pope, that king Philip undertook that voyage out of zeal for religion; but in truth his voyage was undertaken for a quite different end; to learn the art of war, and to be acknowledged by the pope as king of Naples; for the French king ſaid, that this was neceſſary to be done, ſince otherwiſe the Neapolitans would never look upon him as their king.

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THE duke de Medina Cœli, viceroy of Naples, having ſuppreſſed the ſedition, as I have related before, was, by the French king's counſel, recalled to Spain, without any oſtenſible cauſe; and that while their affections for the houſe of Auſtria were yet warm, and before the ſparks of rebellion were utterly extinguiſhed. The Neapolitans, headſtrong by nature, and inſolent through the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, and the clemency of the air, cannot long endure any one government. They now refuſed to obey this; complaining that the French were about to load them with mountains of oppreſſions, and of other grievances; and even pretending that Philip himſelf was not of the right line. The count d'Eſtree, commander of the Spaniſh fleet, had been ſent before to Naples to guard the coaſts. And now, in his return, having ſet ſome noblemen on ſhore at Toulon, who were accuſed of the ſedition, he gave the ſignal immediately to leave that port, and ſailed for Barcelona, where king Philip had long waited for him. When Philip, therefore, had received the homage of the people of Saragoſſa and Barcelona, and ſettled the government of his kingdom of Spain, on the 8th day of April he went on board. He left his queen at that time regent; and having a fair wind, in a few days landed at Baiiæ. The next day he ſailed in a galley to Naples. There was a vaſt concourſe of the nobility, and others of all ranks, and an incredible crowd of the religious orders to attend him to the palace, when the king made his public entry into the city; and a great multitude of the common people ſtood in the ſtreet, and at their doors; whom the king ſaluted three times with his head uncovered. No body returned him the compliment, or bade him welcome. The vulgar, who generally judge of every thing according to the impreſſions of ſenſe and fancy, ſaid, "That he did not indeed want comelineſs or "majeſty, but that he was not deſcended of the right line of their "own kings:" ſome alleged one thing, and ſome another; but eſpecially that he was not yet recognized by the pope. Cardinal Janſon, as if he had been poſſeſſed with furies, threatened the pope with the utmoſt extremity, unleſs he would forthwith take king Philip into his protection. The pope ſtood out; and promiſed to ſend a legate *a latere* to the king. Cardinal Barbarini, the pope's beneficiary, was appointed to that extraordinary legation; and went thither in

King Philip ſets out for Italy.

Compli-mented by the pope and princes.

in the pope's name with the preſents which are cuſtomary for popes to ſend, and to wiſh the king all happineſs. After him went the cardinal Janſon, and the ambaſſadors of all the Italian princes, except the duke of Modena, to make their compliments to the new king. There was an infinite concourſe of people of all ranks and nations. The king publiſhed a proclamation, notifying on what days the princes of the kingdom, and the magiſtrates of the cities ſhould attend him. Nor was there any citizen of Rome, of any quality or note, who did not go to wait upon the king. Of all who came thither, none was more coldly received than the conſtable of Colonna; who, for ſome days, was not admitted to an audience, but afterwards had a free conference with the king. He made an excuſe for himſelf. But the king, reproving him, ſaid, "It was for his mother's ſake, that he "now received him into favour, and did not proſcribe him among "the reſt." For the French king, in his youth, is ſaid to have been in love with his mother; and there might probably be ſome ſparks of that old flame ſtill remaining in him.

THE French king being, in the mean time, ſolicitous to know his grandſon's private courſe of life, inquired of marſhal Marſin, his ambaſſador to king Philip, who informed him of every little circumſtance thereof, and that the king was of an amorous diſpoſition. The French king, therefore, wrote to him, and gravely admoniſhed him, "to be mindful of his queen, and that he was under the obligation "of marriage; telling him withal, how many dangers youth was "expoſed to, and how ſoon amours, and thoſe things which are called "pleaſures, are apt to fade away." King Philip, therefore, to pleaſe his people, and to follow his grandfather's advice, aſſiſted at the miraculous rites of St. Januarius. There was a promiſcuous multitude of the people, and the blood did not flow as uſual, at which the king was enraged; and would have immediately retired, leſt the common people ſhould look upon it as ominous. The French, in great impatience, loudly expreſſed their contempt of theſe Neapolitan rites, as mere trifles, and treated St. Januarius with the utmoſt freedom. At laſt the blood began to flow, and then king Philip returned to the altar. And when the ceremonies were all ended in form, the French boaſted

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Escapes an assassination.

boasted at large that the kingdom was confirmed to them by a divine miracle. But the prejudices and plots of the Neapolitans were not yet ended; for, when the king was invited out to the chace, a villain lay in wait, treacherously to attempt his life. The assassin being taken in the fact, and examined, made no answer, but only, "That "he was not of the right line of their kings." The man was thought to be mad; for no other answer could be extorted from him. But marshal Marsin did not think it advisable for the king to stay longer at Naples. King Philip, without delay, settled the government, and obliged the whole kingdom to swear allegiance to him; he laid heavy impositions upon those cities which he suspected to be in the emperor's interest, and put garrisons into them; he remitted to his people their old debts, and the taxes which had been long in arrears, and which they were not able to pay; and making a speech to them, he thanked them all in general for their having defeated all the designs of the enemy, and exhorted them to continue firm in their duty. At last, he appointed certain of the principal persons to attend him, and left the rest filled with good hopes; declaring, how glad he would have been to have continued among them in that kingdom; though he changed his mind after the discovery of the conspiracy against him. The people, having tasted of king Philip's bounty, took their leave of him. In the mean time the chapel of our Lady of the Annunciation, which was the more sacred that it was the treasury of Naples, laboured under a great decay of credit. This caused great lamentations and tumults among the people. These being appeased with hopes and fair words, king Philip, the next month after his coming thither, went again on ship-board. Grineau, a Frenchman, was made commander of his forces. On the 2d day of June, amidst the general acclamations of his people, he left Naples; and sailing along the shore, took a view of Orbitello, Civita Vecchia, Porto Baratto, and other places upon the coast of Genoa. At Leghorn, the great duke of Tuscany made him a visit. From thence, passing by Genoa, Vado, and Savona, he entered the port of Final, belonging to Milan, where a great number of the nobles of Milan waited for him. Then he proceeded to Acqui, where the duke of Savoy met him, with his duchess and her mother; but their congratulations did not stop him long in his journey; and,

Leaves Naples.

at

Arrives at Milan; goes to the camp.

at laſt, he made his entry into Milan. From thence, after he had received the homage of his ſubjects, he haſtened to the camp at Rivalta, where the duke of Vendoſme having raiſed the ſiege of Mantua, and taken other garriſons of the Germans, formed a fine army to be put under the command of king Philip. In this journey he was met by the dukes of Parma and Mantua, both of whom he received very kindly, and made them many gracious promiſes. Soon after this the Duke of Vendoſme met him before the camp; ſhewing him the ſituation of the enemy, and giving him full inſtructions what he was to do. When king Philip was come to the camp, he thought he could force prince Eugene either to fight or to leave Italy; therefore, the ſieur Albergotti was ſent with the command of 4000 men to beſiege Reggio. After this he quickly reduced Modena, on the firſt day of Auguſt. The duke of Modena, with his ducheſs and children, retired to Bologna, their only refuge. King Philip, with the army under his command, marched out of Cremona, and paſſing through the duchy of Parma, unexpectedly fell upon general Viſconti, marching that way with a body of Germans, on the 20th day of July, near the town of Santa Victoria. The Germans were put to flight, and returned to the river Croſtolo, where monſieur Herbeville was ready to meet the flying troops; thither alſo the king haſtened in cloſe purſuit of the enemy.

When prince Eugene received intelligence of this defeat, he left Seraglio and Mantua at liberty, and occupied a woody place fit for a camp, near Borgoforte, and reinforced Luzara with two hundred men. King Philip ſummoned this town to ſurrender, which the governor refuſed to do. In the mean time, prince Eugene being ſurrounded by the enemy, and fearing leſt he ſhould be cut off from all communication or retreat, left Oſtiglia and Borgoforte, and removed his camp, in order to hinder the enemy from laying a bridge acroſs the Po, and joining both their armies; for he thought the beſt advantage he could now make of this war would be, to decamp from this place, and keep continually in motion; hoping, that by frequent marches, and removing from place to place, he ſhould the more commodiouſly ſupply his army with proviſions, and might alſo probably find an opportunity to engage one or other of the enemy's armies.

Prince

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Battle of Luzara.

Prince Eugene himſelf led the firſt line, and prince Commerci the ſecond; and when both were drawn up in order of battle, they marched directly to Luzara, which is ſuppoſed to have been the Nuceria of the ancients. When they came thither on the 15th day of Auguſt, they ſaw king Philip's army drawn up; the left wing of which was covered by the Po, and the right by the town; whereupon prince Eugene changed the diſpoſition of his army, and turned his right wing to the left. When the great guns were planted, and all things in readineſs for battle, prince Eugene drew out two battalions of foot of the right wing, and commanded them to fall upon the left wing of the enemy. The Germans obeyed, and drove the enemy as far as the Po. King Philip obſerving this, ſent a party of horſe to ſupport the diſordered foot, and to engage the foremoſt of the enemy. King Philip here ſhewed great courage and ardour to fight at the head of his forces. The battle was fiercely maintained on both ſides; and the Germans ſteadily kept their ground, though much inferior to the enemy in number. In this engagement prince Commerci was ſlain, whoſe death was matter of great grief to the ſoldiers. The French horſe diſmounted on account of the ditches between them and the enemy. In the left wing, count Guido Staremberg commanded prince Vaudemont to lead the horſe about againſt the enemy, while he himſelf attacked them in front. Vaudemont obeyed, and fell upon them in the open flank with ſuch courage, that he forced them to give way; for on that ſide there was room to fight, and the place was not ſo much encumbered with trenches and ditches. Staremberg immediately advanced to the Po. The French who had been repulſed, returned to the fight, ſeveral times, to recover the ground they had loſt. The Germans again overthrew them, but not without great ſlaughter on their own ſide. At laſt, night put an end to the battle, which began two hours before ſun-ſet, on the 15th day of Auguſt. Both ſides claimed the honour of the victory, and both returned God thanks for it; the emperor did the ſame at Vienna, and the French king at Paris. The French are reckoned to have loſt five thouſand men, and the Germans two thouſand. Nothing ever grieved Eugene more than the death of his fellow-ſoldier Commerci, whom he ſadly lamented. The French retired that night to Luzara; the Germans remained on the field of battle. King Philip, in a few days, took

took Guaſtalla; and prince Eugene, Borgoforte, Berſello, and other places upon the Po. But as he was in want of every thing, he wrote letters, heavily complaining of count Mansfield, preſident of the council of war, who did more hurt to him, and the emperor's affairs, than the enemy themſelves did. After this battle, count Ebergen, and colonel Paul Diack, with ſixty huſſars, making an excurſion out of prince Eugene's camp, paſſed the Po by a bridge, and raiſed contributions upon the monaſtery of the Carthuſians at Pavia, and all the places in their way, entered the city of Milan at noon-day, and raiſed money from the citizens in the name of the emperor; and afterwards, croſſing the Adda, the Oglio, the Mincio, and other rivers, returned ſafe to the camp, with five hundred fine horſes, and other booty, which they had taken in their journey. But now winter coming on, prince Eugene diſpoſed his few ſcattered troops which remained after the battle, into winter-quarters, and kept poſſeſſion of the Po, and a ſmall part of the dutchy of Mantua, the whole winter: for he had enough to do to keep his men in their quarters, and to feed them with coarſe barley flour.

When king Philip found himſelf diſappointed of thoſe laurels which he expected to have gathered in Italy, and had preſented the duke of Vendoſme with the order of the golden fleece, he reſolved to return to Spain, in order to expel the Engliſh and Dutch, who infeſted his coaſts, and to conſummate his marriage with his queen.

In his journey he was met by the doge and ſenate of Genoa; and entered their city, out of curioſity, to have a view of their ſacred reliques; from thence, accompanied with the cardinal D'Eſtrees, he paſſed by ſea to France, and landing at Toulon, finiſhed his journey to Spain by land. King Philip returns to Spain.

Though queen Anne had, at firſt, made a change in the reſolutions taken by king William for carrying on the war, yet, that ſhe might ſeem to follow the king's ſteps, an expedition was ordered into Spain, in the month of July. This army was commanded by the duke of Ormond, who was more illuſtrious for the ſplendour of his

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family, than for any action he himself had performed. Every one knows of what importance the alteration of the times is in relation to war. But after the death of king William, this design, the disposition of the people of Cadiz, and the concert between the confederates and some of the Spaniards, was discovered to the French king. Whereupon he took care to fortify Cadiz with new works and strong garrisons, chastised his adversaries in Spain, confirmed the doubtful, and banished many of the people of Cadiz out of that city.

The duke of Ormond's expedition to Cadiz.

THE fleet had ten thousand men on board besides the sailors; and the duke of Ormond embarked in the admiral's ship, on the first day of July. Sir George Rook, the admiral, gave the signal, and sailed for Spain. The fleet consisted of sixty men of war, besides a great number of transports. As he sailed by Lisbon, the duke of Ormond left there, and at other places on the coast of Spain, the queen's declaration, proclamations, and letters, to excite the Spaniards to revolt.

WHEN Mr. Methuen, her majesty's envoy to the king of Portugal, had notice of the arrival of the fleet, he went immediately to court to notify it to the king, and to offer him the service of the whole fleet. The king of Portugal, on the other hand, assured him, the fleet should be at full liberty to make use of any of his ports, as if he intended to observe a neutrality. The French king was offended at this; but the king of Portugal said, "He would carry on commerce with all nations; and that he was not able to keep such a fleet off his coast." After this, the French king also prepared to fit out a fleet. The arrival of the confederate fleet put the people into a great consternation at Madrid. The queen being a woman of great resolution, though as yet hardly arrived at the years of maturity, called her grandees to council, and asked them what was to be done in that dangerous conjuncture; declaring, that even "she herself, and all her maids, would "expose themselves to the utmost danger for the safety of the kingdom and her own honour." To this cardinal Portocarrero made answer, that he would give a hundred thousand crowns of his money, and maintain a troop of horse at his own charge: and the rest promised to contribute to the public cause in like proportion. On this declaration

The queen of Spain's courage.

declaration of the affection of her grandees, the queen diſpatched an expreſs, with orders to don Scipio de Brancas, governor of Cadiz, to look well to the ſecurity of the city and the coaſt, and to oppoſe the enemy's fleet; telling him, that, in caſe any diſaſtrous accident ſhould happen to him, "She herſelf would come to his aſſiſtance, to "guard the coaſt even with her own body againſt the duke of Or-"mond."

THE duke of Ormond had no ſooner entered the Bay of Cadiz than he ſent a meſſage to don Scipio, preſſing him now to aſſert his liberty, reminding him how often he had refuſed to ſubmit himſelf to the French yoke; and aſſuring him he was come with a fleet to protect ſuch of the Spaniards as were diſpoſed to join in an inſurrection. To this Brancas made anſwer, "That he would reſolutely and faithfully "ſerve the preſent king in his wars, as he had ſerved the late king; "and that he was deſcended of ſuch a family, that he would ſuffer "the laſt extremity rather than forfeit his honour." The duke of Ormond, provoked at this anſwer, firſt landed two hundred grenadiers, and after them ten thouſand men, and entered the town of Rota, or Virgona, in the antient Betica; which they plundered, and prevailed with ſome few of the people to ſwear allegiance to the houſe of Auſtria; and planted cannon upon the walls of Matagorda, the ancient Charybdis, in order to beſiege Cadiz. In the mean time there came eight French gallies with a reinforcement of four hundred men for the garriſon; on the ſight of which, the duke of Ormond and admiral Rook, left the whole fleet, conſiſting of ſeventy ſhips, ſhould be expoſed to danger, ſince there appeared no ſign that the city would ſurrender, deſiſted from the enterpriſe; and concluding that nothing more was to be attempted, the ſoldiers were commanded to reembark, without having performed any worthy action.

The fidelity of the governor of Cadiz.

KING WILLIAM'S reaſon for entering upon this undertaking was, that he might begin the war, and end it at once, while the garriſon of Cadiz was yet weak; by precluding the only way the French had of procuring money, as it were by this ſingle blow. What the queen's reaſon was, or the conduct of her commanders, no man alive can yet

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underſtand. Many looked upon this as a new and unheard-of management of war, and not wholly free from the imputation of treaſon: and the moſt conſiderable perſons thought it ſtrange, either that the duke of Ormond undertook this expedition, or that ſo great a fleet ſhould return without ſucceſs, or even without attempting any thing. Some ſaid the commanders wanted courage; ſome, that they wanted counſel; and others, that they wanted inclination. Many were grieved at the plunder of Port St. Mary's, and the French eſpecially reproached the queen with it; and even the emperor's miniſters joined with them in this accuſation. In their return towards England, through the Atlantic ocean, admiral Rook had the good fortune to meet with another prize. He had intelligence that the Spaniſh galleons, laden with gold and ſilver, were ſailing along the coaſt of Gallicia. He therefore gave orders to captain Wiſhart, who delighted in ſuch courſings, to follow the Spainards, and give him intelligence. He directly performed this ſervice, and reported to Rook, that eight galleons had entered the port of Vigo, with their convoy of twenty-three men of war. Rook, fearing leſt the prize thus fallen in his way, ſhould eſcape out of his hands, inſtantly bent his courſe towards the ſhore, and ſent other ſhips to join Wiſhart, while he himſelf, with the whole fleet, made up to the port. As the ſailors were eager to fight, and ready to run any hazard for the prize; ſo the Spaniards, and the governor of the province, were not wanting in diligence to land the treaſure of the Indies, and to remove it into the inland parts of Spain. The Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, breaking the boom and chains laid acroſs the channel, boldly entered the port amidſt the ſhips of the enemy. The ſailors attacked the galleons, the Spaniards ſtrenuouſly defended them, the confederates, with great alacrity, came to a cloſe engagement, and fought, as it were, in confuſion; and the prize was bravely diſputed. When the Spaniards were overpowered, they burned ſome of the galleons, and the confederates took others. The French alſo ſet fire to their own men of war. The confederates took a great deal; the Spaniards ſaved more; the greateſt part of which, together with moſt of the ſilver, they laid up in places of ſecurity; particularly at Lagos and Compoſtella. Admiral Rook was wont to engage the affections of his ſailors by ſharing the prizes among them; on which account he is

ſaid

ſaid to have firſt corrupted them; for which he was cenſured by many who were concerned for the public intereſt, whereas he was applauded by all the ſailors. In the mean time, the duke of Ormond's ſoldiers attacked the fort of Redondella, pillaged and gutted the ſhips which were taken or burnt; and broke up and ſearched the very keels which were half conſumed. At laſt admiral Rook gave the ſignal, and the duke of Ormond ſounded a retreat. The count de Chateau Renaud, the French admiral, ſet fire to his own ſhip. The queen of Spain rewarded the commanders and ſailors for making ſo ſtout a defence. She gave the admiral fifty thouſand pounds, and diſtributed among the other ſailors a hundred and twenty thouſand. After this, a large quantity of Indian commodities, being part of the prize, was brought into England; all which was deſpiſed by honeſt men, many looking upon the whole affair as no better than a robbery. Great part of the Spaniſh money was carried into the French treaſury. One Carle, a Frenchman, who had been leſs ſucceſsful in the wars in Flanders, and greedy of prey, is here ſaid to have amaſſed great riches, and afterwards became a piccaroon in Portugal.

THE plundering of Port St. Mary's gave great offence and ſcandal to many people: on which account it was made a ſubject of inquiry in the Engliſh parliament. The duke of Ormond's relations ſtood up very warmly in his defence; and theſe having great intereſt in the parliament, the houſe of lords thought fit to lay upon others the fault and blame of all that negligence and miſbehaviour which diſgraced this expedition. Sir Charles O'Hara, and Sir Henry Bellaſis, were ordered to be proſecuted for corruption. O'Hara being examined, purged himſelf in ſome meaſure from guilt; and afterwards recommending himſelf to the earl of Sunderland by his ſervices and conduct in the war in Spain, he made amends for his miſconduct here. The duke of Ormond's paraſites, making mean excuſes for his conduct, were rather a diſgrace than a ſupport to the dignity of ſo great a man, through their own littleneſs and inſignificance. Indeed, they ought, at that time at leaſt, to have forborne their high praiſes.

Inquiry into the conduct of this expedition.

THE French aggravated the plundering of Port St. Mary's to the laſt degree, in order to alienate the Spaniards the more from the confede-

rates;

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rates; and magnified the damage done to the enemy, inſomuch that the duke of Ormond's expedition and conduct in Spain was called a robbery rather than a war. On this account the court of Vienna preſſed the queen to deſiſt from making conqueſts in the Indies, and for the future to wave the right which had been granted to the maritime powers, by a treaty between the emperor and king William, and not to make any more wars againſt Spain by ſea. And when the queen was too eaſily prevailed on to yield to this importunity, the imperial court began to take upon them the principal directions of all counſels; which was, by all good men in England, looked upon with concern, as being likely to engage them in a long land war; againſt which, king William, out of regard to his own glory, and concern for the maritime powers, had carefully provided. A great noiſe was alſo made afterwards by thoſe of the French faction in England, that the miniſtry had not employed the leaſt of their care or thoughts upon the war in Spain and the Indies. The French king highly reſented the burning of his ſhips; and whatever great exploits king Philip had performed in Italy, his queen had done no leſs, who was a woman of great ſpirit, and poſſeſſed qualities for government beyond what could have been expected in her ſex and age.

When the earl of Marlborough perceived that he could not bring the enemy to an engagement, and that the Dutch deputies, who were unwilling to hazard a battle on any place on their confines, would not conſent to his attacking them, he reſolved to beſiege towns, and marched to the Maeſe. He had along with him general Cohorne; who, of all men living, not only in his time, but ſince, was the moſt expert in fortifications and ſieges. In the mean time, the duke of Burgundy, that he might not be an uſeleſs ſpectator of the calamities of France, returned to Paris. The earl of Marlborough, by the counſel of Cohorne, gave orders for the ſiege of Venlo; which was inveſted on the 29th day of Auguſt, by monſ. Opdam, on the one ſide, and the prince of Naſſau Saarbruch on the other. General Cohorne commanded the works. He broke ground, and began the approaches on the 6th day of September. In a few days Fort St. Michael was taken by ſtorm. The lord Cuts led up the ſoldiers to the attack, accompanied by prince Erneſt

Venlo beſieged,

Erneſt of Hanover, Mr. Dalrymple, the lord Lorne, the earl of Huntingdon, Sir Richard Temple, and other gallant young men, as volunteers; who, mixing with the ſoldiers, and forcing their way over the breaſtworks and palliſadoes, marched up to the walls, and performed the part of commanders as well as ſoldiers, encouraging the common men, leſt their hearts ſhould fail them in the conflict. Others alſo raiſing themſelves upon each other's backs over the bulwarks, and other high places, mounted the walls; and carrying their colours along wherever they went, drove and purſued the enemy from place to place, till they made themſelves maſters of the whole fort. The earl of Huntingdon, inflamed with military ardour, but in a weak ſtate of health, ſo that he could not keep pace with the foremoſt, gave all his money to ſome able-bodied men to help him over the breaſtwork. Of the enemy, forty officers, two hundred and fifty ſoldiers, and the governor of the fort, were taken; the reſt were either killed in the fight, or endeavouring to ſave themſelves by flight, were drowned in the river; and, as it were at the ſame blow, general Cohorne having perfected his works againſt the town, forced the governor of Venlo to ſurrender. To his conduct alſo was owing the reduction of Landau; the news of which haſtened this ſurrender. After this the town of Ruremond was alſo taken on the 7th of October. Upon this the earl of Marlborough advanced to Liege, where he ſat down two days, and then received the ſubmiſſions of that city to the houſe of Auſtria. Then he began to attack the great citadel on the 20th day of October, which was held by a French garriſon. The marſhal de Boufflers attempted in vain to throw freſh ſoldiers into this fortreſs; and vexed at the diſappointment, he marched directly to the river Meyn, to cover the interior countries, thinking the confederates might proceed thither that very ſeaſon. General Cohorne finiſhed his works againſt this citadel with ſuch expedition, that nothing like it has been heard in the memory of man. On the 23d he battered the walls; and while the ſoldiers were drawn up for the attack, Cohorne, with a new kind of mortar-piece of his own invention, and called by his own name, overthrew the French in their works. As there was an incredible quantity of grenadoes diſcharged upon their works from theſe ſmaller mortars: ſo the courage of the Engliſh in the aſſault was irreſiſtible. The French,

and taken;

and Ruremond,

and the city of Liege;

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French, terrified at the novelty of the machine and the quantity of the ſhot, and finding themſelves unable to withſtand the courage of the Engliſh, quitted their works, and retired to the walls. The lieutenant-general Fagel, and Sommerfelt, and prince Erneſt of Hanover, led up the ſoldiers with great courage to the attack. The Engliſh, purſuing the French, ruſhed into the citadel, ſword in hand, commanding the beſieged to lay down their arms, and ſurrender themſelves. The French, laying down their arms, ſubmitted. The ſoldiers there got a great booty; for beſides money in ſpecie, ſilver plate, and other goods of all kinds, there were alſo found thirty-four pieces of cannon, and an infinite ſtore of military proviſions. One of the grenadiers, who was wont on ſuch occaſions to examine and ſearch every place very narrowly, is ſaid to have got one thouſand crowns of the plunder that day to his own ſhare. The priſoners of war were ſent into Holland; for hitherto the French king would not hearken to any treaty for the exchange of priſoners: and a few days before this, the town of Stevenſwaert, very ſtrong, both by nature and art, was delivered up to the confederates.

and Stevenſwaert.

THE Dutch, highly ſatisfied with theſe ſucceſſes, congratulated the earl of Marlborough on his good conduct in having cleared the river Maeſe of the enemy; and now deſired the forces might be diſpoſed in winter-quarters, ſince the ſeaſon became ſo tempeſtuous, as neceſſarily put a ſtop to all farther action. This ſervice was intruſted to the earl of Rivers. The earl of Marlborough left the camp in order to concert with the ſtates-general at the Hague, for carrying on the war. But by the way an unfortunate accident happened to him, which after ſuch great exploits in the beginning of the war, ſtruck the ears of all who heard it with terror. The earl of Marlborough, ſailing down the river towards Holland, in a ſmall veſſel, was intercepted in his paſſage by robbers. The leader of this party, who was a native of Liege, coming in the night-time to the bank, took hold of the rope by which the boat was tied, and drawing it gently to the ſhore, without being perceived, he diſarmed Marlborough's guards unawares; then a tumult ariſing, he examined Marlborough, who he was, and whence he came? Marlborough ſhewed him a counterfeit paſs,

Marlborough taken by the enemy, and freed.

and pretending to be another perſon, made ſuch anſwers as he thought fit. The commander of the party, whether knowing him or not, diſmiſſed him immediately and all his company, with all the ſilver plate; and after talking with his party, approved Marlborough's paſs, concluding that he ought not to give him any interruption.

THE report that the earl of Marlborough was taken, ſoon ſpread over all the confines. Earl Rivers called a council, who were of opinion, that he ought firſt of all to write to the queen; and next to draw the army together, to reſtore the earl of Marlborough to his liberty. Expreſſes were ſent far and near. The rumour of this accident aſtoniſhed all the confederate princes; and many thought the confederate war and the common cauſe were now utterly undone. But the confederates did not long remain under this melancholy apprehenſion; for the firſt expreſſes were ſoon followed by others, with aſſurances that the earl of Marlborough was ſet at liberty. On this news, every one cried out, how highly he was in God's favour! and Marlborough's fortune was now as much talked of as was Cæſar's of old among the pirates. Earl Rivers had not time to write; being a very bad ſcribe, and the time of his command but ſhort. He now found of what uſe learning might be in war; and the lord Raby alſo, now firſt convinced of it by experience, applied himſelf to writing.

WHEN the earl of Marlborough arrived at the Hague, he was received there with great joy. He conferred with the ſtates about matters relating to the war; and about a permiſſion to the Dutch to carry on a commerce with France, without which their merchants ſaid they could not poſſibly either carry on the war, or pay their taxes. The earl of Marlborough agreed to the propoſal of the ſtates, and promiſed to lay it before the queen and parliament; after which he returned to England. The earl of Winchelſea, whom the queen ſent ambaſſador to the elector of Hanover, fell ſick at the Hague.

I HAVE already ſhewn, that a few days after the elector of Bavaria had taken poſſeſſion of Ulm, he formed a reſolution to join his forces with the French. Count d'Arco, in order to prevent his being inter-

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cepted by the Swiſs, returned into Bavaria, after Marſhal Catinat had ſent him word that he could not poſſibly join him, on account of prince Lewis of Baden's army lying between them. Not long after, Catinat, by his king's command, ſent a light army to the Rhine, to march into Bavaria by way of Baſil. Theſe forces were commanded by the marquis de Villars, formerly the French king's ambaſſador to the emperor; who now returning home, and being an active man, was preferred to a command in Catinat's army: and leſt the ſuperiority of his parts ſhould be concealed through too much modeſty, he often preſſed Catinat to fight the enemy. He wrote letters alſo to his ſovereign, in which he alleged, that Catinat's ſchemes were grown old; and that the Gallican valour began to abate through delays. Villar's confidents alſo, writing to their friends at Paris, compared Catinat's patience almoſt to a ſiege. The ducheſs of Burgundy was an enemy to Catinat, on account of his diſcovering her father's treachery. Madame Maintenon, a woman of great genius, who was as it were the French king's ſecond wife, and now governed his councils, was on the whole a friend to Catinat; but at this time, through the inſinuations of the ducheſs of Burgundy, ſhe became a patroneſs to Villars': to him therefore Catinat committed this light army. Villars procured the king's orders to fight, in caſe he could not make his way into Bavaria without it.

Villars' expedition into Germany.

PASSING by the fortreſs of Hunninghen in the Suntgaw, he made an expeditious march to the Rhine, paſſed the river by a bridge, and ſent three thouſand down the river in boats, who defeated four hundred Swiſs on the banks of the Rhine in the Briſgaw, and took poſſeſſion of Newburgh. The prince of Baden, provoked at this, broke up part of his army at Fredlingen, and marched to Newburgh; but his forces being too few to undertake any enterpriſe, he thought to have led his men back to the camp: which when Villars underſtood, being deſirous to overtake him in his journey, he ſent his foot down the Rhine to Fredlingen, while he himſelf, by long marches, purſued the prince of Baden with his horſe. Baden being informed by count Merci, that Villars was coming, in order to prevent his being attacked in the rear, commanded his men to halt, and drew them up to front him. Villars marched ſo faſt, that as ſoon as they heard he was to come, they ſaw him

him coming. Thoſe who had been in the works abandoned their poſts. The prince of Baden drew them together again from the other ſide of the mountain. The marquis de Villars marched againſt the enemy. The armies engaged; and the battle was maintained on both ſides with great obſtinacy. The Germans firſt attacked the French, and drove them back about one hundred paces. The French came to a cloſe engagement, ſword in hand; and after the count de Guiſcard was come up with freſh forces to the aſſiſtance of Villars, repulſed the German horſe. For with this reinforcement the French being much ſuperior to the Germans in number, were ſo encouraged, that they diſordered the ſecond line of the Germans, and put the horſe to flight on every ſide. Baden ſeeing himſelf abandoned by his horſe, and conſidering how to provide for the ſafety of the reſt, now at laſt drew up his foot, and made a briſk aſſault upon the enemy, drawing them into a neighbouring wood. Then advancing to the head of his firſt line, he encouraged his ſoldiers, commanding them to widen their ranks, that they might have more room to uſe their ſwords, and to bring up the enſigns; and that the foot by their valour might redeem the reputation loſt by the ſhameful flight of the horſe, they maintained a ſharp fight in every part of the wood. At laſt they drove the enemy out of it, and purſued the flying French as far as Hunninghen, through the confines of Baſil, though the purſuers ſuffered much in their turn from the enemy. The French horſe, to whom the field of battle ſeemed diſadvantageous, when drawn up in their ranks, was found to remain almoſt entire, and after the fight was over, retreated a little.

The battle of Fredlingen.

When the German horſe was defeated, Villars, not waiting for the end of the battle, wrote to his king, that now he had obtained a victory, and the king immediately thereupon declared him a marſhal in the camp. But his adverſaries ſoon informed the king how ſmall a victory it was that he had gained. It is certain, glory is always attended with envy. However, Villars did not afterwards hold ſo high a place as he expected in the king's favour. Marſhal Villars marched with a party of horſe, and took Fredlingen, where he took up his quarters; and thither were brought to him ſome enſigns and cannon taken from the enemy. Prince Lewis of Baden put his men into winter quar-

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ters, to cover the interior parts of Germany. The Germans loſt more officers than the French did in this battle. Villars, in order to refreſh his wearied troops, took up his winter quarters on the other ſide of the Rhine; but the French king was angry with him, for not having marched into Bavaria.

Tallard's expedition into Germany.

In the mean time, count Tallard, marching acroſs the Rhine with a body of eight thouſand men, advanced within ſight of Cologne, where the inhabitants were in ſuch a conſternation, that they hid themſelves under ground. After he had forced them to obſerve a neutrality, he marched to the Moſelle, and put garriſons into ſeveral places upon the Rhine: he reduced the people of Treves to ſubmit to the French king, and exacted rigorous contributions of the inhabitants of the Rhine. But the hereditary prince of Heſſe-Caſſel returning at that time from the earl of Marlborough's camp to the Rhine, before he put his men into their winter quarters, retook Bingen, Lintz, Brizich, and Andernach, places which Tallard had lately taken upon the Rhine, reſtoring them again to the emperor's obedience. He did not now go to Treves and Traerbach, becauſe the winter was coming on.

French lines.

The French king, no longer confiding in the courage of his ſoldiers, ordered a line to be drawn from Antwerp to Namur, fortified with breaſt-works and battlements; and in many places there was a double line, mounted with cannons, and faced with paliſadoes and ſtakes; a work of great expence, being fifteen feet high, and forty miles long, ſome remains of which are ſtill to be ſeen; but poſterity will look upon it as a piece of French oſtentation, rather than of their military prudence.

The earl of Marlborough, on his return to England, firſt gave the queen an account of the operations of the campaign. After this he went into the country, to take his laſt leave of the earl of Sunderland, who was dying, out of reſpect to the long friendſhip and reſemblance of inclinations that had ſubſiſted between them. Notwithſtanding the many mutual offices of friendſhip which had paſſed between them, which might well account for that conference, it was regarded with great jealouſy by men in whom religious zeal had extinguiſhed the common

Death of Sunderland.

common feelings of humanity. Sunderland died, having received the holy communion at the hands of Dr. Trimnell, a man of eminent piety and moderation. As his life had not been blameleſs, nor dear to his country, ſo neither were his praiſes celebrated at his death. His ſon, now earl of Sunderland, worthy of ſuch a father, ſucceeded him in his eſtate and honour, and took his place in the houſe of peers. He joined himſelf to the lord Somers's party, and ſeemed a long time to oppoſe the earl of Marlborough. And, in order to ſhew how heartily he abhorred his father's faults, in the collection of books which he made for his library, he caſt out the works of the holy fathers, like dregs of antiquity, and commended Machiavel as much preferable to them all; which gave ſo much ſcandal to the clergy, that his very name became offenſive to them. Thoſe who think that Sunderland was the ſole author and projector of the revolution, entertain a wild notion, and do not conſider the humour of the times, nor the uncertainty of accidents in that great event, which none but God could foreſee or control. The prince of Orange himſelf knew how to improve thoſe times and accidents as well as the earl of Sunderland, who was alſo thought to be the author of this war, that the earl of Marlborough, and the lord Godolphin, and his own ſon, might manage it to their own private advantage. The earl of Marlborough returned out of the country to attend the parliament, and to be preſent at the ſolemn thankſgiving for the happy ſucceſſes of the campaign. And much about the ſame time the duke of Ormond arrived in England from the coaſt of Spain, laden, as it were, with the rich prizes taken at Port St. Mary's; in remembrance of which a medal was ſtruck, with this inſcription:

NOVÆ PALLADIUM TROJÆ:

And underneath,

CAPTA ET INCENSA GALL. ET HISP. CLAS.
ad Vigum xij. die Octob.
MDCCII.

IN the parliament of England there were many debates about allowing the Dutch to trade with France, and interdicting the ſame advantage to the Engliſh. In the laſt war, when the ordinary ſupplies fell ſhort of the expence of the war, the parliament were wont every year to borrow

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borrow money, which was now to be paid to the creditors in four and twenty years, with intereſt. By this means king William gained two advantages; the people, who were averſe to the ſucceſſion of the crown, as it was now ſettled after the revolution, and even his enemies in foreign parts, were bound in the ſame intereſt with the confederates; and he was himſelf the more aſſured of the people's adherence to him. He was alſo enabled the better to carry on the war, having ready money to pay his ſoldiers. Thoſe who had formerly blamed the king for this, and ſaid, he intended to impoveriſh the kingdom, had now recourſe themſelves to the ſame methods; and money was raiſed by the parliament to the amount of three millions, the greateſt part of which would be diſcharged in ninety-nine years, or by the death of the creditors. Some propoſitions were alſo made for the reformation of religion, which others thought the commons were rather about to defile and diſturb. But of this more hereafter.

Proceedings in the parliament of Scotland.

On the death of the late king, moſt people were of opinion, that the parliament of Scotland, and all other things which depended upon the royal authority, were diſſolved, expired, and rendered null, and that the parliament itſelf was no better than a convention of robbers. However, the queen was pleaſed of her own will to order the ſame parliament to meet again, and conſtituted the duke of Queenſberry her high commiſſioner. When the duke had received his inſtructions, he came to Edinburgh at the time appointed for holding the parliament; and making a ſpeech to them, demanded a ſupply of money for payment of the ſoldiers, and recommended to them the ſecurity of their religion, and an union of the two kingdoms.

The duke of Hamilton, who was Queenſberry's competitor and rival, at firſt agreed to thoſe things; and that commiſſioners nominated by the queen ſhould treat with the Engliſh about an union of the kingdoms: but afterwards he oppoſed it; and at laſt, by his means, a ſeceſſion was made from the parliament. Many even proteſted that this parliament was not legally aſſembled, and therefore called the taxes which were impoſed upon the people a wicked depredation, and inſiſted that all the proceedings in that parliament were illegal, and of no force

or authority. Though ſome were of this opinion, yet others inſiſted that ſuch commiſſioners as the queen ſhould appoint ſhould go to London, to hear the propoſals of the Engliſh, either for an union, or redreſſing the grievances of the kingdom, or to make ſuch propoſals to them as ſhould be thought fit. This was agreed to on both ſides, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the diſaffected, who were as ſtrenuous againſt it as if the reputation and ſafety of the renowned and moſt ancient kingdoms of Scotland and England had been all at ſtake.

Treaty of union ſet on foot.

IMMEDIATELY by the queen's directions, deſpiſing the judgment of the diſaffected party, the commiſſioners ſet out for the place of meeting. Nothing of moment being yet laid before them, the Scots commiſſioners thinking themſelves ill uſed, returned home again, without having done any thing, in great diſguſt. The queen aſſigned preſents to the commiſſioners, which remained a long time unpaid. At that time the Engliſh wanted reſolution, which certainly was happy for the preſbyterians in Scotland, and their kirk; for, otherwiſe, there had been an end of their religion at that time, when the tories had all the power with the queen, as ſhall be demonſtrated hereafter. The ſupply which was voted was called a robbery, and many looked upon the levying it as a very wicked thing.

King of Sweden's victories over the Poles.

IN this year the king of Sweden overthrew the king of Poland in battle, and purſued him in his flight through all the corners of his kingdom. The king of Poland kept himſelf during the winter in the caſtle of Thorne, and by his ambaſſadors put himſelf, as elector of Saxony, formally under the emperor's protection, as thinking his own affairs utterly deſperate; but he would not yet abdicate his kingdom. The king of Sweden being invited by queen Anne to join himſelf in the confederate war, made his excuſe to her by letters. The Hungarians made heavy complaints to the emperor, of depredations, and the ſeverity of his miniſters. The biſhop of Five Churches gave them freſh provocation, out of zeal for his religion. This gave riſe to many more evils, and occaſion to the war in Hungary, which the emperor ought moſt carefully to have prevented; but the Auſtrian miniſtry were eagerly ſet upon it, as the moſt likely means of improving their fortunes.

The grounds of the war in Hungary.

When

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When the queen offered her mediation in this affair, the Auſtrians refuſed her aſſiſtance, and laid heavier impoſitions upon the Hungarians; objecting againſt them, that they never had approved their allegiance in time of peace, nor their courage in time of war: but of their courage they had too good proofs two years after this, when the Hungarians laid waſte the faireſt of the Auſtrian provinces.

THIS year there was a great tumult and inſurrection of the Cevennois in France; where there aroſe a rebellion, and a ſect of prophets, of whom we ſhall take more notice hereafter. While the armies were every where going to their winter quarters, it became neceſſary for the imperialiſts to take care, leſt their army in Italy, which had hitherto laboured under the want of every thing, ſhould either now periſh by hunger, or be made priſoners, being ſurrounded in a manner by their enemies on every ſide. Wherefore, count Mansfelt, and count Hurrach, in a conference with ſignior Loridano, the Venetian ambaſſador to the emperor, now ſhewed him, "How neceſſary it would be for his "imperial majeſty to procure proviſions for the uſe of his army in "Italy. The emperor's treaſury (ſaid they) is exhauſted; the carriage "by land into Italy is long, ſubject to interruptions by the enemy, and "attended with various inconveniencies; and that they had no other "way now left, but to furniſh their army with corn for the future, by "the Adriatic ſea from Trieſte, and other places in the Eaſt, ſince all "the other ways to the army were either impaſſable or ſhut up by the "enemy." Loridano anſwered, "I need not tell you how ill the "ſenate took it ſome time ago, when the French king only let fall a "word to this purpoſe. I beg of you therefore never to think any more "of a paſſage through the Adriatic ſea, nor ſo much as to mention it. "He exhorted them alſo to conſider of what advantage it had been to "the emperor that the ſenate had obſerved a neutrality; which if "the emperor ſhould once violate, let them look to the evil conſe-"quences of it; for there was no doubt but the French king would "attack them by ſea too." Many other things were alſo mentioned by Loridano "concerning the ancient juriſdiction of the Adriatic ſea, "the ſacred walls of the Venetians, and the mouths of the river Adige and "Po hitherto inviolated, and which ſhould ſtill be ſo maintained, &c."

The hardſhips of the imperialiſts in Italy.

The reſolution of the Venetians.

To

To this count Mansfeld replied, "That, laying aside the character "of a minister, he earnestly entreated this of him, as in a time of the "last necessity; not that the emperor intended to make any such at- "tempt by force, but with the leave of the senate; neither had they "any reason to be afraid of the violation of their ancient rights, or of "the invasion of their sacred ports; since, with the connivance of the "republic, the whole matter might be so concealed, as never to be "discovered by the French." Mansfeld also made an apology for what had happened during the late Sicilian war, and laid all the blame upon the imprudence of the Spanish ambassador for the time: as it is common for new ministers to charge all miscarriages to the account of the old ones. Loridano still, with great constancy, refused to comply with the emperor's demands. However, the imperialists, through mere necessity, made an attempt; and having procured transports, brought abundance of corn to their army by water from Trieste and other towns, through the Gulf of Venice, and by the Po. No sooner did the French king's ministers perceive this, than in great resentment they threatened to revenge the injury. And it was not long before their admiral Fourbin entered the Venetian Gulf, harassed the coasts of Dalmatia and Istria, and burned two of the German transports in the mouth of the Po. The Venetians made loud complaints of this violence on both sides, by their ambassadors and letters, both to the emperor and the French king.

The Adriatic invaded.

When this difference was well nigh adjusted, and Fourbin had left the Adriatic Sea, a fresh quarrel was raised at Venice by count de Barca, the emperor's ambassador there; on which account the republic was upon the point of declaring war against the emperor. For count Barca hired an English merchant ship, and furnished her with arms in the mouth of the Brent, to bring corn from Carniola, and the ancient Illyricum; he also privately invited the people of Epirus, Acana, Ætolia, and all the neighbouring nations bordering on the sea, to bring their ships and corn to the shore at Lido. This being reported to the senate, as a new and unheard-of affair, was looked upon in as bad a light as the Bedmarian conspiracy, and as a great enormity. The Venetians complained to the emperor of his ambassador Barca, whom they represented as guilty of high treason; and all the senators,

Fresh quarrel with the emperor.

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matrons, and virgins, wrote letters to every prince they were acquainted with in Germany, and other parts of the world, ſignifying how ill the republic had been uſed. They alſo gave orders to their admiral Anthony de Diedo, to enter the port of Brent as ſoon as poſſible with his fleet, and to guard the iſland of Lido with two gallies; a ſervice which he performed accordingly. The emperor ſaid he would take care that his ſubjects ſhould forbear all ſuch navigation in thoſe parts for the future. But when the emperor neglected to fulfil his promiſe, Fourbin returned again, and fell upon all the ſhips of all nations without exception. In the mean time, the Ætolian and Segnian, and other pirates inhabiting the coaſt about Raguſa, filled the ſeas with their gallies and boats, and committed depredations upon every thing they met with in the moſt barbarous manner. Fourbin, ſending in his ſoldiers by night, ſet fire to the Engliſh ſhips, which, as has been already mentioned, were armed, in the port of Brent. Nor were the Venetians able to redreſs theſe evils, leſt the flame ſhould ſpread farther, and all Italy be involved in a war. This the emperor now earneſtly deſired, and the Venetians as carefully avoided; for they had many points yet to ſettle with the Turks for the ſecurity of their confines. Prince Eugene, having obtained the emperor's leave, came this winter to Vienna to provide for the ſafety of his miſerable army in Italy. The emperor, according to his cuſtom, made him fair promiſes; but ſtill no care was taken to furniſh them with proviſions in their winter-quarters, nor to ſend any freſh ſupplies. In the beginning of the confederate war, the French king abounding in wealth and all neceſſary articles, made large remittances of money to Italy; and his ſoldiers frequently upbraided the imperialiſts with their wants, and boaſted of their own abundance. The French king had not yet diſcovered the many thouſands which were ſent thither, the frauds of the uſurers, and the burden of a foreign war. The next year he intended alſo to carry the war into Germany, and to ſupply the loſſes of his army in Italy with greater reinforcements; and at the ſame time that he intended to maintain poſſeſſion of the places he had taken in the Spaniſh Netherlands, he exhorted his people to purſue their fortifications, and to keep guards on their roads.

AFTER

AFTER the campaign was ended, the queen was at length pleaſed to ſend the earl of Winchelſea her ambaſſador to Hanover, to notify the death of the late king, and her own acceſſion to the throne, to his electoral highneſs, and the princeſs Sophia, his mother, who in thoſe times was the firſt of her ſex in reſpect of endowments, ſcience, knowledge of the world, and all accompliſhments. The earl of Winchelſea, as I ſaid before, was detained at the Hague by ſickneſs. At laſt he arrived at Hanover in February 1703; along with him was Dr. Hutton, the late king's phyſician, who was now looked upon as the Hanoverian informer. At the ſame time there were ſome Engliſhmen at that court; as Mr. James Creſſet, the envoy, and Mr. James Scot, who was then one of the elector's domeſtic ſervants. Theſe men, having inſinuated themſelves into the elector's favour by their aſſiduities and profeſſions of fidelity, with what deſign I do not know, endeavoured, before this, to perſuade the elector that all king William's acts might be diſannulled, and earneſtly entreated him, without any reaſon, but relying too much upon ſome of their acquaintance in England, who were adverſaries to his title, never to have any more thoughts of the crown of England, unleſs he would depend upon the intereſt of the tories. This was liable to ſuſpicion. For it is neither neceſſary nor convenient for a court to be the head of a faction; eſpecially ſince the elector had never ſhewn the leaſt ſign of ambition for a crown, nor had even ſo much as applied himſelf to learn the Engliſh tongue. Wherefore, the princeſs Sophia, who had always had a great concern for the glory of the Engliſh, as well as for her own and her country's dignity, reſented this to the height of anger. For ſhe carried herſelf towards the Engliſh of both parties with great moderation and temper, for which ſhe was remarkable. Baron Schutz, the elector of Hanover's envoy to queen Anne, kept the princeſs Sophia ſtill in hopes. Monſ. Robethon, who was entertained in the elector's family, why or with what intent I know not, became a rival to Mr. Scot. Mr. Joſeph Addiſon alſo, and Mr. A—— C——*, came thither, who, happening to have travelled through thoſe countries, as well as to have made themſelves well acquainted with all the ſecret counſels in England, were as ſuperciliouſly treated by the Germans, as they were

* The Author of this Hiſtory.

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graciouſly received by the elector and the princeſs Sophia. About this time, Mr. Creſſet fell into a deep melancholy; and Dr. Hutton undertook to cure him, to the beſt of his little underſtanding and experience. After this, an enmity breaking out between Monſ. Robethon, a Frenchman of no note either for family or parts, and Mr. Scot, about party-matters, Scot fell under ſuſpicion; and many people waited to ſee how he would conduct himſelf in this matter, and what ſteps he would take in order to approve himſelf and his own innocence to the ſatisfaction of mankind. He returned to England with the earl of Winchelſea, and joined himſelf to the earl of Rocheſter's party: after which he concerted meaſures with Mr. St. John, and became unacceptable to baron Schutz, the elector's envoy, who was cloſely united with the whigs, becauſe he was ambitious to have been ſent envoy to the queen, and was thought to aim at other things. In the mean time, Robethon made it his buſineſs to propagate ſome ſcandal and lies upon Scot's life and actions, to prevent him from making his fortune at court.

When a new parliament was ſummoned in England, the people in the counties and burghs made choice of ſuch members as they thought beſt affected to the intereſts of the nation. This privilege of the people no king ever leſſened or altered, without great danger to himſelf. In England the clergy elect, but are not elected. In Scotland they have not ſo much as a vote in elections on account of their religion, nor are reckoned there a part of the people, as being conſecrated to the ſervice of God and his church. But there the people have the choice of their miniſters, which is not allowed in England, by reaſon of the forms and right of patronage. But it is agreed on both ſides, that all powers, governments, and charges, are derived from the people, and are ordained for the good of the people; and therefore theſe elections are managed with many compliments and great courtſhip to the electors, and great contentions among the drunken rabble. And at laſt, when they come to make their choice in the ſeveral counties, every one ſtudies how to derive ſome benefit to himſelf, or to ſtrengthen his own authority, as it is fit he ſhould, and he lawfully may. But nothing is more dreadfully alarming and dangerous to the public

public ſafety, than the buſy intermeddling of the clergy in the county elections, and the venality of the electors who ſell their votes; nor is it poſſible, by any act of legiſlation, to prevent this practice from becoming a cuſtom, ſo long as the courtiers have the diſpoſal of commiſſions in the army, governments of caſtles, offices of ſtate, and magiſtracies, whoſe avarice all the wealth in the kingdom, and all the public credit beſides, are not ſufficient to ſatisfy.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

Mr. Harley choſen Speaker a third Time.——The Queen's Speech.——Debates about the Supply.——Civil Liſt ſettled.——Marlborough created a Duke.——Italian Muſic brought into England.——Occaſional Conformity Bill.——Supply granted.——Parliament in Scotland.——Miſerable State of the Scots.——Parties in Scotland.——Proceedings towards an Union.——Character of the Scotch Miniſters of State.——Proceedings in the Scotch Parliament.——Parties in England.——Expedition of the French into Germany.——The Elector of Bavaria's Expedition in Tirol.——His Retreat homeward.——Battle of the Danube.——Diſcord between Villars and Bavaria.——The Emperor in great Diſtreſs.——Briſac taken.——Landau beſieged.——Battle of Spirebach.——Landau taken.——Campaign in Italy.——Trent bombarded by Vendoſme.——Vendoſme's Retreat.——The Savoyards diſarmed.——Vendoſme's Letter to the Duke of Savoy.——The Duke's Anſwer.——Staremberg's March to the Relief of Savoy.——Treaty with the Duke of Savoy,——and with the King of Portugal.——Campaign in Flanders. Bonne beſieged,——and taken.——Battle of Eckeren.——An invidious Medal.——Queen Anne at the Bath.——Caſe of Aſhley and White.——Diſpute between the Two Houſes.——Lord Sommers and Mr. Harley reconciled.——Superſtitious Notion of Prodigies.——The Occaſional Conformity Bill attempted again.——Charles III. proclaimed King of Spain.——A dread-

——A dreadful Storm.——King Charles III. lands in England;——proceeds to Liſbon.——Scots Plot.——Mr. D. Lindſay's hard Caſe.——Change of the Miniſtry in Scotland.——Concert for the Relief of the Emperor.——Changes in the Miniſtry of England.

BOOK VI.

WHEN the new parliament aſſembled in England, on the day appointed by the queen's proclamation, in the year 1702, and the greateſt part of the members were come to town out of their ſeveral countries, Mr. Robert Harley was now unanimouſly choſen a third time ſpeaker of the houſe of commons; which was a thing almoſt without precedent. Many men of both parties had ſuch an opinion of his integrity and parts, that he was generally approved of by the whole houſe. His adverſaries had nothing to ſay but this: "Since the gentleman, who is now propoſed, is a perſon of approved fidelity, many things may paſs unregarded in him, which would be dreaded in others: however, in reſpect to the manner, and the example, many things are to be much dreaded: for he is now elected a third time; but let us not make it a precedent."

Mr. Harley choſen ſpeaker a third time.

WHEN the queen was ſeated on her throne in the houſe of peers, and the commons commanded to attend her, ſhe made a long ſpeech to them, giving them an account of what was done, and intimating what was yet intended; and recommending to them the war abroad and peace at home. She deſired of the commons, in particular, money for the public ſervice of the nation, and her civil liſt, which is the property of kings, to be ſettled on her for life, and a ſupply for the annual charge of the war. She profeſſed, that ſhe deſired nothing more than the tranquillity of her kingdoms, the reconciliation of parties, and the ſecurity of the church. And laſtly, to ſhew her good management, ſhe told them ſhe had fifty thouſand pounds left of the laſt year's revenue; and declared herſelf highly pleaſed with the choice they had made of a ſpeaker. After this the commons returning to their houſe, their ſpeaker was formally introduced, and took his place in the chair, according to cuſtom.

The queen's ſpeech.

THE firſt thing propoſed to the houſe was, an addreſs of thanks to the queen; which being openly read by the ſpeaker, was univerſally approved.

At

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At that time alſo, committees of the houſe of commons were appointed; every one of which had power to inquire, examine, perfect, reject, and make their report to the houſe in due order, of all ſuch things as ſhould be referred to them reſpectively: and every committee had a man of approved experience in buſineſs, to preſide therein, as their chairman, to take care that every thing ſhould be orderly and regularly managed, and nothing reported to the houſe without good grounds.

In their conſultations many were of opinion, that the taxes before impoſed upon the liquors and merchandize ſhould be ſettled upon her majeſty as a revenue for life, for ſupporting the dignity of the crown. Many approved of the motion; and the greater advantage every one was in hopes to make of it, ſo much the more earneſt he was for its paſſing. The tories now upbraided the whigs, and the late king's miniſters, with the money which the queen in her ſpeech had ſaid to have been ſaved; as if they had ſquandered away the wealth of the nation: whereas the queen, by her frugality and careful management, would retrieve the fortunes of her Britiſh ſubjects. Many alſo highly applauded the lord Godolphin, who was liberal in reſpect of foreign affairs, and was thought ſparing at home.

Debates about the ſupply.

In the mean time, while the courtiers were conſulting how much money muſt be raiſed for the ſeveral purpoſes mentioned in the ſpeech from the throne, Sir Stephen Fox declared fifty thouſand pounds to be ſufficient for the yearly expence of the prince of Denmark; ſince his grandeur would not be expenſive to him, as the queen would provide him lights, lodgings, bed, and all the expences of table and houſekeeping. And Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, a repreſentative of the univerſity of Oxford, who was a leading man of the tory party, and who had great influence in the houſe of commons, became now a great opponent of the court; though he had hitherto appeared to be moſt careful of the queen's intereſt, ſafety, and honour, zealous for the church, and a ſtrenuous aſſerter of the rights of the crown, as well as the liberty of the ſubject. He had formerly acquitted himſelf ſo well in parliament, that all good men approved of his judgment,

eſpecially in debates about embezzlements of the public money; and many were often brought over to his ſentiments, who were not only men of ſound judgment and integrity, but of ſuch eſtates and fortunes, as neither to ſolicit for preferments, nor to be willing to accept them if offered. Many thought it ſtrange, that Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave ſhould be deſirous to clog the grants of ſupplies to the queen, and to load her miniſters, as he had uſed to do others, with heavy reflections, alleging, that the whole kingdom was not enough to content them! Some attempted, in vain, to impoſe upon the old gentleman: for he was now advanced in years, and thoroughly underſtood all the methods of getting money. He wanted ſome hard caſh; and gave pretty plain intimations of what he aimed at. In ſhort, a bargain was made with him, as it was ſaid, for ten thouſand pounds. When he had received his pay, the old gentleman gravely gave his friends good hopes; and moreover told them of a viſion he had, wherein he had ſeen the church in immediate danger; and inſtead of a ſhare of the money, gave them only his dream about the diſſenters, and the danger of religion; with which the tories were ſo moved, that they eaſily agreed to his motion for ſettling ſeven hundred thouſand pounds a year upon the queen for the ſupport of her civil government. This reſolution was confirmed by the parliament, which was of the ſame opinion with the courtiers; and after this, Muſgrave gave no more oppoſition to the court. The money thus granted to the queen, was to be raiſed out of the cuſtoms and taxes, which being eſtabliſhed by the parliament upon theſe funds, an addition was made of three hundred thouſand pounds; for ſo the collectors computed this revenue. Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave now laid aſide the maſk he had put on; and is ſaid to have deſerted the party of the earl of Rocheſter, and joined that of the earl of Marlborough, and to have made no more words about embezzlements. The Oxonians thereupon began to reflect upon him ſeverely, and with an unbecoming freedom, reproachfully to expoſe the actions and paſt life of their once admired patriot.

Civil liſt ſettled.

AFTER this, but before the ſwords of the ſoldiers had been much ſtained with blood, the earl of Marlborough, for his eminent ſervices performed in the war, was, by the queen, created a duke, and had the

Marlborough created a duke.

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grant of a penſion of five thouſand pounds a year. The parliament alſo paid him great and almoſt regal honours. But he was not content either with honourable titles, or the late royal grant; but ſolicited by his friends, that the ſame might either be enlarged, or ſettled upon him and his heirs for ever. However, when he gave the houſe of commons his hearty thanks, it is reported that he ſaid, "He was "overjoyed that the houſe thought he had done ſervice to the public; "but that he would hereafter endeavour, as it had always been his "wiſh, that he might be more indebted to his country than his country "to him." This ſecond demand did not pleaſe the commons, who were utterly averſe to the perpetuating of their benefits; nor did he think fit to purchaſe the good-will of the members by preſents. The duke of Marlborough reſented this diſappointment, and the temper of his friends, whom he looked upon as wanting in generoſity towards him, and as unfit for the adminiſtration of the government. The diſcontent of the duke ſoon became apparent to all; nor was there a perfect harmony at that time among men even of the ſame parties.

Parties at court.

THE earl of Rocheſter was the man who poſſeſſed the higheſt favour among the tories, and was ſaid to make large advances towards a reconciliation with king William's miniſters; nay, it was the common diſcourſe of many, that a coalition would be made between the whigs and tories; and it is ſaid, it was not the earl of Rocheſter's fault, that the parties were not then united, to the ruin of the Marlborough family: for Rocheſter ſaw, that no agreement or reconciliation could ever be made between him and Marlborough. Hence aroſe a middle party through the influence of Mr. Harley, who had in ſome meaſure deſerted the tories. His followers made excuſes to the whigs for the hardſhips which they had ſuffered for ſome months paſt, and laid the blame of mal-adminiſtration upon the tories, affirming, that neither king William nor his miniſters had ever any deſign but what was for the public good; and that if they had met with any harſh treatment, it was to be aſcribed to the furious temper of the tories, and the clamour of the times. Mr. Harley, who was the leader of the moderate party, thought fit to be upon the reſerve with the whigs, till this ſtorm ſhould blow over. As he ſaid nothing of the late king's life, ſo at his table

he

he would launch out in praiſe of the manner of his death, as if it had been above the condition of mere mortal man, and like that of the ancient heroes. But this was in ſecret; for in public he took part with the tories. This moderate party might eaſily have been ſuppreſſed at firſt; but now it inſenſibly increaſed by the acceſſion of many men out of both parties, who were neareſt of kin to the duke of Marlborough's temper, till at length it grew ſo ſtrong, as to be able to procure offices of ſtate for many, and to provide amply for its own members, however inconſiderable for parts or merit, by mere dint of money. When this was perceived, many both of the whigs and tories came over daily to the moderate party. A thouſand arguments were continually offered, by way of excuſe, concerning the ſecurity of the church, and the ſettlement of the ſtate, by theſe trimmers, in hopes to cover their own inconſtancy and avarice, and approve themſelves to men of integrity. According to the uſual methods by which men riſe to preferments, every one boaſted of his own famous exploits, and the grounds of his own change of party. The motives they alleged for their conduct were eaſily approved, and even applauded by Mr. Harley, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, and the lord Godolphin.

In the debates about churches in the houſe of commons, not to mention all the particulars, it was generally maintained, "That "all the churches in the univerſe are nothing to this of ours." Sir Godfrey Copley, who was a man of wit, obſerving this, ſaid, "Every one admires his own church; and we are fond of ours: "for my part, I admire it chiefly for this reaſon, that it is fit "for the people, ſubject to the laws, and moſt ſuitable to the clergy. "For here, without care, without thought, and without trouble, ho-"nour and eaſe are enjoyed at once, which is a ſtate that moſt men "wiſh for. But we are not here diſputing about churches, but about "the common good of the kingdom." The earl of Rocheſter had frequent conferences with the principal men of the whig party, but could not yet bring any one over to his opinion except the lord Haverſham, who was a man of old-faſhioned virtues, and Dr. Hutton the phyſician, a man of no parts, no experience, no virtue. In this conjuncture king William's miniſters, who were the heads of the whig party, ſupported

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themſelves and the public intereſt by their ſtedfaſtneſs. For during this contention among the tories, if theſe men had gone over to either ſide, they might eaſily have overſet the other. The lord Somers never thought fit to make a faſt friendſhip with the duke of Marlborough; and to him the lord Wharton always adhered, except ſometimes when he had his eye upon ſome public office. The earl of Orford was cloſely united with the lord Somers; and the lord Halifax, who was naturally fond of courts, was kept firm and ſteady by a punctilio of honor. But the duke of Marlborough recommended it to the lord Godolphin to compromiſe matters with theſe men, and to reconcile their parties. The ducheſs of Marlborough, who had the aſcendant in the queen's favour, endeavoured to work upon the lord Halifax's inclinations, by projecting marriages, and other female allurements. She came to his country houſe in the neighbourhood of the town, one evening as if it had been by chance, where there was an entertainment, with a concert of vocal and inſtrumental muſic till late in the night. In the morning the lord Halifax conſulted with the lord Somers, as the earl of Sunderland uſed to do by night with the duke of Marlborough, when he would frequently concert meaſures about affairs of importance. Though many people thought the terms of reconciliation were agreed upon, yet nothing was ſettled as to the main points; for the lord Somers wanted to find out the duke of Marlborough's private ſentiments. The earl of Sunderland, the late earl's ſon, and Marlborough's ſon-in-law, was admitted to their conſultations, who ſeemed to be ſo zealous a ſupporter of that party, the public good, and of thoſe men's honour, that no propoſal of advantage, nor the authority of his parents, could prevail with him to forſake lord Somers.

Italian muſic brought into England.

ABOUT this time the Italian muſic was introduced into England; and at entertainments, as well as on the theatres, there were concerts of voices, with all manner of inſtruments; and ſo fond were the Engliſh of learning this ſcience, that in a ſhort time they performed a part themſelves; and there was nothing to be heard at London either of the miſeries of our countrymen at home, or of the ſound of arms, even in this time of a war abroad.

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THE duke of Marlborough's enemies gave out, that men of no experience, frequenting the theatres, had ſquandered away the wealth of the nation, raiſed an unprofitable war, preferred ſeditious perſons to places of high truſt, and ſet every thing to ſale. And, in order to reduce him to ſtraits, and to unite their own party, they took a ſubtle reſolution, to render all attempts of an union with the whigs abortive, by bringing in a ſevere bill "for preventing occaſional conformity." The foundation of this was, that ſome diſſenters, who were prejudiced againſt the rites and ceremonies eſtabliſhed in the church of England, thought themſelves at liberty ſometimes to qualify themſelves for holding public offices: for by the laws of England it is provided, that no body ſhall be capable of enjoying public offices and honours, any more than the kingdom of heaven, without receiving the holy ſacrament from the hands of ſome prieſt at church. And the tories exclaimed, that this practice was no leſs a contempt of the laws of God than of thoſe of the land. Wherefore the tories now thought fit, by ſhutting the door, as it were, againſt the diſſenters by this bill, either to exclude them from communion, or from all offices in the kingdom for ever; and whoever ſhould tranſgreſs this law was to be liable to ſevere penalties, fines, and various impediments. This bill was oppoſed by the whigs, who urged, that no man ought to be deprived of the right of a ſubject, on account of any difference in religion. The lord Somers endeavoured to diſſuade the earl of Rocheſter from purſuing his attempt; but the earl of Nottingham preſſed him to proceed.

Occaſional conformity bill;

THIS many thought was rather a diſpute for offices than for any real regard to religion. Sir Edward Seymour, who was a leading man among the tories, plainly confeſſed, that it was then ſeven years ſince he had either received the ſacrament, or heard a ſermon in the church of England; but yet he was for abridging the rights and profits of the diſſenters, who were diſabled to take or hold any office of magiſtracy or place in the government. This cauſe was chiefly argued in the houſe of commons againſt the diſſenters by Sir Simon Harcourt, Sir John Trevor, and Mr. Henry St. John; and laſtly, Mr. Harley, the ſpeaker himſelf, is ſaid to have favoured the ſame party. It is remarkable, that theſe men were all of them deſcended of diſſenting families.

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passed the house of commons;

The virtue of parents oppressed often shines out more bright in their children; but these men's virtues on this occasion appeared widely different from those of their parents. Not to be verbose, the bill passed the house of commons in England. Among those who were the hottest in this affair, were the clergy, and a crowd of women of the lowest rank, inflamed, as it were, with zeal for religion. These women expressed as great exultation on this supposed victory, as if they had taken more delight in such religious triumphs than in the gratification of even their lusts and their avarice.

thrown out by the lords.

The bill being carried up to the house of lords, gave occasion to very long and warm debates there, about moderating the severity of it; but when all their amendments could not be agreed to, the peers threw out the whole bill: for they were convinced, that the persecution of the dissenters in the house of commons was not so much owing to the difference of their orders and religious assemblies as to prejudice and aversion; and therefore the peers thought, that now in a time of war, it was not seasonable either to disgust so great a part of the nation, or to set about the reformation of religious controversies, and their judgment was highly approved by the people of England; especially by the merchants, tradesmen, and mechanics, who are so very numerous in England, that all parts of the nation are full of them, and without whom the government could not subsist. This body of men is in fact the support of all the other states. These the Lord Somers called the nation: "These," said he, "are the foundation of our dignity, and the members that compose the public liberty; whom it is the duty of kings "to protect, and of parliament to defend, at the hazard of life and for- "tune: they do not seek nor envy those who enjoy honours or offices. "My lords, if ye do not preserve them, how can ye expect to reap "the fruits of their labours?" and the lord Wharton was of the same opinion, and further said, "Men's minds are different, and their senti- "ments of divine worship various. It were indeed to be wished, but "is hardly to be expected, that men were all of one opinion. Many "people like variety, as I myself do, provided it be not injurious to "the public; and though dissentions in the church are not necessary, "yet we ought sometimes at least to bear with dissenters. Some of "these

"these are ploughmen, shepherds, graziers, and labourers; some are "men of large dealing, who have acquired considerable fortunes, and "deserve highly of the public, having acquired estates by their frugality "and industry. Our ancestors did not authorize these ceremonies by "laws, that those who dissented from them should be deprived of the "benefits of subjects, and the reward of their labours, or forced to "leave their country. From such as these are descended many of the "members of our most excellent church, who are now living, who "have wasted their patrimony, and never thought either of the public "or of their own private interest. You ought therefore to take a "special care of them and their fortunes; for which reason, I think, "the dissenters ought to be spared, who defend us, support the clergy, "and contribute their wealth towards the public necessities. Do not "suffer many to be punished for the faults of a few, since they are of "the same blood with us, and have never been backward to expose "themselves to the common dangers for the service of their country. "Why then should we scruple to let them enjoy the same profits, the "same common liberty, and the rights of subjects? And lastly, why "should they not be freed from all hardships, and even from all fear of "hardships?"

The loss of this bill was a great mortification to the tories; and the leading men going out of the house of commons, called their friends together, praised many of them, reproached the tardy, and confirmed those for the future who had been wavering; threatening, that the next year it should not be either in the power of their adversaries to avert the danger, or of the lords, or even of the queen herself, to hinder it from passing into a law. They told them they would then have recourse to the last method of procuring the law to pass, by tacking it to money bills, against which the lords had newly passed a vote, and of which the lords, as well as the commons, are not wont to make any use, unless in the utmost exigencies of the nation, when all things seem to be past every other remedy.

At that time some of the clergy, whose numbers still encreased, exerted the utmost of their eloquence in preaching not only against the dissenters,

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diſſenters, the whigs and the miniſtry, but even againſt the queen herſelf, and the principles of moderation. They alſo expatiated at large in their ſermons to the people upon the old proceedings of Cromwell's time, and the dire misfortunes of king Charles; and he who inveighed the moſt bitterly, and filled his flock with the moſt dreadful apprehenſions, was the moſt highly applauded by his party.

MR. HARLEY and Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, who ſeemed to act with reſerve, ſhifted between both parties, and endeavoured ſometimes to bring the tories, and ſometimes the whigs, into their meaſures; and all this only to raiſe money for carrying on the war: for they were underhand in the duke of Marlborough's intereſt. In the mean time, a vaſt ſum of money was granted to the queen by the parliament, for the ſervice of the war; for which large deductions were made, not only for exchange, but alſo on certain accounts in the treaſury. The ſupply granted to the queen amounted to 3,600,000l. A land tax was rated at certain ſums in the ſeveral counties according to cuſtom; and, for the raiſing of ready money, care was taken to provide exchequer tallies for 300,000l. by act of parliament, in the bank at London. The ordinary intereſt provided for by law amounted to 600,000l. of this money 150,000l. was aſſigned to the king of Denmark, and 50,000l. to the landgrave of Heſſe-caſſel, and the parliament agreed to an augmentation of 10,000 men for the army in Flanders this year; for which a contract was made with the princes of Germany.

Supply granted.

THE king of Sweden excuſed himſelf to the queen, for not entering into the confederate war, as being now engaged in a troubleſome war: but that heroic prince had already overthrown the king of Poland, and was not troubled with any other wars than thoſe of his own ſeeking; and therefore this excuſe had no weight in it, though it ſerved his turn, becauſe it was his pleaſure. Neither could Dr. Robinſon, her majeſty's reſident there, prevail with him ſo much as not to repay good offices with bad ones. The queen's miniſters would have recalled Dr. Robinſon, who was a clergyman, from his embaſſy, on account of religion, and ſent a proper envoy to the king of

of Sweden, who might be an honour to his employment, while the other might exerciſe his holy function in England, that he might not ſeem to have utterly renounced all religious offices, ſince he could not now perform any good ones to his country with the king of Sweden. However, he was continued in his employment for the ſake of the clergy, who were proud to have men of their order employed in offices of ſtate. Mr. Methuen the father, in the name of queen Anne, concluded an advantageous treaty with the king of Portugal, which was ſigned May 16, 1703. Though the Engliſh merchants, deducting the expences of the Portugueze war, cleared every year above 800,000l. yet Mr. Methuen, for all his good ſervices, hardly eſcaped the reflections of the tories. The lords Wharton and Somers, having overſtrained their voices in the heat of debates in parliament, fell into a dangerous ſickneſs.

Parliament of Scotland.

AFTER the parliament of England was diſſolved, the parliament of Scotland met at Edinburgh on the day appointed; in which the duke of Queenſberry appeared in the character of lord high commiſſioner. The Scots, either wearied out with their adminiſtration, or quite ſunk in ſpirits and courage, and tired with the complaints which had been made in vain to their former kings, formed now a reſolution to inſiſt upon new conditions of peace, before they would either enter upon the war, or agree to the Engliſh ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. For they thought it a great hardſhip upon them to undergo the common dangers and burthens of the war with the Engliſh, and not to enjoy a ſhare of the profits. "The Scots," ſaid they, "had nothing to expect in peace, "but an idle ſervitude; to lament and bewail their youth, worn out in "war; to bear with regret the loſs of all they had, with all the do- "meſtic evils and afflictions that follow it. What then ſhould we fight "for? ſince, if we conquer, we muſt ſerve our allies; if we are con- "quered, we muſt be ſlaves to the enemy. All ſlavery, indeed, is "irkſome; but that is eſpecially grievous which we have no way de- "ſerved, and at their hands too, from whom, we think, we have de- "ſerved better treatment:" for in the laſt war, the Scots had acquired great reputation, and their trade was expoſed to various diſadvantages; yet during the treaty of peace they were not ſo much as mentioned.

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Miſerable ſtate of the Scots.

And after the peace was made, their ſoldiers were diſbanded, without any gratuity or grant of privilege. Add to this the corruption of their peers, the embezzlement of their treaſure, the perpetual oppreſſion of the commons; their taxes, burthens, and contemptuous treatment; the ruin of their commerce at Darien, ſo unadviſedly undertaken; the prohibition of their taking in freſh water in the Engliſh colonies; and other grievances, which they were forced to bear and ſuffer, no leſs than if they had been outlaws. All theſe things were heavily complained of by the Scots, which, it is certain, the kings of England have it not in their power to redreſs. For kings muſt of neceſſity humour the more powerful nation:—and, beſides all this, ſome of the Scots noblemen, and others of the greateſt intereſt with their countrymen, who had eaſy acceſs to the royal palace, had long been influenced by the hopes of reward, to overthrow the authority of the laws, and it is ſaid formally to repeal the old, and to enact new ones. Theſe men were under engagements to aſſent to the inclination of the Engliſh, and to be ſubſervient to their intereſt and opinion in the government of the kingdom, before they were admitted to employments; and on theſe terms the affairs of Scotland were adminiſtered by their own countrymen. Since the acceſſion of king James to the throne of England, a ſpace of one hundred years, the power of the magiſtrates, judgments, parliaments, authority, juriſdiction, allegiance, the conduct of war, and the laws themſelves, had been all ſubjected by the Scotch nobility to the direction of the Engliſh. At this time there were ſome men in Scotland attached to the intereſt of king James. Theſe were joined by a multitude of thoſe, who, being either conſcious of their own crimes, or afraid of puniſhment, or out of a natural reſtleſſneſs and impetuoſity of temper, ſought to raiſe new commotions and diſturbances in the kingdom, and to amuſe themſelves with the quarrels of their fellow-ſubjects; or who, through their incumbrances of their fortunes, were deſirous that their country ſhould be ruined with themſelves.

Parties in Scotland.

Thoſe men, headed by the duke of Hamilton, who was of the blood royal, and entangled with innumerable debts and ſuits, longed to take up arms. Hamilton was averſe to war, and gave out that all the grievances of the nation might be redreſſed in parliament. He oppoſed the ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown of Scotland, in imitation of the Engliſh; inſiſted upon aſſert-

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ing their ancient rights, and arming the nation. The French king alſo, ſeeming to favour the pretender, and aſſert his cauſe, is thought to have privately furniſhed freſh fuel to the flame.

THE duke of Queenſberry and the earl of Seafield were then at the head of the adminiſtration in Scotland. But the duke of Hamilton endeavoured to overturn them, in hopes to get the chief management of the affairs of Scotland into his own hands. In this he was joined by ſome noble perſons of approved fidelity and great popularity; as the marquis of Tweedale, the earls of Rothes, Haddington, Hindford and Marchmont, Mr. George Baily, and Mr. Cockburne, and others of the late king's miniſters now out of employment; who were all zealous advocates for the recovery of the ancient liberty of Scotland: but as to other things, had nothing to do with the pretender, the French king, or the duke of Hamilton. Theſe being all men of large fortunes, ſtudied to reſtore the ancient rights, laws, and liberties of their country, and to enjoy honour and quiet; but they would not ſit down in a tranquillity inconſiſtent with their dignity. Sometimes they joined the duke of Hamilton, and ſometimes the duke of Queenſberry; for they knew the French king was wont to have regard only to his own affairs, not thoſe of other men; and that all the pretender's intereſt and hopes depended upon fortune; and they were no ſtrangers to Hamilton's deſigns. They therefore choſe rather to ſubmit to the duke of Queenſberry's government than to his. Many were offended with the duke of Hamilton, and he was much reflected on by his own party; eſpecially becauſe he, who now was an aſſerter of their liberty, had, in the laſt year, left it to the queen to appoint the commiſſioners for treating of an union of the kingdoms: for an advocate for liberty had ſometimes better hazard the guilt of high treaſon, than loſe his credit with his party. But Hamilton little regarded the opinion of his party, or what they ſaid of him, if he could but gain the queen's favour, and overturn the duke of Queenſberry and the reſt of his adverſaries. However, he artfully inſinuated to his followers, that he knew the commiſſioners would not be able to conclude any treaty with the Engliſh; and that all the miſchief of the attempt would fall heavy upon their own heads, adding, "That he would not only have oppoſed their nomination in "parliament, but would have expoſed himſelf to death for his

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" country againſt all the efforts of their adverſaries, if he had not " preſerved his own life and theirs, in hopes of the king's reſtoration." Mr. Fletcher, who was a moſt furious and zealous aſſerter of the liberty of Scotland, was highly enraged at the duke. Though he knew that the commiſſioners could not effect any thing in England, yet he thought it neceſſary, that all the proceedings at London ſhould be reported to the parliament, in order to publiſh their ſhame, that none hereafter ſhould ever think of uniting the two kingdoms.

Proceedings towards an union.

THE proceedings at London were in ſubſtance, that the commiſſioners, laying aſide all old injuries on both ſides, met on the day appointed. The Engliſh propoſed, explained, and argued many things, and protracted the time in deliberations from day to day. At length the Scots, tired out with delays and ill uſage, aſked, and obtained the queen's leave to return. At laſt a liberal reward being aſſigned to every one of them out of the Scots treaſury, they returned home again. Mr. Fletcher firmly oppoſed the making them any preſents; preſſing the parliament rather to inflict upon them ſome infamous puniſhment, than to diſhonour themſelves by conferring upon them any reward, and treating them with very harſh language. It was ſuppoſed, that the queen's appointing commiſſioners to treat about an union of the kingdoms, was intended to make ſome ſhew of complying with the late king's dying advice, and to conciliate the good-will of the Engliſh whigs, as well as of the Scots; but the effect of this meaſure was quite different from what had been expected, as was alſo that of the duke of Queenſberry's unlucky advice for turning out the late king's miniſters, and bringing others into their places, who had always been diſaffected to the queen's title; for thoſe who were turned out, either went over to the country party, or were obſerved to be zealous in ſupporting her majeſty's adminiſtration, when they ſaw their adverſaries, and even the enemies of the kingdom, promoted to places under government. Neither had the new miniſters quite loſt the remembrance of king James; ſo that his adherents were in good ſpirits. By theſe meaſures the duke of Queenſberry ſuppoſed that he ſhould be able to cruſh the duke of Hamilton's party; and ſo did the earl of Seafield too, who ſeemed, as it were, born to comply with all parties againſt his country.

country. For when he was ſecretary to king William, he had betrayed, through weakneſs, the Scots trade at Darien, which was undertaken by ill advice, and had ruined the Scots affairs, to make his own fortune: and now, being advanced to the ſame office under the queen, he neither aſſiſted the Engliſh with his counſels, nor yet oppoſed certain abandoned wretches in Scotland, but all this while derived a ſatisfaction from the enmities which he himſelf had promoted among the people. In ſhort, he was ſuch a ſlave to his private advantage, that ſooner than have abandoned the purſuit of this, he would have given up his freedom, and his own thoughts, if ever indeed he had thoughts of any thing but covetouſneſs and popularity. Beſides, he was naturally more timorous than was ſuitable to the ſtate of affairs, and the dangerous circumſtances of Scotland, and gave little aſſiſtance to the duke of Queenſberry, under the many difficulties which he had to ſtruggle with in his adminiſtration. Queenſberry was deſirous of having it thought that he was able at that time to bear up the parliament of Scotland, as it were upon his own ſhoulders; for he was a man of great parts, of high ſpirit, courage, and reſolution. But he ſhould have had other ſeconds than the earl of Seafield, whoſe chief virtue lay in his tongue; for Seafield never knew what to do, what to propoſe, or how to maintain what he ſaid; but to whom, and how to exhibit himſelf ſpeaking, ſo as to approve and ingratiate himſelf to the court. The duke of Queenſberry, perceiving this when it was too late, and that the tempeſt of danger in Scotland increaſed daily, caſt his eyes upon other ſupporters, more eminent for their parts than for their fidelity and virtue. For Queenſberry was a man of long experience in the Engliſh court, and looked upon fidelity, courage, and the other moſt excellent endowments of the mind, as neither natural accompliſhments of men, nor the gifts of God; but that every man might be eſteemed firm and faithful, in proportion to the ſhare which he enjoyed in his prince's favour. But this opinion failed him greatly with reſpect to the Scots.

In the mean time, the earls of Eglinton and Marr, and many more, who were utter enemies to her majeſty's title, were called to court, and preferred to public offices; and ſeveral of the French faction appeared

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peared publicly in all parts of Scotland without danger or fear. On this account, not only the duke of Queenſberry, but the queen herſelf, was ſuſpected of a ſecret deſign in favour of the pretender; and many even talked as if the queen, grown ſenſible of the crime ſhe had committed againſt her father, had reſolved at laſt to make amends to her brother; and that ſhe now held the crown by a fiduciary right, as if it had been committed to her in truſt. This was the common diſcourſe; and the courtiers did not contradict it, neither troubling themſelves about it, nor others for it. Wherefore, many of the nonjurors now taking the oaths, ſubmitted to the queen; not with intention to adhere to their vows, but to take the firſt occaſion to break them; for they were of opinion, that king William's title to the crown, and that of queen Anne, were very different, which gave much offence to the people, and brought ſuſpicion and reproach on the courtiers.

Characters of the Scots miniſters of ſtate.

THE earl of Cromarty, long looked upon as a ſtate montebank, and one who was ready to ſerve king James, as occaſion offered, was now made the queen's ſecretary of ſtate. The earl of Marr, the ſcandal of his name, bred up by Neville Payne, as it were, to all manner of debauchery, being now a young man, ſmartly defended king James's cauſe in the parliament. But he ſoon after this, either through the depravity of his own heart, or the incumbrances of his private affairs, deceived the hopes which his own friends and the duke of Queenſberry had conceived of him; he ſometimes joined one party, and ſometimes another, as it beſt ſuited his intereſt. This man ſeemed to the duke of Queenſberry a fit perſon to break duke Hamilton's party.

RECRUITED with theſe new-raiſed forces, the duke of Queenſberry propoſed the queen's buſineſs to the new parliament. He demanded a tax to be laid upon the people, and that the war might be carried on; recommended to them to ſecure the tranquillity of the nation, and ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown, according as the Engliſh had done; and promiſed to them the maintenance and protection of their religion, rights, and liberties inviolate. Others propoſed the paſſing an act for the ſecurity of the kingdom in the firſt place.

Proceedings in the Scots parliament.

THERE were many and long debates in parliament, what they ſhould take into conſideration firſt. Many treated the lord commiſſioner himſelf with very harſh language. And ſome of the boldeſt and moſt deſperate of the members, either incited thereto by the duke of Hamilton, or of their own accord, ſpake with great freedom againſt the ſettlement of the crown ſince the revolution. The good men who were turned out of employment became very cool; and the new miniſters were not ſo forward, as the lord commiſſioner expected, to defend his dignity. Thus all due reſpect was loſt to the throne and the parliament. And when ſo little care was taken at the beginning, it was afterwards to no purpoſe to diſpute about other things, or to preſs for a ſupply to be granted to the queen, before proviſion was made for the ſecurity of the kingdom. The viſcount of Stair, who was a man of great courage, well ſkilled in the laws, and highly renowned for his oratorial powers, ſtrenuouſly, and in all the ſplendour of eloquence, defended the queen's majeſty, and the cuſtoms of parliament. In the mean time, the earl of Roxborough, a youth of great ſpirit, now returning from his travels abroad, took his ſeat in parliament at this deſperate time; and joining himſelf to the country party, made a long and moving ſpeech, full of juſt lamentation, and preſſed to have the ſecurity of the kingdom provided for, before they entered upon any other debates or proceedings. After this had been debated in the parliament many days, and till late at night, Roxborough ſaid, "What we deſire "is reaſonable; and if it cannot be obtained by fair means, and ſet-"tled in a parliamentary way, we ſhall think ourſelves at liberty, and "muſt at laſt, of neceſſity, demand it with ſword in hand." This threatening intimidated the earl of Seafield ſo much, that, addreſſing himſelf firſt to the one party, then to the other, he moved to adjourn the debates to the next day. This motion was oppoſed by duke Hamilton; but by a majority of voices of the country party, the houſe was adjourned. When the viſcount of Stair perceived that the oppoſition was too ſtrong to be withſtood, he thought it beſt to give way to the humour of the times. The duke of Queenſberry, being in doubt how to conduct himſelf, or how to truſt his party; and perceiving at laſt that all due obedience to the queen's majeſty, and his own dignity, was forgot in the parliament; that he could not bring his deſigns to bear;

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bear; and that even the magiſtrates and rulers of the people would inſult the government, prorogued the parliament to another time. And now at length he found that he had loſt of the one ſide as much as he had gained to his party on the other. For when public counſels are once changed, the minds of men are apt to vary with them.

Parties in England.

DURING this time, as the tories in England were divided into parties and factions, ſo alſo were the whigs; hence aroſe a middle party. And the leading men ſerved their own turn by the contentions of others, like lawyers amidſt litigious ſuits, and clergymen amidſt controverſies of religion and worſhip. Mr. Harley the ſpeaker, the head of the moderate party, regarding the tories and whigs alike, received, applauded, and highly favoured the deſerters and revolters from both.

THE duke of Marlborough, before he ſet out for the army, fearing leſt the tories and whigs ſhould combine together to ruin him, recommended to his wife to propoſe a marriage of one of his daughters to the earl of Montague's ſon, as a means of their reconciliation, and the eſtabliſhment of his own power. On the other ſide, the lord Halifax, another of the principal whigs, was to be dealt with alſo about a marriage, as we have ſaid before. In all England there was not a more acceptable ſacrifice to be offered up for appeaſing the rage of parties than this lady. But ſhe excuſed herſelf, being inwardly averſe to it; for ſhe had already ſet her eyes and her heart upon another young gentleman, a very handſome youth. However, ſhe muſt have obeyed her mother's commands immediately, had not an accident happened, which proved very lamentable to the Marlborough family. For the duke of Marlborough's only ſon, a princelike youth, and the chief hope of his family, died of the ſmall-pox at Cambridge. His death was not only a heavy affliction to his parents, but univerſally lamented. This general mourning put a ſtop to the marriage for ſome time, while the funeral rites were ſolemnized for the ſon, whoſe genius, as well as years, were fit for honourable employments. After this, the duke of Marlborough ſet out for Holland, in March. This winter, the elector of Bavaria earneſtly preſſed the French king, by many meſſages and letters, to ſend him the reinforcement which he had promiſed him, with

Expedition of the French into Germany.

with all expedition. Upon this, the French king, whom fortune had been wont to favour, fearing leſt ſhe ſhould now fail him, or himſelf be thought to grow ſlack, commanded his officers and commanders to draw out their forces immediately into the field; ordering the marſhal Villars, his general upon the Rhine, to penetrate through the interior parts of Germany into Bavaria, and to open a way, as it were, to his accuſtomed good fortune. He alſo diſpatched the marſhal Tallard to the Rhine, either to raiſe the ſiege of Trierbach, by directing the German forces, or to recover it if it was already taken.

First of all, the French king ordered Villars to march his forces out of their winter-quarters in February. The marſhal eaſily ſurpriſed and made himſelf maſter of the German lines at Stolhoffen, which were in a manner unguarded, took fort Kehl, and, after defeating the Germans, reduced other towns: but in the progreſs of his intended march, he was twice repulſed by lieutenant-general Goar; and therefore, wheeling about by the way of the valley of Kink, he paſſed through the Black Foreſt. When he came before Villingen, he ſummoned that ſtrong town to ſurrender; but, when the governor ſent him anſwer, that he was not in haſte to ſurrender, Villars moved off, and marched directly to join the elector of Bavaria, with his army of thirty-one thouſand men. The elector of Bavaria and Villars held a council together at the town of Duttlingen, about the methods of carrying on the war; in which it was reſolved, that Villars ſhould make head againſt the Germans, while the elector marched over the Alps, and joined the duke de Vendoſme. This reſolution was highly approved of by the French king, who communicated it to Vendoſme, and gave orders for the forces on both ſides to paſs the Alps, and to hinder the Germans from penetrating into Italy.

The French, being fatigued with their march into Bavaria, were quartered in the towns which the elector had taken upon the Danube, for a ſhort refreſhment: for the elector having taken poſſeſſion of Swabia, and reduced many caſtles upon the river Ins, preſumed to ſend his demands, by his ambaſſador, to Ratiſbon, the ſeat of the diet of the German empire. He was pleaſed alſo to give them an account

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of his proceedings by his ambaſſador; to which they promiſed to make anſwer, provided he would give orders to his general with his two regiments to quit their city. This requeſt not being complied with, the diet broke up, and all the deputies made the beſt of their way home.

The elector of Bavaria, leaving two battalions for a garriſon at Ratiſbon, took the town of Mittenwald, and the caſtle of Sharnitz upon the river Iſer, and marched on to Inſpruck. This city was the ancient ſeat of the dukes of Rhætia or Tirol, ſituated in a narrow valley upon the river Ins, and ſurrounded with many high hills, parted from each other by pleaſant vallies. When the elector of Bavaria arrived there, he received the homage of the inhabitants and other people in their neighbourhood; and by the way reduced the caſtle of Cuffſtein, by means of an unhappy fire, and of Rottemberg by force. He regulated every thing in Inſpruck at his pleaſure, and ſet up new magiſtrates there, with new laws to govern the people. He plundered the neighbouring caſtle of Ereſberg, which was reputed richer than it really was, and ſent all the goods, with the ancient medals found in it, to Munich. But what was taken from the inhabitants the ſoldiers ſold to the Jews, or expoſed to ſale in the markets, unleſs the owners redeemed the ſame that day; and theſe ſort of bargains and ſales were made good and valid by the purchaſers; for even robbers have their laws, as well as their maſſes and religion. He laid the people of that country under a contribution of an hundred and twenty thouſand crowns a month, beſides corn and cattle. When this was done, and hoſtages given, he ſent out a party of ſoldiers towards Brixen for intelligence, and followed them himſelf with the army. But leſt he ſhould be ſhut up in the mountains, or his proviſions intercepted by the enemy, he left behind him general Priermeller at Inſpruck, and garriſons well diſpoſed in proper places. The people of Tirol, being jealous of their liberty, and naturally fierce, but unaccuſtomed to arms, and therefore not able to reſiſt the elector of Bavaria, reſolved to haraſs him as much as they could in his march through thoſe difficult places. The emperor had not only forgiven them the arrears of their taxes, but alſo, in conſideration of their ſingular loyalty, had granted them an immunity from taxes for many years. They are much addicted to hunting,

ing, and well acquainted with the paſſes. They therefore gathered heaps of ſtones, felled trees, and prepared materials of all ſorts in proper places, in order to prevent or annoy the enemy in his march: and theſe they rolled down ſuddenly from the tops of the hills upon the Bavarians as they paſſed below, whereby many of them were killed upon the ſpot, or beaten down to the lower parts of the ground by the force of the trees and ſtones falling from above; and ſuch as fell into their hands, were either murdered, or left wounded for a prey to wolves and bears. The roads were alſo rendered unpaſſable, either by the torrents of water waſhing away the earth, or by pits dug in them on purpoſe. The elector of Bavaria gave orders for repairing the one, and clearing the other. He ſent one party of ſoldiers before to the town of Tirol, and another towards Brixen. He himſelf led the army through many difficulties, ariſing from the narrow paſſes and obſtructions in the way. The ſtreights were ſuch, that the ranks of the ſoldiers were very thin; ſometimes two, and ſometimes three horſemen marched abreaſt, leſt by the fall of the trees, and the rolling down of the ſtones, they ſhould be hurried to the lower regions. The elector of Bavaria found himſelf engaged in a moſt dreadful kind of engagement; an engagement among mountains, where no enemy was to be ſeen, and where there was notwithſtanding a continual fighting. In the third day's march, an army of the boors appeared, as if they would offer him an opportunity to engage. They had but few horſemen among them, becauſe forage was ſcarce in thoſe parts; and the Griſons, who were little uſed to fighting on horſeback, diſmounted from their horſes. The elector of Bavaria, who was very ſtrong in horſe, advanced with all ſpeed. When he approached near them, the boors diſperſed according to their cuſtom, and betook themſelves to the woods and inacceſſible places; and there was no impoſſibility of overtaking them, on account of the ruggedneſs of the ground. But the boors ruſhed out of the woods, and cut off ſeveral noblemen of diſtinguiſhed courage, and ſeveral veteran officers. They had a deſign upon the elector himſelf; and in attempting to kill him, they barbarouſly murdered the young count d'Arco, a brave youth, cloſe by the elector's ſide. But the only object they had in view in theſe flying

The elector of Bavaria's expedition in Tirol.

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ſkirmiſhes was, to haraſs and diminiſh the Bavarian army in their march.

And now at laſt, the elector of Bavaria, tired out with theſe difficulties, marched up to the top of mount Brenner, where he encamped three days. Thither the parties returned whom he had ſent out to Brixen and Tirol, without having done any thing. The duke de Vendoſme had given the elector of Bavaria great hopes of his coming to join him. But when he was informed by his ſpies, whoſe ſervice he rewarded very liberally, of Vendoſme's delay, and that he was ſtopt at Trent by colonel Solari and the count de Gattenſtein, the commanders of the imperialiſts, in thoſe parts; and likewiſe, that there were forty thouſand hunters in the mountains, who had killed a thouſand Bavarians in the valley of Enadina; finding that he had nothing to do but to make haſte, commanded his army to face about, and return. In his retreat a rumour was daily ſpread of the barbarity of the enemy, and of the frequent ſlaughters committed by them upon his men. On this intelligence the elector of Bavaria was more afraid of thoſe boors and hunters, than of the emperor's forces. He therefore left behind him ſome of his baggage and guns, and paſſed by Inſpruck, miſtruſting the affections of the inhabitants. For he was not inſenſible, that there was now no dependence upon their oaths; and therefore, during his march, he exacted ſevere contributions from the people in his way, and took hoſtages along with him. Here was to be ſeen a ſudden turn of fortune in the mountains. The boors and hunters retook Ebenberg, Rottemberg, Clauſen, and Schefeld at the ſame moment, as it were, that they fell upon the Bavarians, fatigued with their march and wounds, in the rear and open flanks. When the elector of Bavaria had been thus puniſhed for having ſo unadviſedly made war upon the Griſons, in order to open a paſſage for his retreat, he made a ſudden attack upon Charnitz, and took it. Here many of his men were killed. And the elector returning that way, ſought to ſecure himſelf in his own country; though he would not acknowledge himſelf to be overcome by true valour, but overpowered by a barbarous multitude. However, it was all one to the Griſons, who do not fight for glory, but only for their own liberty and ſafety;

His retreat homeward.

and

and who, in this cauſe, thought themſelves almoſt a match for devils and dæmons among the mountains.

THE elector of Bavaria, greatly mortified with theſe diſaſters, and hearing alſo, that count Raventlaw, with eight thouſand Danes, had made an irruption into Bavaria, was ſo ſtung with vexation, that he made a confuſed flight, as it were, along with the boors, and haſtened all that he could to cover Munich. That he might be the better able to face the Danes, he ſent orders to his general Santin, immediately to evacuate Ratiſbon; and to revenge the injuries done to him by the imperialiſts, he endeavoured to ſeize as many as he could of the free cities. He deſigned to make himſelf maſter of Augſburg by force of arms. Prince Lewis of Baden was aware of this, and pitched his camp at the river Lech: but, knowing the ſtrength of the enemy, and the weakneſs of the fortifications, he decamped again, and by a ſpeedy march came up to the relief of the city, leaving a well provided army behind him at the Danube, under the command of count Stirum. He encamped himſelf at Hochſtadt, on the other ſide of the Danube; but receiving orders from prince Lewis to join him without delay, Stirum laid a bridge acroſs that river, and prepared to paſs it with his forces. Marſhal Villars, underſtanding prince Lewis's deſign, earneſtly invited and preſſed the elector of Bavaria to join his forces with his, in order to attack count Stirum's camp. The elector made ſome difficulty to do it. However, they marched to the Danube in two bodies, and paſſed the river at Donawert. They ſent the marquis d'Uſſon before to the paſs of Dillinghen with two thouſand horſe and nine thouſand foot; Villars himſelf reſolving to attack the enemy's camp. No body to this day can find out or account for the conduct of prince Lewis of Baden, in commanding count Stirum to undertake ſuch a march through the midſt of the enemy. The count being now ſurrounded, and hearing the diſcharge of their guns, was well aſſured of what was in hand, and what was meant by that ſignal. When therefore he found himſelf environed with forces aſſailing him on every ſide, he reſolved, without delay, to give them battle by the advice of count Schuylemberg, who commanded the Saxons. They drew up their army in as good order as the ſhort time and the neceſſity of the caſe would allow. Schuylemberg

Battle at the Danube

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berg advancing at the head of the foot, and Stirum of the horſe, attacked the French there with great briſkneſs, overthrew them, and forced them to retreat to the marſhes before Villars could come to their aſſiſtance. The Germans had nine thouſand horſe, and fourteen thouſand foot. But Villars renewed the battle, which was long and fierce; and great ſlaughter was made on both ſides. Six troops of the French horſe, which were driven into the marches, either periſhed among the bogs, or were deſtroyed by Schuylemberg's foot, while marſhal Villars was thus engaged, and almoſt in as much danger as the marquis d'Uſſon had been before the elector of Bavaria came up ſeaſonably to ſupport him. Count Schuylemberg did not think it adviſable, after his men were fatigued with fighting ſo long already, to expoſe them to theſe freſh forces; for both ſides had been engaged in cloſe fight for eight hours together: and count Stirum being of the ſame opinion, ordered Schuylemberg to lead off the foot, while he himſelf marched ſpeedily away with the horſe to a place of ſafety. The elector of Bavaria, perceiving that the enemy now declined an engagement with him, purſued and fell upon the foot in their march. Schuylemberg, who was moſt expert in the diſcipline of foot, being apprehenſive of this, marched in a ſquare, and ſo ſkilfully covered his rear, that he often repulſed the attacks of the Bavarians. At laſt, Schuylemberg, leading the foot through the confines of Nortgow, came to Nordlingen, greatly fatigued with the ſervice of the day, and the travel of the night, for the battle had continued all the day long. Many brave men fell on that day.

When prince Lewis of Baden had intelligence how matters had paſſed, he furniſhed Augſburg with ammunition and proviſions; and being afraid, leſt the united forces of the enemy ſhould attack him in his camp, he thought fit to remove farther off; and finding himſelf preſſed by the enemy, marched to Memminghen. There he ſent orders to count Schuylemberg to join him with his forces; who prepared himſelf for that ſervice accordingly. The march was much expoſed to ambuſcades and other dangers. But Schuylemberg, ſometimes by night, ſometimes by day, ſometimes moving in a direct line, and ſometimes in a winding courſe, arrived ſafe at length in the prince of Baden's camp, through many difficulties, and

and frequent feints to deceive the enemy. Prince Lewis, much ſtrengthened and heartened by theſe reinforcements, marched towards the Danube, paſſed the river with his army, and diſpoſed his forces in winter-quarters in ſuch a manner as to ward off the enemy from the fruitful country of Swabia, as well as from his own lands, and to protect the Nortgow from their incurſions.

Diſcord between Villars and Bavaria.

MARSHAL VILLARS, now conceiving a diſlike to the elector of Bavaria, wrote to his king on account of what had paſſed, ſetting forth the greatneſs of the victory, and his own courage, expedition, and conduct in the battle. On the other ſide, the elector highly reſenting his harſh and inexorable temper and avarice, made no ſecret of it, but deſired to have him recalled from the command of the army: and Villars himſelf alſo requeſted the ſame of his king, making heavy complaints of the elector of Bavaria's indolence. But the elector's great difference with him was on account of his rigour in raiſing contributions upon the country. For Villars did not think it worth while to carry on a war in that horrid country, without ſome private advantage to himſelf. At laſt he wrote to his king, deſiring to be employed in ſome other part, and promiſing him victory and ſucceſs, if the king would but make trial of his valour and military conduct in any other place; for Villars knew well enough how to bring over his king both into his ſentiments and intereſt. The French king wrote back to the elector of Bavaria to bear a little with Villars's impetuous temper, and to excuſe what was paſſed, out of regard to him, on account of his preſent want of commanders. He gave ſtrict orders alſo to Villars, to obſerve more moderation in his winter-quarters, and in every thing to ſuit himſelf to the elector of Bavaria.

The emperor in great diſtreſs.

THIS winter the elector of Bavaria took Augſburg, retook Paſſaw, and proceeded as far as Lintz. Then penetrating into the Lower Auſtria, he threatened to lay ſiege to Vienna itſelf; and marſhal Villars earneſtly preſſed him to do ſo, in order to ſecure himſelf againſt future injuries. But a ſnow falling at that time five feet deep, rendered all the roads impaſſable. When the French king heard this, he ſaid, "It was a new prodigy from heaven, to ſave the emperor, as uſual,

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" and to deliver him from preſent danger." And it is thought the French king was not ſorry for it; and that he would not willingly have ſuffered the power and dominions of the houſe of Auſtria to fall into the hands of the elector of Bavaria. The elector of Bavaria's indignation was highly raiſed at the demand made by marſhal Villars to have Ulm and other places which he had taken delivered up to him.

In the mean time, the duke of Burgundy was ſent to command the army on the Rhine. The duke drawing together the marſhal Tallard's forces, and others out of the garriſons, formed an army of thirty thouſand men in the neighbourhood of Landau, as if he had intended to beſiege that city. Count Frize, the governor, ſurpriſed at the duke of Burgundy's approach, and fearing treaſon, kept off ſuch of his men as he ſuſpected from going upon guard, calling ſome of them before him, and committing others to priſon. And now the treaſon being diſcovered, the duke of Burgundy moved off, and marched with all ſpeed to Briſac; which town he beſieged. The count d'Arco and count Marſiglia, a Boloneze, more diſtinguiſhed by the intereſt of the courtiers than for any military exploits of his own, had the command in that place. Marſhal Tallard commanded the ſiege; and the approaches were directed by monſieur de Vauban, who was a worthy and brave man, and next to general Cohorne, the moſt expert engineer in the world. Before eight days were paſſed, count Marſiglia, without any neceſſity or any want of proviſions, treated about a ſurrender; for which the count's courage and fidelity were very generally called in queſtion. For this he was afterwards degraded and baniſhed; and count d'Arco, the other governor of the town, was beheaded, and others alſo branded with diſhonour.

Briſac taken.

After the taking of Briſac, the duke of Burgundy, little regarding the events of the war, or his brother's ſafety, returned to Paris. Marſhal Tallard, leading his army along the banks of the Rhine, inveſted Landau, on the 7th day of October 1703. He made a great diſcharge with his guns on two ſides of the town; and it was defended with as much vigour and reſolution by count Frize, who ſent to count Naſſau, to know his commands in that dangerous ſituation. Count Naſſau

Landau beſieged.

anſwered, that he expected the hereditary prince of Heſſe Caſſel every day, in order to raiſe the ſiege. On this news count Frize was ſo much encouraged, that he ſtoutly defended the works. Marſhal Tallard receiving intelligence of the approach of the prince of Heſſe, marched out on the 15th of November, being the feſtival of St. Leopold, and attacked the Heſſian camp. At firſt he routed the Palatines in the left wing, who made but a weak reſiſtance. The prince of Heſſe maintained the fight with great courage for ſome time; but when his army was attacked in the open flank, as well as in front, he was forced at laſt to give way, and remove his camp to the other ſide of the river; the prince of Heſſe himſelf covering the flying battalions in the rear. The French reckon two thouſand ſlain, and the Germans three thouſand. The chief perſons loſt among the French were monſieur Precontal, and the marquis de Laverdin. Count Frize's ſon was taken; who being brought before marſhal Tallard, was ſent to his father as a demonſtration of the victory, to notify the event of the battle, and to aſſure him, that he could have no relief, nor muſt expect any longer time for ſurrendering the town, if he would ſave himſelf and his garriſon. Frize therefore, knowing the town was almoſt taken already, made the beſt terms he could, and ſurrendered: after which both the armies went into their winter-quarters. In thoſe moſt dangerous circumſtances of the German empire, nothing was thought more ſtrange than the prince of Baden's deſigns and conduct in this war. The French highly mngnified the loſſes of the enemy; and the Germans gave out, that this loſs would afterward turn to their advantage.

Battle of Spirebach.

Landau taken.

This winter the duke of Vendoſme haraſſed the enemy with ſlight ſkirmiſhes, and his own army with continual labours, watches, and marches: ſometimes laying in wait to ſurpriſe the Germans, and alarming them in their winter-quarters; ſometimes making lines; and ſometimes ſecuring the fords and paſſes of the rivers. He deſtroyed the Venetian territories, as if he had been in an enemy's country, and provoked the inhabitants with depredations; of which great complaints were made. And the boors lay in ambuſh to catch the plunderers and French ſoldiers by night, knocking them on the head, and murdering them as they found them ſcattered and diſperſed in the fields. In the

 ſpring,

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ſpring, Vendoſme having received the French king's commands to march into the confines of Germany, communicated his orders to the other commanders, and prepared for the march: but though his forces united would be much ſuperior to the enemy, divided they would be inferior. He therefore reſolved, before they parted, to fall upon count Staremberg's camp with the joint forces of the French and the Spaniards. Vendoſme was greatly enraged againſt the Venetians, becauſe general Molino, their governor in thoſe parts, refuſed to diſarm the boors: for, he ſaid, "The boors had only taken arms in their "own defence, and to ſecure themſelves from danger."

Campaign in Italy.

VENDOSME, being thus ſuperior to the Germans in number, paſſed the river Mincio, and advanced to Ponte Molino. But being repulſed there by the Germans, he haſtily repaſſed the river Tartaro, which runs through the country of Rovigo, and ſtopped at Oſtiglia, endeavouring to take the town. When Staremberg perceived this, by cutting the banks of the Tartaro, which falls partly into the Po, and partly into the Adige, he turned the water into the enemy's camp at Oſtiglia, and forced them to retreat from thence. About the ſame time, Staremberg fell unexpectedly upon the count Albergotti's army, as he marched to reduce the town of Final, belonging to Modena, and put the French to flight; taking one thouſand of them priſoners, and killing two hundred in the battle. At the ſame time that count Staremberg took Final of Modena, the duke of Vendoſme reduced the ſtrong town of Borſillo, which the other had not only fortified with new works after it was taken in the war, but had alſo greatly enlarged its territories. Though the Venetians were highly provoked at the oppreſſions of the French, yet they rejected the emperor's offers, reſolving firmly to perſiſt in their neutrality. The duke of Savoy excuſed himſelf to the French king, by their treaty, from any march beyond the bounds of Italy. The duke of Vendoſme drove the duke of Modena out of his dominions, and entered the young duke of Mirandola in the French king's army. At laſt, conſulting the elector of Bavaria, and leaving ſome forces in Rivoli, and other places, for a guard to Italy, and to oppoſe the Germans, he made various marches, and paſſed the greateſt part of his army over the lake di Garda, and took ſome caſtles by the way.

Then

Then leading his men through very difficult places, and laying waſte the country in his way, he arrived within ſight of the city of Trent, and encamped on the oppoſite bank of the river. When he came thither, he imperiouſly demanded of the inhabitants a paſſage through their country. The people of Trent, being ſubject to none but their own archbiſhop, but yet in alliance with the emperor, and friends to the Germans, and to whoſe ſuccour count Solari was come thither, refuſed to grant him a paſſage. Vendoſme, provoked by this refuſal, turned his cannon and mortars towards the city, and for three days made the banks of the Adige reſound with the many bombs and balls which he diſcharged into it, without any reverence to the place where the famous ſacred council had been held. For the councils of the Italians, their religious rites, their churches and ordinary houſes, are all regarded by the French as if they were their enemies. The people of Trent, under their preſent conſternation, made a ſolemn proceſſion of three days; and flying to the ſhrines of the ſaints, patrons and protectors of their city, and the ſeat of the ſacred council, humbly implored their aſſiſtance. The duke of Vendoſme, in his march, had forced the Germans to evacuate many of their garriſons, and had ſet the caſtles on fire. He alſo took the caſtle d'Arco thirteen days after he had inveſted it; which being an occaſion of delay to Vendoſme, was the cauſe of ſafety to the people of Trent, but of great diſguſt to the elector of Bavaria. Vendoſme now ſaw that he had loſt the faireſt opportunity of joining the elector; though indeed the Bavarian had returned to his own dominions before the ſurrender of the caſtle d'Arco. However, the duke of Vendoſme was ſtill in hopes that he might yet, by his diligence, recover the time he had loſt, and that the elector of Bavaria might, perhaps, return thither again.

Trent bombarded by Vendoſme.

But now at laſt Vendoſme finding himſelf diſappointed of paſſing the river, and diſcovering the duke of Savoy's ſecret intention of revolting to the party of the confederates, faced about, and commanded his men to return with all ſpeed to Italy, himſelf bringing up the rear, and ſetting fire to every thing in his way. Nor were the difficulties of the roads, nor the Alps, nor the deepeſt rivers, nor the lake di Garda, ſufficient to ſtop him in his retreat.

Vendoſme's retreat.

BOOK VI.

The Savoyards diſarmed.

THE duke of Vendoſme returning to his camp on the 29th day of September, immediately gave orders to diſarm the duke of Savoy's ſoldiers, and turn them out of the camp, and to keep the ſtouteſt of them, as well as their captains and colonels, in confinement. The common ſoldiers he enliſted, and diſtributed the horſemen among his own. The duke of Savoy, highly incenſed at this, complained heavily to the French king of the violence, the treachery, the violation of the law of nations, as well as of the faith of hoſpitality and alliance. When the Savoyards were diſarmed, Vendoſme made a ſpeedy march to the confines of Savoy, and encamped himſelf between Mortara and the town of Caſal; from whence he ſent to the duke this letter: "That "ſince neither faith, nor ſolemn treaties, nor religion, nor honour, "nor intereſt, nor proximity of blood, were of any weight with him, "he was now come thither to know his intentions; and that he "could allow him but twenty-four hours to reſolve what he had to "do." The duke of Savoy, filled with indignation and wrath at the violence done to his ſoldiers, immediately made anſwer, "That the "diſhonour and injury done to his men had moved him to ſuch a de-"gree, that he needed no time to reſolve or deliberate, and that he "was not afraid of the French king's threatnings." The duke of Savoy knew, that all he could ſay either to prevent or delay a ſpeedy war to revenge the injury he had done, would be vain. He therefore commanded all the French in all parts of his dominions to be ſecured and confined. And he repreſented to the ſenate of Venice by his ambaſſador, the miſerable condition of the princes of Italy, hoping to draw that republic into his meaſures. It is amazing how bitter an enemy the duke of Savoy now became to the French king. He railed againſt him to the remoteſt parts of the earth. And it was ſtrange what credit was every where given to him and his ambaſſadors in their reports of the injuries done him by the French king: but all their repreſentations were loſt on the Venetians. Count Staremberg immediately diſpatched one thouſand five hundred horſe to the duke of Savoy's aſſiſtance, under the command of the marquis de Viſconti: but they were overthrown in their march by the enemy, and driven into the territories of Genoa. Many of them were killed, more taken, and Viſconti eſcaped with the reſt into the dutchy of Savoy, paſſing by the city of Genoa, and the mountains of the antient Liguria.

Letter to the duke of Savoy.

The duke's anſwer.

THE French king, knowing all the duke of Savoy's ſecret intrigues, and having exactly diſcovered all his meaſures as they had been concerted, gave an account thereof to the pope in writing; ſhewing that the duke had long held intelligence with the enemy, revealed his ſecret deſigns, and entered into a league with the emperor, concluded by count d'Averſperg, and confirming all this by certain documents both of time and place. The pope was concerned above all things, not to ſeem doubtful of what the French king ſaid, eſpecially of what might turn to the diſgrace of the duke of Savoy: he therefore gave full credit to the king's word; and the prieſts following his example, reported and affirmed every where with great confidence, that what he had ſaid was true; for theſe are a ſort of men who are all alike, in all places, and always agreeing in the ſame tone. But the duke of Savoy paying no more regard to the credit of the pope than of the French king, poſitively affirmed, that matters had been miſrepreſented to the king, made an excuſe for himſelf, and loudly complained of that monarch for not having paid him the money due to him, nor given him the command of the army in Italy, according to their agreement. Thus each of them charging the other with breach of faith, and violation of treaties, ſhewed, that neither of them was to be depended upon. The duke of Savoy demanded immediate ſuccour from the emperor, leſt he ſhould be ruined by the enemies who environed him on every ſide. The French king ſent ſtrict orders to the duke of Vendoſme to fall upon Savoy on all hands. The emperor, no leſs ſolicitous for the duke's ſafety, gave orders for the greateſt part of his army in Italy to haſten to his relief: but what gave this prince the moſt agreeable proſpect of ſucceſs, was, that count Staremberg himſelf was appointed their commander. Staremberg, having taken up money of the merchants of Verona and Breſcia, and furniſhed himſelf with all things neceſſary for his march, ordered fourteen thouſand men to move on chriſtmas eve, with the utmoſt ſilence, to Ponte Molino, whither alſo he himſelf haſtened, leaving general Trautmauſdorff behind him, to take care of the forces at Oſtiglia and Mirandola. The news of this bold enterprize alarmed the ſtouteſt hearts; eſpecially the French, who thought it incredible and impoſſible, that Staremberg, or any other mortal, could

Staremberg's march to the relief of Savoy.

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could lead an army, at that time of the year, into Piedmont; for they knew the roads in that country were impaſſable in the winter, as well as ſecured by the French forts, caſtles, garriſons, and winter-quarters. To theſe difficulties was added the conſideration, how many times the Po was to be croſſed; how many deep rivers; what ſtreights; what tempeſtuous weather; what ſcarcity of corn, forage, and fuel; and what enemies Staremberg had to encounter by the way. While the French were entertaining themſelves with theſe reaſonings and diſcourſes, count Staremberg, who was as good a general as any within our memory, moving on by the way of Concordia, paſſed his army over the river Secchia, and made a rapid march into the confines of Milan; where he ſometimes encountered, and ſometimes artfully avoided the enemy on the other ſide. When he had paſſed the Po and the Taro, in the territories of Placentia, he led his forces by the town of Scala. Here, the enemy, following the Germans cloſe on their heels, watched for an opportunity to attack them in the rear. Count Staremberg, being aware of this, ordered his men to march in a ſquare body, and repulſed thoſe who had advanced with a deſign to retard his march. But now turning ſhort, he took the caſtle of Stradella, and ſometimes by ſtratagem, and ſometimes by force, got poſſeſſion of ſome other neighbouring caſtles; and then, turning ſhort about again, paſſed the river Scrivia. From thence he proceeded to the river Bormia, over which he laid a bridge, and paſſed his army. In this paſſage count Lichtenſtein brought up the rear; who, being eager to fight, would needs fall upon the enemy; but advancing too briſkly, he ſuffered great loſs, and had been utterly routed, if count Staremberg had not ſupported him. Here was hard ſervice on both ſides; and while the duke of Vendoſme was drawing his army together, count Staremberg, taking the way of Acqui, joined his forces with the duke of Savoy; having loſt in his march the count Solari, and two thouſand men. Such was the reputation of this expedition, that all who were deſirous to learn the art of war wiſhed to have ſerved on that occaſion under Staremberg in this expedition. It was looked upon indeed, as a very fatiguing march, but full of delightful inſtruction to young ſoldiers; and what will be reſounded by the trump of fame to the juſt praiſe of count Staremberg throughout all ages.

AND

Treaty with the duke of Savoy;

And now the duke of Savoy concluded a treaty with the emperor, on condition that he ſhould furniſh one thouſand five hundred of his men to join twenty thouſand of the imperialiſts; and that the queen of England and the ſtates of Holland ſhould pay him 80,000 crowns a month, over and above 100,000 given him in hand. And further, certain well-fortified places and valuable territories in the dutchy of Milan, were annexed to Savoy, on condition that the duke ſhould never make peace without the conſent of the emperor. About the ſame time, don Pedro, king of Portugal, alſo concluded a treaty with the confederates on theſe conditions; that the confederates ſhould ſend him a fleet, and an army of twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, and maintain them at their charge, and ſhould keep twelve men of war all the year round in his ports: and, on the other ſide, the king of Portugal was obliged to raiſe twenty thouſand men, for whom the confederates were to pay a ſubſidy of a million of money every year; of which the Engliſh were to pay one half, and the emperor and the Dutch each a fourth part. The Engliſh and the Dutch paid their proportions punctually, and undertook for the emperor's ſhare for a year, as his treaſury was then exhauſted. The Dutch were offended at this; but the Engliſh, either by ſome ſtrange council, or neceſſity, made good the emperor's part both to the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy, and ſupplied the deficiency of what the Dutch had engaged for at their coſt, till the emperor's treaſury ſhould be better furniſhed. This, as many ſaid in England, was to lay us under an obligation for ever; but the courtiers inſiſted, that it was for the intereſt of England, and to be done for our honour; and the tories, particularly Sir Thomas Hammer, ſaid, it was proper to add, that all this money was laid out for the defence of the church of England; and deſired that it might be ſo recorded. Amidſt theſe party diſputes, Mr. James Stanhope, who was intent upon his own intereſt, ſold his commiſſion, and began now firſt to think of commanding an army in Spain: and not long after this, the Lord Lorne followed his example.

and with the king of Portugal.

In the middle of March, the duke of Marlborough went to the Hague, and held conferences with the ſtates; the reſult of which was, that the confederates ſhould diſlodge the enemy from all the country between

Campaign in Flanders.

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between the Rhine and the Maeſe; and many were very ſolicitous to have this ſervice performed as ſoon as poſſible; particularly the elector palatine and the ſtates general. At that time count Lottum, the Pruſſian general, had laid ſiege to Rhineberg; and the prince of Heſſe had inveſted Traerback, having attempted in vain to take the citadel. But when theſe towns were reduced almoſt to the laſt neceſſity, they were relieved by the French marſhal Tallard, who had the command of twenty thouſand men in thoſe parts. In order to have the deſigns of the confederates put in execution as early as poſſible, the ſtates general ſent in the beginning of the winter, for general Cohorne, who was renowned for his ſkill in fortifications and ſieges. When they aſked him, what he thought of the ſiege of Bonn? he anſwered, "Let Bonn "be ever ſo much fortified with new works, he could promiſe, at his "own peril, to put it into their hands, within thirteen days after the "works ſhould be finiſhed, and he ſhould begin to batter the walls; "provided they would ſupply him with every thing neceſſary for the "ſiege." He told them what he thought neceſſary to aſk for that purpoſe, which they promiſed him; and the high and mighty ſtates general commanded him, without delay, to go thither, and to lay ſiege to Bonn. But Cohorne, who had not forgot the ſiege of Namur, refuſed to ſet out before every thing that was required and promiſed ſhould be ſent forward. The ſtates were very preſſing; Cohorne, however, who well knew what would be neceſſary, perſiſted in his reſolution, without any regard to the arguments of unſkilful men. Wherefore, many who were ignorant of the ſingular probity of the man, raſhly accuſed him of obſtinacy. However, he gave a full and clear account of the reaſons of his backwardneſs to the duke of Marlborough, who adviſed him to undertake it, and to comply with the orders of the ſtates. Cohorne ſhewed the duke how tardy the ſtates would be; what advantage the enemy might have to cut them off from their military ſtores; what inconveniencies the ſoldiers might be expoſed to around the city; what ſlaughter would be made among them, and to what dangers the whole attempt would be liable: and laſtly, what diſhonour would redound to them two, and them only, from the fruitleſs undertaking, in caſe it ſhould miſcarry.

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THE duke of Marlborough weighing all theſe things in his own mind, agreed in opinion with Cohorne, and negociated the matter with ſuch temper and moderation with the ſtates, as to prevail with them immediately to ſend away all the neceſſary materials for the ſiege. When this was done, general Cohorne haſtened to camp, and directed the ſoldiers to be brought up to the ſiege in three bodies. The marquis d'Alegre, governor of the city, prepared himſelf to make a vigorous defence. Cohorne reſolved to attack the place in three parts. He appointed twelve battalions to the command of the prince of Heſſe; and as many to lieutenant-general Fagel; and Cohorne himſelf, with an equal number of men, laid ſiege to the fort on the oppoſite ſide of the river, and opened the trenches 3d May, 1703. Within a few days the guns were mounted upon the batteries, and an aſtoniſhing tempeſt of artificial fire was continually poured into the city and the works. On the 9th of May, the iron chain which held the floating bridge was broken by a cannon ſhot. General Cohorne, perceiving this, directed the officers immediately to draw up their forces againſt the enemy, and to attack the fort; which being now disjoined from the city by the Rhine, and deſtitute of all ſuccour, was taken by ſtorm. The French, terrified with the courage of the confederates, gave way, and endeavoured to make their retreat through the cloud of ſmoke: but the confederates preſſing on, ſet their ſcaling ladders to the unguarded walls, and giving no opportunity to the flying enemy to eſcape, put moſt of the garriſon to the ſword. After this Cohorne turned a great number of cannon againſt the walls of the city, wherewith the works were ſo ſhattered, and the walls ſhaken, that none could ſtand upon them. On the eleventh day of the ſiege, the governor finding no intermiſſion of the attack, gave the ſignal from the walls, and ſurrendered the city. The garriſon had a ſafe-conduct to Luxemburgh, and the Dutch were put into poſſeſſion of Bonne. After the taking of Bonne, general Cohorne and baron Spar were ſent into Flanders, to demoliſh the enemy's lines. When they arrived there, they deceived the count de la Motte, who had little experience in war, with feigned marches, and in a few days levelled the French lines in the territories of Ghent, and laid the inhabitants under contribution. The duke of Marlborough, having given his ſoldiers a refreſhment of three days, ſent general Opdam and general

Bonne beſieged;

and taken.

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ral Schlangenberg with a part of the army to the mouth of the river Scheld, to prevent the enemy's incurſion there, and to ſuſtain general Cohorne, in caſe any ſudden diſaſter ſhould befal him: but he himſelf marched to the Maeſe, to cover the country of Liege, and to ſuccour general d'Averquerque in his difficult undertaking.

At this time the marſhal Villeroy, who had recovered his liberty, and the marſhal Boufflers, the commanders of the French armies in Flanders, marched with a great force into the neighbourhood of Tongeren; and there ſurpriſed two companies, with their baggage and regimental clothes. They had alſo overthrown d'Averquerque's forces, if he had not received timely intelligence of what had happened at Tongeren. When d'Averquerque had received this intelligence, and found that the enemy was in full march againſt him, ſince he had opportunity to retreat, he commanded his men to make a bold ſtand, and drew them up in a place fit to fight in. The ſight of this terrified the enemy, though much ſuperior in number, ſo that they halted; and fearing an ambuſh, returned back to Tongeren, where they demoliſhed the walls of the town, and thence retired to their lines.

When the duke of Marlborough rejoined the confederate army, he was eager to fight the French immediately: but the French, perceiving his deſign, took care to keep out of his way, and encamped in a proper place for the ſecurity of their lines. As the confederate army was divided, marſhal Villeroy thought fit to make a ſimilar diſpoſition, and gave marſhal Boufflers the command of the forces in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, either to guard againſt any ſudden accident, or to attack the enemy if any fair opportunity ſhould offer. Boufflers, conſulting with a few of his officers, reſolved to ſurround and attack Opdam's camp. Sunday was pitched upon as the moſt convenient day, when the Dutch would be at their devotions, and all the moſt inactive and infirm of them upon guard. Having therefore drawn ſome out of Villeroy's camp, and others out of the neighbouring garriſons, Boufflers formed an army of thirty thouſand men with the utmoſt ſilence. On the 28th day of June, in the morning, he led his forces out of Antwerp, and advanced as ſecretly as poſſibly he could, without ſound of trumpet

Battle of Eckeren.

or

or drum, to Opdam's camp. Opdam had early intelligence that the forces were ſeen not far off; and no ſooner was the news brought, than the riſing ſun diſcovered a great cloud of duſt. Opdam, not knowing what was the matter, went out to take a view of them, and his miſtreſs along with him; and both of them were prevented by the enemy from returning to the camp. When Opdam perceived that the French were maſters of all the avenues to his camp, fearing to loſe both the army and his love, he wandered about all the day through by-paths and deſart places, like another Mars, in parade, and came to Breda before ſun-ſet, where he acted as unadviſedly as he had come thither; immediately writing a letter to the ſtates, to inform them that his camp at Eckeren "was attacked, and his army routed and deſtroyed; "and laſtly, that he himſelf, with only two companions, had ſaved their "lives by flight, and were arrived ſafe at Breda, where he had given "orders to prepare every thing for a vigorous defence."

THE news of ſuch a diſaſter filled all the Hague with grief and lamentation. When the letter was read in the aſſembly, the nobles and commons were drowned in tears; and the report of it in the town overwhelmed all the people with ſorrow and conſternation. In the midſt of this general terror, the more prudent adviſed to wait for farther intelligence. In the ſtreets, the courts, and other public places at the Hague, nothing was to be heard but cries and wailings of women, as if the enemy had been already at their very gates. But amidſt all their deſpair came general Schlangenberg's letter to the ſtates, aſſuring them, that the battle was bravely fought, and that all was ſafe: when the ſtates underſtood this, they were highly offended with general Opdam, for ſending them an account of an action wherein he was not preſent. The common people, as uſual, ran from the extremity of fear to that of joy. Some exulted in the victory and the happineſs of their country; others exclaimed againſt Opdam as a villain; ſome deſired to have him brought in chains to judgment; others would have tore him to pieces, according to their ancient uſage; and even the very women hunted about, and called for him like furies: but Opdam thought fit to tarry on the borders of the republic about half

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a year, till all the paſſion of the populace againſt him was cooled, and his ill-conduct in this engagement began to be forgotten by them.

When the enemy knew that general Opdam had fled, they began to preſs upon the Dutch with more courage and reſolution; and Boufflers endeavoured to ſurround the Dutch camp. General Schlangenberg perceiving this, and being far inferior to the enemy in number, extended his line as far as the incloſures and dykes would permit, and commanded his men to make a retreating fight. For he ſaid, "it was better to try "the fortune of war in fighting valiantly, than to ſuffer themſelves, "forlorn and diſpirited, to be diſhonourably made ſlaves by the ene-"my, or lay down their arms." The Dutch ſoldiers defended themſelves with great alacrity; and though they were deſerted by the general, as well as by fortune, yet they truſted to their own valour for their ſafety. General Hompeſch finding all the paſſes ſeized by the enemy, led on his horſe upon the banks of the dykes, and repulſed and routed ſome ſquadrons of the enemy. Lieutenant-general Fagel's courage diſtinguiſhed him highly that day on the dykes between Houwen and Eckeren. There the fight was maintained from noon to night, in order both to open a retreat for the horſe and for general Schlangenberg, to ſecure ſome narrow paſſes, wherein a ſmall body of men might defend themſelves againſt a multitude; but ſince theſe were now in the enemy's hands, the only way to get poſſeſſion of them was by the edge of the ſword. The battle was here very ſharply fought on both ſides; each driving the other, in their turn, among the ditches which divided the fields in that country for the ſervice of the inhabitants. After the ſun went down, marſhal Boufflers ſounded a retreat, and general Schlangenberg returned to the Dutch fortifications at Lillo, much fatigued with the hard ſervice of the day, and the wounds received in it. If Boufflers had underſtood how to make the beſt advantage of his good fortune and ſucceſs, it is believed he might that day have both deſtroyed the Dutch forces, and reduced their republic to the laſt extremity. But he thought this was not ſufficient matter of glory to him, and therefore he endeavoured to take the ſoldiers alive to adorn his triumph. Severely mortified at the diſappointment, he returned into his own confines. General Schlangenberg, in his letter

to

to the ſtates after the battle, beſtowed high commendation on the conduct and valour of lieutenant-general Fagel, general Hompeſch, the good advice of colonel Ivois, and the extraordinary courage of all the troops in this engagement, and ſent them the drums, colours, and other trophies taken from the enemy the day following. The duke of Marlborough and the marſhal Villeroy, hearing the news of this battle, immediately decamped, being equally eager to come up to the relief of their reſpective parties. When the duke of Marlborough had intelligence that the enemy had marched farther from the lines than they were accuſtomed to do, and had drawn up their army, he haſtened that way, and encamped within a mile of them. Marſhal Villeroy, for ſome time, made a ſhew, as if he had been reſolved to fight; but fearing ſome diſaſter, he retreated with his army within their lines, and fortified himſelf there. Marlborough, perceiving that Villeroy had no other deſign in this than to keep up the courage of the French, turned about towards the Maeſe, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Huy on the 17th day of Auguſt, which was conducted by the prince of Anhalt and colonel Frederick Hamilton, who aſſaulted the place with ſuch reſolution, that Monſ. Millon the governor was in a few hours forced to ſurrender.

Huy taken by Marlborough.

No ſooner was the duke of Marlborough in poſſeſſion of Huy, than he was eager to attack the enemy's lines. But the Dutch deputies would by no means conſent to it; for they looked upon every thing that was to be undertaken on their confines as too full of danger. Lieutenant general Bulau was detached before to take poſſeſſion of all the avenues about Limburg; and the trenches being opened on the 19th of September, the garriſon was reduced without any other terms, than that they, being fourteen hundred in number, ſhould be ſent priſoners directly into Holland. And after this the army went into winter-quarters.

and Limburg.

In the mean time, count Lottum, according to his orders from the king of Pruſſia, bombarded the town of Gueldre, which was ſituated among marſhes, four days together: but when he could not make any conſiderable progreſs by this method of attack, he ordered a line of circum-

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circumvallation to be drawn round it at a diſtance, and all the avenues to be ſecured, in hopes to reduce the garriſon by famine. In memory of the ſucceſſes in this campaign on the Maeſe, a medal was ſtruck in England, but by whoſe authority I know not, repreſenting the queen's head on one ſide, and on the other an equeſtrian figure, which they called the duke of Marlborough's picture, with this motto:

An invidious medal.

BONNA, HUIO, ET LIMBURGO, CAPTIS
SINE CLADE VICTOR.

MANY people were enraged againſt the duke of Marlborough, and reflected upon him ſeverely, for cauſing his image to be impreſſed on the coin, as if he had been a partner in the ſovereign power. Marlborough excuſed himſelf by declaring, that he knew nothing of the matter; and the houſe of lords ordered the medal to be ſuppreſſed. But no law, no order of parliament, no command whatſoever, could hinder the people of England from talking, writing, and diſputing about it, in their diſcourſes, pamphlets, and lampoons. But the duke of Marlborough was a man who did not think glory alone a ſufficient reward for his valour, or who made any account of vain funeral honours; and much leſs would he trouble himſelf about collecting a few trifling medals to diſtribute among the people.

DURING the tranſactions of this campaign, the parties in England were ſo hot, and the contentions in parliament grew ſo ſharp, that a dreadful ſtorm ſeemed impending over the heads of many people. But the humour of the times ſeemed ſo to turn in favour of the whigs, as to fill them with hopes of better fortune: but what was matter of hope to them, ſeemed to the tories to be a dangerous tempeſt ready to break upon the church; and the furious clergy began to prophecy and report among the people every where in the country great dangers, of the Lord knows what! ſo that now it was eaſy to perceive what influence there is in England in the mere cry of religion.

THE lord Wharton, now growing old, and impatient of contentions, having been engaged in many debates, and made divers ſpeeches

in the foregoing ſeſſion of parliament, fell into a fit of ſickneſs; and his phyſicians adviſed him to go to Bath for the recovery of his health. The queen alſo, and the lord Somers, were adviſed, by their phyſicians, to do the ſame. But the tories ſuſpected that all this was a plot among the phyſicians; for their jealouſies were ſuch, that they could not believe the queen went thither either for her pleaſure, or her health, but only to promote ſome project for the ruin of the church. The lord Wharton was no ſooner arrived at the Bath, but Mr. Daſhwood, a hot young gentleman, and ſtill more inflamed by the heats of the tory party, challenged him to a duel; neither would he be pacified by all that the lord Wharton could ſay. Wherefore, many were of opinion, that that quarrel was the effect of party malice, rather than reſentment of an affront, as Daſhwood alleged, offered to his miſtreſs. When the young gentleman would neither govern his own paſſions, nor be reconciled to the lord Wharton on his offering to make ſatisfaction; when neither the age, the infirmity, nor the weakneſs of the nobleman could reſtrain the gentleman's anger; the lord Wharton, weak as he was, accepted the challenge; and, meeting his adverſary at the place appointed, the old lord diſarmed Daſhwood. Upon this he gave him his life in regard of his youth, and forgave him the injury in conſideration of his zeal for his party and his country, receiving him honourably into favour. But the young gentleman ſoon after died, either through grief or ſhame; for all men condemned him for having puſhed his furious reſentment ſo far as to challenge an old man, without any juſt reaſon.

Queen Anne at the Bath.

THE tories, who were then at the Bath, were very riotous in the walks, and inſulted the whigs in the public meetings and aſſemblies; and theſe again returned their reproaches: nor did thoſe madmen ſpare the queen herſelf, when they heard that ſhe was willing to ſee the lord Somers. But the queen looked upon all with a cheerful countenance; being deſirous to cool the paſſions of her ſubjects, and, as it were, to extinguiſh all their party-flames in the waters of the Bath. The tories no longer applauded her for her frugality, her conſtancy, or her Engliſh heart; but loaded her with ſevere reflections; and even Sir John Trevor did not forbear his abuſes, who had, by his own vote, as well

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well as thoſe of all men, been declared guilty of bribery, and expelled the houſe of commons for it ſome years ago. But the lord Somers, with his natural greatneſs of ſoul, ſupported himſelf and the common cauſe againſt all the attacks and reproaches of their adverſaries.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon was over at the Bath, the queen left that place, and returned home. And now, leſt her miniſters ſhould ſeem to truſt themſelves and the public ſervice too much to fortune, they began, as is uſual, before the meeting of parliament, to conſult with their friends about ſuch matters as were to be propoſed to the conſideration of the two houſes, and to engage the members to come into their ſentiments. This had often been found effectual, either through hopes of favours, or good offices; but now the ſhout of party was raiſed ſo high, that many would not be drawn off by any motives whatſoever. Mr. Harley the ſpeaker, and Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, who were ſecretly under the influence of the court, and united in a long friendſhip with the tories, brought over many of them by their plauſible ſpeeches, declaring their own opinion, that the enmities of parties ought to be forgotten; that for their own parts they were of the ſame opinion with the whigs as to the main buſineſs of the war and the public ſafety; but that at the ſame time they would never be wanting to the ſecurity of the church. At this time Sir Thomas Hanmer, who had long been a follower of the tories, and was now famous for his eloquence in the houſe of commons, was looked upon as the head of the party. Sir Humphrey Mackworth alſo perſuaded thoſe who loved the church not to truſt to the public credit in thoſe dangerous times; but to put their money into the mine-adventure, of which he was the governor; aſſuring them that he would take care they ſhould have a certain and ſufficient profit; but he did not invite any but the friends of the church to a ſhare in all thoſe riches and improvements. Upon this, many of the clergy, and rich widows, zealouſly attached to the church and their own intereſt, brought in their money to him. But at length he failed them all, and left both the exchange and the parliament.

In the mean time the lord Wharton, who was zealous for his party, and highly provoked to ſee his countrymen daily excluded from their ſeats in parliament, adviſed his friends to bring an action againſt their adverſaries for the purpoſe of maintaining their right of election; inſtructing them, at the ſame time, how to appeal to the houſe of lords. The electors who were aggrieved took his advice. Upon this, the houſe of commons, in ſupport of their rights, ordered thoſe electors to be taken into cuſtody; and would not ſuffer any lawyer, who was a member of their houſe, to plead their cauſe, in derogation of the honour and privileges of the houſe, as it was not fit they ſhould; and further, committed to cuſtody ſuch as dared to break their orders. They inſiſted on determining all matters relating to the elections of their own members. This the lords did not oppoſe. But on the other hand they inſiſted, that it was their right to receive appeals and writs of error, and to do juſtice to the injured ſubjects. Hence aroſe a hot diſpute between them concerning the law of the land, and the law of parliament. The judges being called upon to give their opinions, diſagreed among themſelves; and none but the lord chief juſtice Holt agreed with the judgment of the houſe of lords. Whereupon a free conference was held between the two houſes. At laſt, when neither of them would give up the point, this queſtion, which had been ſo long canvaſſed in parliament, was ſettled by a law for the future; whereby it was provided, that the law of the land ſhould not be ſwallowed up and deſtroyed by the law of parliament.

Caſe of Aſhby and White.

Diſputes between the two houſes.

Amidst all this confuſion of party-diſputes, Mr. A—— C—— *, who was all his life long deſirous of peace amongſt all men, knowing well, that whatever good diſpoſition the queen might have towards the whigs, ſhe would not be able to accompliſh any thing in parliament, unleſs the enmity between the lord Somers and Mr. Harley could firſt be appeaſed, went to the biſhop of Norwich, his friend, and perſuaded him to bring this about. The biſhop commended the good intention of his friend, but thought the buſineſs was impoſſible to be done. However, Mr. C—— preſſed him to attempt it; and

* The writer of this Hiſtory.

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ſaid, "It was incredible that diſcords among wiſe men ſhould ariſe "to ſuch a height of madneſs, as never to be capable of reconcili-"ation; nor, ſaid he, is either of them of ſuch a ſavage temper, "that we need to doubt of healing the breach and making them "friends." The pious man, who minded his own buſineſs and his flock, and had his eyes intent on the court, the public good, and the church, that he might be the more capable of doing ſervice according to the occaſions of the kingdom, deſired a little time to conſider of it. In the mean while, he conſulted the duke of Marlborough and the lord Godolphin, leſt they might think him too officious.

THESE noblemen, who were at the head of the adminiſtration, fearing leſt, if the lord Somers and Mr. Harley were reconciled, they might form ſuch a ſtrict friendſhip as might in time prove too powerful for their intereſt, ſtarted ſome difficulty, but highly commended the biſhop's zeal for the public good. However, they would not have any thing concluded in this matter till they ſhould firſt find out how both the lord Somers and Mr. Harley ſtood affected towards them. The biſhop at that time was wont frequently to confer with Mr. C——. And certainly it was very humane to conſult how to remove all the diſſentions which took place among many people, and to heal the wounds of the public, as well as to bring about this particular reconciliation. In the mean time, obſerving that both the lord Somers and Mr. Harley were equally well inclined to the good of their country, he conceived great hopes that their reconciliation might be effected. And now, when they had once laid aſide their enmity, he thought he might ſpare himſelf any farther pains in that matter; finding the lord Godolphin's conduct ſomewhat myſterious. The reconciliation between them was afterwards completed in the houſe of the lord Halifax, which, for a long time, was neceſſary to be kept ſecret; for upon this depended the chief conduct of the war, and the ſafety of the kingdom for a long time. Nor did Mr. C—— make the leaſt mention of it; who neither preferred his own private intereſt to the public ſafety, nor yet was diſcouraged by the diſagreeableneſs of the lord Godolphin's temper. The only thing which he had to ſupport him, was the conſciouſneſs of having done a good ſervice to the public, whereby he

Lord Somers and Mr. Harley reconciled.

he obtained great favour with the lord Somers, and ſome alſo with Mr. Harley. When this reconciliation was made, many of both parties took much pains that the lord Godolphin might have the reputation at home, of having done mighty ſervices to his country; and followed his directions as if his word had been an oracle.

In thoſe cloudy and dangerous times, a rumour was ſpread in England of a new fraternity of prophets that had riſen up in France, which ſtupified the minds of men, and filled the thoughtleſs multitude with a ſpecies of madneſs. Reports were alſo propagated among the vulgar, of ſpectres, witches, and prodigies; and ſome credulous perſons and ſuborned knaves gave out, that ſpirits and ghoſts danced about the beds of weak people; inſinuating to the multitude, that ſome great dangers were impending over the church; the better to cover the dangers to the ſtate from French tyranny. For when the minds of men are filled with terrors, they are the more eaſily wrought up to ſedition. A wicked man, who, of his own accord, or by the inſtructions of other wicked men, pretended to be a converted Japaneze, was wonderfully cried up for the honour of the church; but the greateſt wonder of all was, that any man of ſenſe ſhould be inclined to believe him.

Superſtitious notion of prodigies.

When the parliament met, there was alſo a convocation of the clergy; and when neither Dr. Aldrich nor Dr. Atterbury could diſcern any immediate danger to the church, all thoſe prodigies ſoon vaniſhed. In this parliament a land-tax was granted to the queen; beſides other money, to the amount of three millions eight hundred and eighty-eight thouſand eight hundred and eighty-ſix pounds, for the ſervice of the war. The bill to prevent occaſional conformity now paſſed the houſe of commons again by a vaſt majority; and leſt it ſhould be thrown out, as before, by the lords, many were for having it tacked to the land-tax act. The lord Godolphin, by his creatures, repreſented to the tories, that the queen had it much at heart, as being zealous for the ſervice of the church: but that this was not a proper time for it; and that it was not conſiſtent with her majeſty's known zeal for the church, to have laws now impoſed, and, as it were, extorted from her by money.

The occaſional conformity-bill attempted again.

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The lord Godolphin had not yet openly deſerted the tories; and therefore he, by making uſe of diſſuaſive arguments, and Mr. Harley of artifice, found means to ward off the blow deſigned by the tories. Theſe, finding themſelves deluded, were thereby the more provoked to revenge. They watched the motions of the miniſtry very narrowly, and freely cenſured Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, and Sir Simon Harcourt, not knowing now whom to truſt; and the earl of Rocheſter was enraged at Dr. Aldrich and Dr. Atterbury, becauſe they had declared in convocation, that they could not ſee the church was in any danger: but theſe men, who had been drawn over by Mr. Harley with hopes of dignities, excuſed themſelves afterwards, and promiſed their beſt ſervices for the future.

AFTER the league was made with the king of Portugal, the emperor's miniſters boaſting of their intereſt and friends in Spain, the ambaſſadors of England and Holland earneſtly preſſed to have the emperor's ſecond ſon, Charles, ſent by way of Portugal into Spain, with the title of king of that country. The emperor, with ſome reluctance, agreed to it at length, being influenced by the motives of affection, and the intereſt of his family; and his eldeſt ſon Joſeph making a ceſſion of his right, Charles was proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna, on the 12th September 1703. Charles, after this, paſſing through ſeveral courts of Germany to ſeek a wife, arrived at length in Holland; but, as he was preparing to paſs over from thence into England, a dreadful ſtorm forced him to tarry at the Hague. At that time there was a large fleet of Engliſh men of war and tranſports lying at anchor, in order to attend the king to Portugal. About the middle of the night, a violent wind aroſe, which blew down the ſteeples of churches, tore off the tiles, and rolled up the leads of houſes, toſſing them through the air to great diſtances, rooted up the largeſt trees, or broke them off ſhort, carried hayricks and ſtacks of corn to great heights, ſcattered them abroad, and beat down the chimnies in divers places, to the deſtruction of many people in the towns. The ſhips which lay in the mouth of the Thames and other ports were driven foul of one another. The ſailors, not knowing what to avoid, or which way to ſteer, abandoned themſelves to deſpair, expecting every moment to be their laſt. Some

Charles III. proclaimed king of Spain.

A dreadful ſtorm.

ſhips,

ſhips, having broke their cables, and loſt their anchors, drove before the wind, without helm or ſteerage, and either daſhed one another to pieces, or were ſwallowed up in the raging deep. Some were driven out to ſea, without any rigging; and others run upon the ſands, rocks, and ſhores. The admiral was driven to ſea, without maſt or anchor, from the Downs, and loſt, together with his ſhip; and other ſhips which had been in his ſquadron were driven to the coaſt of Holland in five hours time, with their maſts broken, without any art or direction; and others to other places. The watch-towers, with the watchmen, were overthrown together; and the deſtruction which this ſtorm occaſioned was long remembered with awe and horrour. In the ſpace of one tempeſtuous night a gallant Engliſh fleet was reduced to nothing: and it is incredible, what a diſmal appearance there was at London and other towns. The mathematicians obſerved, that the force of this tempeſt did not extend farther ſouth than the river Loire in France, nor farther north than the river Trent in England.

King Charles III. lands in England.

As ſoon as the tempeſt abated, the Engliſh ſet themſelves heartily to repair the damage, and all hands were at work in all the docks and arſenals to refit the ruins of the fleet. And now king Charles of Spain, embarking with all his retinue on board the Dutch fleet, and having a fair wind, landed in England about Chriſtmas, and immediately diſpatched count Coleredo to Windſor, to notify to the queen the arrival of the king her ally. After this he went himſelf to Windſor, to viſit the queen, where he was received with great kindneſs, and entertained with the utmoſt magnificence. When he dined in public with the queen, he attracted the admiration of all ranks of people, who crowded thither in great numbers. The king's appearance, his behaviour, and all his accompliſhments, both of body and mind, were extremely pleaſing to the Engliſh; and it is ſaid, the court ladies were no leſs admired by the young king. After dinner, in compliment to her ſex, he took the baſon from the ducheſs of Marlborough, and held it to the queen; and when he returned it to the ducheſs, he preſented her a ring of great value from his own finger. When he took his leave, the queen gave him full aſſurance of her favour and protection. Nor did he want for words in return to the queen; or for ſupplies or forces, with which

ſhe

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ſhe afterwards furniſhed him plentifully in Spain. During all his ſtay in England, king Charles was not only entertained with open houſe, and great magnificence by the queen herſelf, but alſo treated with great ſtate and ſplendour by the nobility; particularly by the duke of Somerſet, at his palace not far from Portſmouth. Mr. Godfrey, whoſe buſineſs it was to provide for the royal tables, furniſhed the ſhip with all ſorts of wine and other proviſions for the king's uſe in his voyage, and attended his majeſty to Liſbon. And the queen ſupplied the king with ſuch a ſum of money, on his ſetting out for Portugal and Spain, as was ſuitable to his own occaſions, his father's neceſſity, and his brother's luxury. Theſe acts of bounty were greatly promoted by Mr. James Stanhope, who had long aſpired to that king's favour, and to the command of an army.

When the damage done to the ſhips in the late ſtorm was repaired, and every thing in readineſs for the expedition to Portugal, Sir George Rook, the admiral, ordered the fleet to fall down to the iſle of Wight: for there the forces were drawn together, which were forthwith put on board; and duke Schomberg had the command of the land forces. King Charles embarked in a man of war, and being unacquainted with the ſea, went on board without any apprehenſion of danger. After he hoiſted ſail, a fair wind drove him, in three days time, beyond Plymouth. Admiral Rook made a ſignal for the merchant ſhips to follow the fleet, and made the beſt of his way out to ſea: but theſe ſhips being detained there by contrary winds and tides, longer than was expected, ſo that they could not come up with the fleet, returned back to the port, for fear of falling in with the enemy's privateers, which infeſted the ſeas. The royal navy purſued their voyage; but, when they were almoſt half way, a freſh tempeſt forced them back to the Engliſh ſhore. When the queen had intelligence that her fleet was diſperſed and driven back with the king, ſo far as from the bay of Biſcay, where there never was either any ſafe harbour for ſhips, or any hold for anchors and cables, ſhe ſent her compliments to the king on his ſafety, and gave orders for repairing the damage done to the ſhipping. The king, whoſe heart was fixed upon his kingdom of Spain, and who was not diſcouraged with the inclemency of the ſeaſon

and the ſeas, no ſooner ſaw the ſhips refitted, than he earneſtly entreated the queen to make captain James Wiſhart, who had long been ambitious of a command at ſea, one of her admirals.

Proceeds to Liſbon.

THIS was granted, to the great vexation of the earl of Orford. The king, highly pleaſed with the promotion of Wiſhart, gave the ſignal to weigh anchor. And, ſetting out again to ſea, he had a fair paſſage to Liſbon in eighteen days. After the forces had received ſome refreſhment, duke Schomberg, who had long been highly eſteemed by the Portugueſe for his father's ſake, as well as for his own, was preſſing to go into the field as ſoon as poſſible, before the enemy ſhould be able to penetrate into the heart of Portugal. At this time, the admiral of Caſtile, who was a vain man, flying out of Spain into Portugal, made many idle boaſtings of a revolt to be made by the Spaniards, and of his own adherents, friends, and forces in Spain, making all places echo with his empty noiſe. The Spaniards continued firm in their allegiance to king Philip, and furniſhed him with money and men to make war againſt Portugal: the conduct of which was committed to the duke of Berwick, whoſe ruling paſſion was a love of military glory. The duke, marching to the confines before the Portugueſe had taken the field, eaſily made himſelf maſter of Caſtle-David, Port Alegro, and Salvatara. The duke of Schomberg being weary of the tedious conduct of the war in Portugal, was recalled from the army; and the earl of Galway, who had always been a zealous ſupporter of the whig party in England, was appointed to the chief command in his ſtead. Galway ſet out immediately, attended with tranſports laden with ammunition and proviſions of all kinds.

THE duke of Queenſberry coming to court to make his report to the queen of the proceedings of the Scotch parliament, gave a tedious account of his own ſervices and conſtant fidelity, the diſſention among the people, the difficulty of the times, the diſaffection of ſome of the Scots, who were ready to riſe in rebellion; with other things relating to the reaſons of their refuſing him money, not forgetting to excuſe himſelf, and lay the blame of the whole on others. The queen finding it neceſſary for her at that time to change her miniſtry in Scotland, made

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made him this anſwer: "It ſeems the parliament has conceived a pre-
"judice againſt you, and that the people ſlight my authority under
"your adminiſtration: but I will take care for the future, that neither
"you ſhall be expoſed to their hatred, nor my authority to contempt:"
and then added ſome ſoft words to comfort him. The duke of Hamil-
ton's faction ſpread a report at court, and all over the country, that the
duke of Queenſberry was not only the oppreſſor of his country, but the
utter ruin of the royal dignity and his own reputation; and in ſhort, that
every thing might be yet reſtored by Hamilton himſelf and his in-
tereſt. Theſe reproaches were caſt upon Queenſberry and Seafield, be-
cauſe the one had ruined the reputation of the law, and the
other the authority of the government: for Queenſberry broke his
word with the members of parliament, which a certain libeller of the
oppoſite party affirms, he had confirmed with this ſolemn aſſeveration:
"If I now deceive you, may God's curſe light on me and my family,
"and all that I have, and the worſt of deaths befal me." But this
muſt be thought too ſhocking, and may be imputed to the malice of
his enemies. However, the duke of Queenſberry increaſed his own
eſtate, and had conferred many favours, but ſometimes upon thoſe who
were very undeſerving, and who were now ready to engage in the in-
tereſts of his enemies. In this dangerous ſituation of affairs in Scot-
land, where the nobility were numerous, credit low, and money very
ſcarce, the journey which Mr. Robert Cunningham and Mr. John
Hutton took into that country about their own private affairs, gave
great jealouſy to the Scots, leſt they ſhould be ſent down as ſpies, and
their differences ſhould be accommodated. Cunningham, who was a
man of better parts, and more experience in buſineſs than many people
thought him, by the favour of the duke of Hamilton, kept himſelf out
of danger. Hutton, who was a man of mean deſcent, and ungrateful
to his friends, laid out a ſum of money for the building a chapel,
which he ought to have beſtowed among his poor relations in Scotland;
and then returned to England: for the Scots clergy are as zealous for
their church as thoſe of England are for their's, and are all poſſeſſed
with the ſame ſpirit and the ſame avarice; but their power is kept
within bounds by the laws of Scotland, as it ought to be.

In the mean time Mr. A. C. being aſked by the Lord Godolphin's friends at London, whom he looked upon to be the moſt proper perſon in Scotland to ſettle the diſorders of that kingdom, and to be intruſted with the adminiſtration of affairs there? anſwered, That it was a matter of great importance, and which required the utmoſt fidelity, conſtancy, and authority; that he could not think of any perſons more proper than the duke of Argyle and the earl of Roxborough, nor of any objection againſt them but their age; and that he did not doubt but they were endowed with virtues beyond their years; but if the queen would rather have a man of gravity, uprightneſs, goodneſs, and conſtancy, and of a more advanced age, he knew not any man to be compared to the marquis of Tweedale, who, he ſaid, was a man of integrity and reputation, of great authority, and of extenſive intereſt among the nobility, either by alliance of blood, or dependance on his friendſhip. The lord Godolphin conſidered of this for ſome time. At laſt, Mr. A. C. was directed to go to the lord John Hay, the marquis of Tweedale's ſon, and to diſcourſe with him about this matter; who, being told what had paſſed, and deſired to write to his father, wrote accordingly towards the latter end of October, mentioning the honourable terms propoſed to him for his country's good. About the ſame time Mr. A. C. communicated this matter to the earl of Roxborough, who was of kin to the marquis of Tweedale. His envious competitors did all they could to leſſen his eſteem among the heads of the whig party, by reflecting upon the ſlips of his childhood, and the prejudices of his education; but Mr. C. anſwered all this; inſiſting, that his virtue had prevailed over his years, and the errors of education.

Scotch plot.

In the mean time a diſcovery was made at London of what was called the Scotch plot. As this aroſe merely out of the feuds between two powerful families in Scotland, the diſcovery of it was not thought to be of any great importance to the public. Though the duke of Athol, who was principally concerned, was cleared by the queen's counſel of all guilt, he yet deſired to have this matter more fully enquired into, and condeſcended to accuſe others. When the duke of Queenſberry was examined, he could hardly bring this dark affair to any iſſue: for the duke of Argyle, who had laid it before him, was now dead; and

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Frazer had withdrawn himſelf to France. Ferguſon, one of the vileſt men that ever was born, who had been concerned in all plots for fifty years paſt, now came to the council, as if he had been ſuborned rather to ridicule and ſtifle the plot than to diſcover it; but when his relation of it to the lords of the committee ſeemed wide of the main point, they thought fit to drop the purſuit of it. How inconſiderable ſoever this affair might ſeem, as it came out ſtep by ſtep, yet it threw ſome of the council into an immoderate rage. The duke of Athol cried out, "Now is the ſafety and honour of my family in queſtion!" The earl of Stair thought, they ought now to conſider and conſult the ſafety of the kingdom; and, according to the example of queen Elizabeth, to have forces ſent into Scotland, leſt the government ſhould be in danger, and leſt they ſhould at laſt be under a neceſſity to come to blows, for the ſupport of the revolution, and thoſe who were friends to it.

But the duke of Athol inſiſted, that the dangers which the queen apprehended to her kingdom were in truth deſigned againſt himſelf; and upon this ſubject entered into very ſharp debates with Stair, ſaying, he was not afraid of the accuſation of ſuch enemies, whom his anceſtors had always deſpiſed, and deſiring the duke of Hamilton to ſtand by him. Hamilton, having conſulted his friends, ſent the earl of Rothes, Roxburgh, and Mr. George Baillie the ſheriff, immediately to London; men who were clear of all ſuſpicion of any deſign to reſtore the Pretender. About that time ſome letters were intercepted, which were written in cyphers or gibberiſh, and ſuppoſed to relate to the Pretender's ſervice. Theſe were firſt laid before the privy council, and then before parliament. But what diſcoveries were made do not appear, except only that the lords were pleaſed to declare, "That there "had been a dangerous conſpiracy carried on in Scotland for the pur- "poſe of bringing in the Pretender by a French power; to which nothing "had given ſo much encouragement, as that the ſucceſſion of the crown "of Scotland was not yet ſettled." The lords, therefore, entreated the queen to give it in charge to her commiſſioners, and to recommend it to her parliament, to ſettle the ſucceſſion with all convenient ſpeed; aſſuring her majeſty, that when this ſhould be done, they would do all in their power to promote an entire union between the two kingdoms.

doms. But the Scots were ſo averſe to this, that they looked upon the remedy as far worſe than the diſeaſe; nor could they believe that the Engliſh were in earneſt to effect it. However, ſuch was the conſummate wiſdom of the Lord Somers, and ſo indefatigable his endeavours for the ſafety of Britain, that he was not only in earneſt about it himſelf, but held frequent conferences with ſome Scotchmen, who were concerned, like him, for the welfare of their country; who knew both how the authority of government in Scotland was leſſened and brought into contempt by the licentiouſneſs of ſpeeches in parliament; and that theſe were daily bought up and diſperſed by certain noble perſons at London. The pamphlets written on both ſides were publiſhed to no purpoſe. They had not even the effect to produce ſo much as a diſpoſition to enter into a league with Scotland.

Mr. David Lindſay's caſe.

ABOUT this time, Mr. David Lindſay, one of the proſcribed followers of the Pretender, came out of France, firſt into Scotland, and from thence into England. Here he was taken, charged with high treaſon, and condemned to die. The execution of this ſentence was reſpited ſeveral times, and the priſoner frequently examined; but when no information could be extorted from him, he was drawn to the gallows at Tyburn; there he was again examined, and ſtill having nothing to ſay, the rope was put about his neck. After all this, the poor gentleman was diſmiſſed, as it were, half dead, and died of want not long after; and it is ſaid, the queen received as much benefit by thoſe repeated reprieves as he did.

WHEN the earls of Rothes and Roxborough, and Mr. Baillie, arrived at London, they paid their duty to the queen according to cuſtom, and laid before her majeſty in writing what was intruſted to them by the duke of Hamilton; of which theſe were the principal heads: "That, in order to remove the ſuſpicions induſtriouſly ſuggeſted to "her majeſty, ſhe would be pleaſed to give an expreſs charge to her "commiſſioner, to have the conſpiracy thoroughly examined in parliament in the firſt place, and to give full power and authority to the "parliament to inflict condign puniſhment upon thoſe who ſhould be "found guilty; whereby it will be made appear, that due regard is

" had to the queen's honour, and the kingdom's ſafety: that thus " the deſigns of wicked men will be defeated, the inſolence of the " audacious repreſſed, and all ſuſpicions abated and removed; ſo that " the liberty, honour, and abſolute authority of her ancient kingdom " may be maintained and ſecured againſt the attempts and deſperate de- " ſigns of ill-diſpoſed perſons." When theſe particulars were read and reported to the queen, the deputies were received very graciouſly; for they ſhewed themſelves not to be ſuch fierce barbarians as they had been repreſented. The queen inquiring what her people would have, aſſured them ſhe would gratify her ſubjects in Scotland as far as could be in reaſon deſired. She further declared, that ſhe would change her miniſters in Scotland, and would take into her ſervice ſuch men as ſhould be acceptable to her people; and perhaps the deputies themſelves. As to this they told her majeſty, they had nothing to ſay at preſent, not having received inſtructions on that head. The queen preſſed them to ſpeak, and began to talk of the marquis of Tweedale. But the deputies giving her repeated aſſurance of their inviolable allegiance and ardent zeal for her ſervice, ſtill deſired to be excuſed, till they had received inſtructions from the chief of their countrymen, and conſulted their friends about ſuch things as ſhould be thought proper to be conſidered of in parliament; leſt, if any thing ſhould be attempted in vain, they ſhould be thought either to have deſerted their party, neglecting the ſafety of the kingdom, or not to have conſulted her majeſty's honour, and to have failed in the duty of good ſubjects and faithful deputies, as well as to have been careleſs of their own reputation. The deputies had been privately followed to court by the lord Belhaven, who watched them cloſely to obſerve their conduct. But he did not find any thing in them which could be found fault with.

When they returned to Scotland, they made a report of their proceedings, and all that had paſſed at court, to the duke of Hamilton and the reſt of their party. After this, as ſoon as they underſtood the ſentiments of their friends, they wrote back to court, that the marquis of Tweedale was ready to undertake the office of high commiſſioner, and that they would do what ſhould be required of them, provided the

duke of Queenſberry would act faithfully in conjunction with them for her majeſty's ſervice. When this was known, the duke of Hamilton, who thought, that, on the duke of Queenſberry's removal, none was ſo fit for managing the helm of government, and executing the office of high commiſſioner as himſelf, redoubled his diligence, and employed all his abilities, which were very great, to oppoſe the queen's buſineſs, and quaſh the meaſures of the new miniſtry in parliament. The earl of Roxborough came to court, and explained the concerted ſcheme. Mr. James Johnſton was very forward to thruſt himſelf into adminiſtration, and would firſt of all be appointed lord-regiſter; for he looked upon himſelf as able to bear the burden of the Scots affairs upon his own ſhoulders; whereby he brought upon his party the ill-will of many people. The earl of Seafield was chancellor; and the marquis of Tweedale appointed high-commiſſioner. The earls of Rothes and Roxborough ingratiated themſelves with the marquis of Montroſe, and the lord Godolphin courted the aſſiſtance of the duke of Queenſberry. The duke made now the ſame profeſſions as before of his inviolable duty and fidelity to the queen, promiſing her the beſt ſervices and the ſuffrages of all his friends; and that he would uſe all his intereſt to promote her deſigns in parliament: but he excuſed himſelf on account of his bad ſtate of health from going down to Scotland. In the mean time, he entreated, that the examination of the plot mentioned might not be referred to parliament: on the contrary the dukes of Hamilton and Athol very earneſtly preſſed for it; and when the former of theſe perceived the earl of Roxborough was not willing to name any of the officers of ſtate till it ſhould appear how that matter ſhould be carried in parliament, he ſaid, "What do theſe governors "of the kingdom mean to do? What have they in view? At what do they "aim?" However, the matter came before the parliament; and how it went on there we ſhall ſhew by and bye. The duke of Queenſberry, after many interruptions, went at laſt to Scotland, and was met on the borders by a great number of his countrymen; but he, underhand, overturned in parliament what he openly appeared to promote.

Changes of the miniſtry in Scotland.

In the midſt of all theſe things, Dr. Paterſon, the deprived archbiſhop of Glaſgow, came to London; as did alſo many others, who had lived

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lived in exile in France, and other foreign countries, during the late king's time. Paterſon entreated the queen, that the revenues of the deprived biſhops of Scotland might be beſtowed upon the clergy who were ejected out of their livings; and made great complaint even of his own poverty, though it was known that he was in very eaſy circumſtances. He alſo bewailed, and in very moving terms repreſented to the queen the diſtreſſed condition of many of them. The queen, who was apt to be affected with lamentations and tears, was now moved to compaſſion, and promiſed to do ſomething for their relief. But the courtiers perceiving this, deſired Paterſon to mind his own buſineſs, and let other men's affairs alone; and bargained with him to allow him a yearly penſion of four hundred pounds, if he would drop the cauſe of the other clergy. Upon this, as it was agreed, he went to the queen, and told her, how very averſe thoſe clergy were, and always would be to her title; and that if ſhe could not reſtrain them by force, it would be in vain to think of reconciling them by favours. He repreſented to her alſo how diſaffected they were to her perſon and the conſtitution. "If," ſaid he, "you aſſiſt them in any "thing, you will ſo far aſſiſt your mortal enemies; for they look upon "favours as injuries: for all which, if theſe my grey hairs and tears "may not gain credit, I call God himſelf to witneſs the truth of it, "and my own ſincerity:" and thus he contradicted all he had ſaid of this claſs of men before. The queen was ſo alarmed at this ſpeech of Paterſon's, that ſhe withheld her intended bounty. And the ſame late archbiſhop of Glaſgow, having, in addition to all this baſeneſs, reported about town ſeveral idle ſtories of the pious archbiſhop of Canterbury, was univerſally looked upon as an impudent and profligate man, and not only loſt the eſteem of the queen herſelf, but that of all good people.

When the duke of Argyle died, his ſon ſucceeded him; and no ſooner did he take poſſeſſion of his eſtate, than he turned all his father's miſtreſſes out of doors, and ſeized their ill-gotten goods by his own authority, according to the Highland cuſtom.

After the parliament had granted money to the queen, for the ſervice of the war, a clauſe was inſerted in the act, for leaſing out certain taxes

taxes for ninety-nine years to any purchaſer, whereby vaſt ſums of ready money were brought into the treaſury by three or four payments; for the people had a wonderful confidence in the parliament, as the parliament on their part were careful to preſerve the public credit. Intereſt was alſo to be paid for the public loan to the creditors out of the treaſury, at the rate of ſix and a half per cent. every year, by four payments, to be made every three months, by act of parliament. But it muſt be obſerved, that all theſe debts were to be diſcharged with intereſt in ninety-nine years: and though all theſe advantages were clear of all deductions, yet the poſſeſſors thereof were not thereby intitled to a right of voting in elections of members of parliament. This confidence between the parliament and people of England, was the true ſource of our victories, our military and naval power, our wealth, and of the hopes of our poſterity both in war and peace, and ſtrengthened the foundations of our government and the public ſafety.

At this time a great quarrel aroſe between Mr. Stepney, her majeſty's envoy to the emperor, and count Wratiſlaw, the emperor's ambaſſador here. Mr. Stepney came to London to lay before the queen an account of his own reſentments, as well as the declining ſtate of Germany. Count Wratiſlaw did the ſame; and earneſtly preſſed her majeſty to ſend the forces deſigned for the army in Flanders, in the preſent diſtreſſed ſtate of the houſe of Auſtria, to the ſuccour of the emperor. The duke of Marlborough, who was the author and chief contriver of this ſecret motion, did not openly appear to be concerned in it; but had executed the deſign before he was ſuſpected of meditating it: for in ſuch a critical conjuncture he choſe rather to obey than to direct; leſt in caſe of a marriage, he might afterwards be called to account in parliament for ill conduct as the author of it. For he was not ignorant that men are apt to form a judgment of the whole of any undertaking, not ſo much from its prudence as from its ſucceſs. And it is ſaid, that if he ſhould fail of ſucceſs in this, he never deſired to return again to England.

Concert for the relief of the emperor.

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THIS winter the elector of Bavaria had taken ſome ſtrong-holds upon the Danube, and fortified others with walls and ditches; he had a ſtrong garriſon in Augſburg; put Noremberg into conſternation by his entrance into the Nortgaw; and filled all the neighbouring nations with the utmoſt terror; he ſummoned the people of Bohemia, and the Upper Auſtria to put themſelves under his protection, threatening them, in caſe of diſobedience, with the laſt extremity; nor was there any power in Germany able to withſtand him. The French alſo, at the ſame time, infeſted all Italy; for the duke de Vendoſme had forced all the duke of Savoy's garriſons, on both ſides of the mountains, to ſurrender to him, without any conditions, either for their ſubſiſtence, or their ſafety. And the inhabitants of the Dutch confines were either ruined by the frequent incurſions of the French, or forced to pay them an exceſſive tribute.

THE atchievements of the duke of Marlborough, how great ſoever in themſelves, had not yet conduced much to the main proceſs of the war, which lay ſtill very heavy upon the Dutch confines. The Engliſh, on all the ſea-coaſts towards the ſouth, were filled with fears of the French, as thoſe in the north were of the Scots. The Portugueze were in the worſt condition of all the allies. For, though the king of Portugal himſelf had entered into the grand confederacy, yet ſome of his miniſters favoured the French, and others the allies; ſo that which ſide ſoever ſhould prevail, they might be ready to join with it, and make a merit of their ſervices to the conqueror. The great and only hopes of the whole confederacy was therefore placed in the queen of England.

AND as all affairs were thus in a ſtate of embarraſſment, the duke of Marlborough was no leſs perplexed with loud clamours at home: but, relying on the friendſhip of the whigs, and all men of moderation among his countrymen, he reſolved to try his fortune and the valour of his ſoldiers in foreign parts, and ſo prepared to ſet out for Holland. Tranſports were got ready; and the generals, colonels, and captains were ſent for out of the country, and ordered to embark with their reſpective

ſpective forces. When this was done, and all the clothes, ammunition, baggage, and proviſions were put on board, and money had been remitted to Holland and other proper places, by Mr. James Brydges, the duke of Marlborough himſelf alſo embarked.

Changes in the miniſtry of England.

And now at laſt the earl of Nottingham, who had been long haraſſed with clamours and reproaches, ſurrendered his office of ſecretary of ſtate: in which he was ſucceeded by Mr. Harley, who at the ſame time filled that of ſpeaker of the houſe of commons; two offices which had never before been held at once by the ſame perſon. Many others were alſo removed. As the humour of the times ſeemed now to turn in favour of the whigs, ſo the time was drawing near which became triumphant to the confederates, and diſgraceful to the French. But the French faction here, according to their cuſtom, ſpread a report in their daily diſcourſes among the people, that the duke of Marlborough and the moderate party were ſquandering away the remains of the kingdom, and boaſted of the great power and riches of the French king, making a great noiſe alſo over their cups, that the taxes and every thing elſe was expoſed to ſale.

Mr. James Stanhope, impatient to be at the head of an army abroad, and ſupported by the intereſt of the lord Somers and the whigs, ſet out for Portugal, to ſhare in the favour and fortune of king Charles. In the mean time, according to the duke of Marlborough's advice, the lord Godolphin endeavoured all that he could to fortify himſelf with the main ſtrength of both parties in parliament. For the friendſhip contracted between the lord Somers and Mr. Harley had yet been concealed; leſt their adverſaries ſhould think them too ſubſervient to the duke of Marlborough, and willing to connive at a deſign to protract the war, ſuſpicions indeed which would have been very ill founded.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VII.

The Duke of Marlborough's third Campaign.——Marlborough marches to the Danube;——complimented by Prince Eugene,——and by Prince Lewis of Baden;——joins the German Army.——The Battle of Schellenberg.——Donawert taken.——Elector of Bavaria retires to Augſburg.——Newburg taken;——and Rhain and Aicha.——Emperor's Letter to the Duke of Marlborough.——Negotiation with the Elector of Bavaria.——How broken off.——Tallard joins Bavaria,——and Prince Eugene the confederate Army.——The Battle of Blenheim.——The Marſhal de Tallard taken.——The Elector of Bavaria retreats to Ulm.——The Marſhal de Marſin's Retreat.——All Bavaria reduced.——Landau beſieged,——and taken.——Duke of Marlborough goes to Berlin;——returns to the Hague;——made a Prince of the Empire.——Rebellion of the Cevennois.——Gibraltar taken.——Sea Fight off Malaga.——Duke of Marlborough returns home.——French Progreſs in Italy.——Siege of Nice.——Vercelli beſieged,——and taken.——Siege of Verrue.——Rebellion in Hungary.——Expence of the War to the Confederates.——Tranſactions in Portugal.——Gibraltar beſieged,——and relieved.——Campaign in Flanders.——Tranſactions in Scotland.——Reſolutions of the Scots Parliament.——Marlborough's Services publicly rewarded.——Expedition into Spain.——New Miniſtry in Scotland.——Reſolutions of the Engliſh Parliament againſt the Scots.

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AFTER the receſs of parliament, when every thing was in readineſs for carrying on the war, the duke of Marlborough, whoſe military preparations during the winter had been in proportion to the public

public danger, tranſported his forces to Holland early in the ſpring, 1704: but few perceived that England was now about to unite her forces with thoſe of the empire of Germany.

The duke of Marlborough's third campaign.

THE duke of Marlborough having ſent the colonels who went over with him from England, to the camp; went himſelf to the Hague on the 21ſt day of April. There he had a long conference with the ſtates general upon the ſcheme which he had concerted in the winter with prince Eugene, and two of the principal of the ſtates deputies. The matter was debated for ſome time. At length it was agreed, that he ſhould carry immediate ſuccour to the emperor in his preſent diſtreſs. Then the duke conſulted with the ſtates, how to prevent the enemy from falling upon their frontiers, and to ward off all danger to the republic; and in concert with them, made ſuch arrangements that there was no room now left for them to fear any thing. General d'Auverquerque was to command an army on the Maeſe, general Schlangenberg on the Moſelle, lieutenant-general Saliſch in Brabant, and lieutenant-general Fagel in Flanders; whereby the Dutch frontiers would, during that ſummer, be kept ſecure and quiet. When meaſures were thus concerted for the ſecurity of the Dutch frontiers, Marlborough ſent colonel Cadogan to draw the forces out of their winter-quarters, and to muſter the ſoldiers. The ſtates had privately taken care to provide corn in proper places upon the Rhine: the ſeaſon of the year ſupplied them with plenty of graſs and forage. And the duke of Marlborough gave orders that all the regiments ſhould receive their pay; and that there might be no want of money, Mr. James Brydges, the paymaſter of the army, whoſe ſpecial care it was that the forces ſhould be well ſupplied, ſent bankers, paymaſters, and commiſſaries along with them wherever they marched. And now the ſoldiers being come out of their winter quarters, were eager to know what route they were to take.

IN the mean time the French, being alſo drawn out of their winter quarters, were encamped with the utmoſt expedition within their own lines and garriſons, to prevent their being ſurprized, or their proviſions from being intercepted by the confederates.

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COLONEL CADOGAN, according to his inſtructions, gave the ſignal for marching, having previouſly marked out a camp upon the Maeſe, and given orders for others in other places. The confederates ſet out towards the camps, ſcattered in ſmall parties, not in a body, or in any regular order; but to what camp, or what to do there, they did not certainly know. They marched therefore by different routes; ſome towards the Rhine, others to the Maeſe; and the colonels themſelves were not inſtructed in what camp their ſeveral regiments were to quarter. Thus Cadogan led the army by various turnings, without obſerving any certain route. The duke of Marlborough ſent out ſome men, who were to make proviſion of neceſſaries, and to give out in ſeveral countries, that he deſigned to march through their neighbourhood without doing them any injury. And the French ſpies reported for certain, that the confederates were to march through the dutchy of Luxemburgh. The deſerters alſo confirmed this, becauſe there was a proper place fixed upon for a camp above Bonne; but whether this was done by accident, or deſign, the enemy could not diſcover.

ON the 5th day of May, the duke of Marlborough left the Hague; and the time requiring ſpeed, he arrived at Maeſtricht on the 10th. On the news of his arrival there, the enemy thought they ſhould now certainly diſcover what the confederates intended by their marches; for hitherto all their motions were looked upon as only deſigned to amuſe the French, and to draw them out from behind their lines. When the duke of Marlborough had led his army towards Luxemburgh, two days march through the territories of Cologne, the people of Treves and Metz were in the utmoſt conſternation. That he might have the advantage of a more plentiful ſupply of corn, he ordered the forces which had wintered near the Rhine to paſs that river, and to form a camp at Coblentz, leſt his army ſhould become too burthenſome to the inhabitants on this ſide the Rhine.

AS the French are very unſteady in their counſels, they did not, all of them, make any vigorous attempt either to interrupt the confederates

federates in their march, or to invade the Dutch frontiers; and as they are, for the moſt part, fond of new projects, ſo at this day, according to their ancient cuſtom, they make great uſe of ſpies. They alſo ſtop all paſſengers they meet, inquire their names, and whence they came, what news they hear, and what every one knows to be going forward? And depending upon ſuch like rumours and reports, they often take their meaſures accordingly in matters of the laſt importance; of which they frequently have cauſe to repent, as they needs muſt, ſince travellers commonly give them falſe accounts.

THE duke of Marlborough ſent out a party of dragoons to bring in cattle, corn, and forage, from the neighbouring countries, and to defend thoſe who were encumbered with the baggage and ammunition againſt all the attacks of the enemy in their march; and then purſuing his journey, he marched to Coblentz through the territories of Treves and Cologne. From thence ſome men were diſpatched into the French confines, to give out that the confederates were about to make an irruption into France. And now the confederates had proceeded in their march for the ſpace of fourteen days. In the mean time the emperor commanded the ſtates of Franconia and Suabia to recommend the confederate forces to their countrymen, and to ſupply them with all neceſſaries. As ſoon as ever the tranſports were brought up the Rhine to Coblentz, the guns and baggage were immediately put on ſhipboard: and the duke of Marlborough, for the ſake of expedition, decamped from thence, and marched in two columns towards Mentz; and between the two armies the ſhips were brought up the river; on board which were alſo the ſick and wearied ſoldiers, who were not able to endure the march. The Rhine was a great refreſhment to the ſoldiers in their paſſage. And when the confederates had drawn up their ſhips beyond Andernach, the Mouſe Tower, Bingen, and Baccharach, there opened to them on the left hand a large plain, whereon the whole army was ſeen to march at once, making a glorious ſight in their arms and new clothes; and a happy, as well as a glorious ſight, it was to the Germans. The marſhal de Villeroy, in the mean time, being in great ſuſpence, loſt by delay the opportunity of attacking the confederates;

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confederates; and finding it in vain to attempt to recover it by forced marches, after he had exerted his utmoſt endeavour to overtake them, to no purpoſe, he ſtopped his purſuit on the 28th day, and thought it neceſſary to take other meaſures. The elector of Mentz waited the duke of Marlborough's arrival, having provided every thing neceſſary for the fatigued army.

When a bridge was laid over the Rhine at Philipſburgh, the French haſted thither, to prevent the confederates from paſſing the Rhine: but there again they were deluded; for the duke of Marlborough had ſet his heart ſo much upon Germany in preference to every other object, that no other buſineſs or diverſion whatſoever could delay his march, which he performed with the utmoſt expedition to the Danube. For now the enemy having clearly diſcovered the deſign of the confederates, the duke of Marlborough pulled off the maſk; and having refreſhed his army with food and reſt, between the Mayne and the Rhine, commanded them without delay to march, and wheeled about to the river Neckar. Then, making an expeditious march through Franconia to the Danube, he ſent colonel Tatton before, who thoroughly underſtood how to provide for an army, to prepare every thing for him with ready money. He appointed colonel Cadogan and colonel Ivers to the charge of the encampments, who were men of great dexterity and ſkill in every thing relating to that buſineſs; and along with them went colonel Spotſwood, who was as famous for his diligence and experience in marching. After theſe, the duke of Marlborough, with all poſſible ſpeed, marched himſelf with the horſe, and left the foot behind, which general Churchill, his grace's brother, brought up by proper marches. On the 3d of June he paſſed with his horſe over the Neckar; and his ſoldiers obſerved ſo exact diſcipline, and were ſo far from offering any injury wherever they came, that they were welcome gueſts to the inhabitants, as they paid for every thing in ready money: by which means it came to paſs, that the confederates met with no inconvenience in paſſing the deepeſt rivers, or the moſt rugged roads. And now the duke of Marlborough's real deſign was viſible to all the world; which was, to

march

march to the Danube, and to turn his arms which way ſoever he ſhould ſee occaſion.

THE enemy, who were in the confines of the united provinces, were now ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the greatneſs of Marlborough's enterprize. With all the ſpeed they could, they marched through the country of Metz, without having made the leaſt attempt in Brabant or the diſtrict of Liege, and came at length to the Upper Rhine, when it was too late to hinder his march. The prince of Wirtemberg, informed of theſe things, brought up ſeven battalions and twenty troops of the confederates out of Brabant with incredible ſpeed to the duke of Marlborough's aſſiſtance. His march was ſo expeditious and happy, that he outſtripped the report and the expectation of his coming.

Complimented by prince Eugene.

SIX days after Marlborough had paſſed the Neckar, prince Eugene came to meet him. The prince and the duke, embracing each other, expreſſed their mutual congratulations without many words; for the ſafety of Germany depended upon diſpatch, as being in the utmoſt danger. Prince Eugene expreſſed how extremely he was delighted with the extraordinary ſpirit which he obſerved in the looks of the whole army; and after a conference about the great meaſures of the war, he made this only requeſt to the duke of Marlborough, that he would agree as well as he could with the prince of Baden about the command of the army, and give himſelf leave to ſerve under him as a volunteer. The duke of Marlborough returned his compliments with no leſs gallantry; and from this conference they contracted ſuch an entire friendſhip, as was not only mutually pleaſing to themſelves, but undoubtedly of great advantage to the allies throughout the whole war. The next day prince Eugene, highly pleaſed with the ſight of ſo fine an army, but ſtill more with the duke of Marlborough's having the command of it, left the camp to give orders for ſome things in the neighbourhood, and to make preparations for carrying on the war in other places; and as ſoon as the prince of Baden had diſpoſed of his forces in a ſafe place upon the Danube, he alſo came to congratulate the duke of Marlborough on his arrival. When he had taken a view of the confederate army, he promiſed himſelf the moſt complete ſucceſs. Thus all people in thoſe parts of Germany looked upon the duke

and by prince Lewis of Baden.

of

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of Marlborough not ſo much as a man ſent from England, as one ſent down from heaven to their relief.

At that time theſe three great men entered into a conſultation, wherein it was agreed, that the prince of Baden and the duke of Marlborough ſhould command the army on the Danube every other day alternately, and that prince Eugene ſhould command the army on the Rhine, being the moſt proper perſon to watch the motions of the marſhal de Villeroy, to whoſe humour and conduct in war he was no ſtranger. The next day the prince of Baden returned to his own camp, and prince Eugene ſet out for Philipſburgh, to draw all the forces he could together upon the Rhine, which were in great want of every thing neceſſary for war, in order to ſeize all the paſſes, to hinder the marſhal Tallard from penetrating through the Black Foreſt, as well as to obſerve the motions of Villeroy. This ſervice, which was aſſigned to prince Eugene at the conſultation, was indeed a very hard one; but when things were in ſuch a ſtate of confuſion, and almoſt all Germany, as it were, in a flame, it was neceſſary for them to take their reſolutions according to the ſituation of affairs, and the greatneſs of the danger.

The French upon the Rhine obſerving the weakneſs of prince Eugene's army, reſolved to move forward by little and little, though they durſt not for ſome time come near his works. In the mean time the duke of Marlborough advanced with the horſe towards the Danube by ſlow marches, till general Churchill with the Britiſh foot could come up with him. On the 22d of June the duke and the prince of Baden joined their forces. After this, the united army proceeded towards the banks of the Danube; and a few days afterward, lieutenant-general Bulau, commander of the Hanoverians, was ſent out with two thouſand horſe towards Dillingen, where the elector of Bavaria was encamped. On the firſt of July the duke of Marlborough marched the army in ſight of the enemy's camp, without any interruption, and encamped at Amerdingen. Being informed here, that the enemy were fortifying their camp at Donawert, at the diſtance of two days march, and that the elector of Bavaria had ſent a detachment of foot to reinforce the count d'Arco who had the command there, on the 2d day of July, being the duke of Marlborough's turn to command, it was

Joins the German army.

reſolved in a council between him and the prince of Baden, to march directly towards the enemy, and to attack their camp at Donawert, before the elector of Bavaria could join them, or the count d'Arco could finiſh his entrenchments. The tents therefore being ſtruck, and the baggage ſent to Norlingen, both the armies began to march immediately, and made the beſt of their way towards the enemy. The duke of Marlborough moved along the higher ground, and the prince of Baden by the lower; but the difficulty in paſſing the river Wernitz very much retarded the duke's progreſs. The army reached this river about noon. But much time was loſt before the bridges were finiſhed, and the artillery got over. When this was done, and the bridges paſſed, the confederates came in ſight of the enemy, who were fortifying their camp at Schellenberg with a double entrenchment. The duke of Marlborough was delighted exceedingly with the eagerneſs and ardour of the whole army to come up with and engage the enemy. He led up his men directly againſt them, and now made them ſenſible that he had the power of peace and war.

SCHELLENBERG is a poſt upon a riſing ground, aſcending a miſe and a half from the Danube; through the middle of the hill there is a public road, very deep, with banks on each ſide, twelve feet high, leading from Noremberg towards Italy, through the village of Schellenberg; where, on the top of the hill, ſtands a church, with a church-yard, which was encompaſſed by the camp, and ſurrounded with the entrenchment. Adjoining to the church-yard is a little hill, which extends itſelf weſtward to a plain, and towards the ſouth is broken into ſeveral hillocks, the bottoms whereof are waſhed by the Danube. Towards the eaſt there is a ridge of hills covered by thick woods, frequented by robbers, and dangerous to paſſengers; and at this time not leſs fit for an ambuſcade than the purpoſes of rapine. Towards the weſt alſo, the ridge of the hill is covered with woods, much in the ſame manner; but on the ſouth ſide the plain is very large and open, enriched with fruitful corn-fields, having a ſteep ridge down to Donawert, which is ſituated at the bottom of the hills.

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The battle of Schellenberg.

THE duke of Marlborough, keeping the upper way, and marching along the plain on the top of the hill covered with woods, without loſs of time, ordered lieutenant-general Gore to begin an attack upon the enemy's camp; but Gore, having loſt a great number of men, was himſelf alſo ſlain; and count Horn ſuſtained the ſhock of the ſallying enemy. At length, count d'Arco repulſed the reſt of the allies, who were endeavouring to force their way acroſs the trenches over the bodies of the ſlain. This incited the Britiſh ſoldiers to renew the attack. In the mean time, the duke of Marlborough ſent the lord John Hay to prince Lewis of Baden, deſiring him to haſten up with the Imperialiſts. The prince of Baden, marching the lower way, by the ſkirts of the hills, quickened his pace; and the Britiſh and Dutch, having begun the ſecond attack, the Imperialiſts aſſaulted the enemy's entrenchments, and filled up the ditches with baſkets and hurdles. When this was done, the Imperialiſts made their firſt attack where the enemy's works were not quite finiſhed; and about the ſame time, the Britiſh and Dutch ſoldiers renewed the aſſault the third time; and being all filled with an equal ardour for fighting, they forced the entrenchments at once with great alacrity, attacking the enemy ſo fiercely, that the Bavarians ſuddenly gave ground, and finding themſelves unable to ſtand the ſhock any longer, turned their backs, and began to fly. The Bavarian horſe made an obſtinate reſiſtance againſt the Britiſh and Dutch aſſailants: but they too were overthrown by the numbers and courage of the confederates, and forced to throw down their arms, and preſerve their lives by flight. The prince of Baden ſent his horſe to the city, to prevent the flying enemy from taking ſhelter there; and he himſelf made a great ſlaughter of them, putting all who made reſiſtance to the ſword, and in the heat of battle, even refuſing all conditions and quarters. The count d'Arco left his foot in an incloſure as a guard to his friends, and to maintain their ground againſt the duke of Wirtemberg's horſe; but, when he was not able to rally his troops, and found himſelf hardly able to effect his own retreat, he betook himſelf to flight. On the ſight of this, the Bavarians, flying full ſpeed, threw themſelves headlong from the works, fifteen feet high, into the ditches below; and the firſt being ſmothered by the multitude

multitude of thoſe that followed them, the ſound and the maimed together, tumbling over the bodies of the dead, endeavoured to ſave their lives, and make their eſcape. The prince of Baden's horſemen durſt not attack the enemy, who were left garriſoned in the burying-ground, on account of the ſtrength of the works, nor to cut off the retreat, by reaſon of the ſtreights, for fear of falling into an ambuſcade. For, except the places towards the eaſt, which were expoſed to robberies and ambuſcades, and which I have already deſcribed, all the ways were filled with armed ſoldiers, and fortified with incloſures from Schellenberg to the very gates of the city of Donawert; and therefore by this way, which was the only way left for the enemy to make their retreat, this laſt party of their forces, ſetting out after ſun-ſet from the burying-ground towards the city, ſecured themſelves under the cover of the night; and all the open road between the camp and the walls of the town was filled with dead bodies. The beginning of this battle coſt the Britiſh and Dutch ſoldiers much bloodſhed. For a battalion of the Engliſh foot guards, the earl of Orkney's and lieutenant-general Ingoldſby's regiments, major-general Wood's ſquadron, and the lord John Hay's dragoons, purchaſed immortal glory in the victory of this day, with the loſs of many of their men. The prince of Baden was ſlightly wounded; ſo alſo were the prince of Heſſe, major-general Wood, brigadier Bedmar, count Horn, general Thungen, and many others. Count Stirum died of his wounds. Lieutenant-general Gore, having diſtinguiſhed his fidelity and courage, fighting gallantly, was ſlain in the firſt attack. Before the engagement he had an apprehenſion and preſage of his death; notwithſtanding which he performed his duty with all his uſual intrepidity; few men can thus, unappalled and without horror, view the approach of death. The prince of Beveren was alſo ſlain. Before the battle, the number of the enemy was computed at thirty-one thouſand. Of theſe troops they are ſaid to have loſt ſix thouſand in the engagement; and a great many deſerters were found after it, of whom the Bavarians were taken into the ſervice of the confederates, and incorporated into the regiments. The French deſerters were rejected. The town of Donawert interrupted the purſuit of the flying enemy. The Bavarians were then in

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poſſeſſion of this place; but finding themſelves unable to continue in it, they quitted it by night, and retired to others of the Bavarian quarters. The conquerors did not deliberate long how to improve their victory. The next day they planted guns againſt the town, and forced it to ſurrender, or rather entered it undefended. There they found a great quantity of corn and ammunition. The confederates took ſixteen pieces of cannon, and fourteen colours.

Donawert taken.

THE elector of Bavaria being informed of the ſlaughter of his men, encouraged the reſt not to be diſheartened at this diſaſter. He paſſed all his army over the Danube, marching towards the river Lech; and, in order to prevent all neceſſity of fighting againſt his will, he made a long march to Augſburg. On this the prince of Baden and the duke of Marlborough left ſome forces in Donawert, under the command of general Herbeville, and paſſed the Danube. When they came to the river Lech, they received intelligence that Newburg was evacuated. A detachment was therefore immediately ſent thither; whereby they not only ſecured themſelves a retreat, but the power of furniſhing themſelves with proviſions out of Swabia and Franconia, which, in an enemy's country, was a very great advantage.

Elector of Bavaria retires to Augſburg.

Newburg taken;

WHEN the confederates had paſſed Lech, and were preparing to follow the elector of Bavaria with a well-furniſhed army, they received advice from prince Eugene, that the marſhal de Villeroy and Tallard had paſſed the Rhine. Upon this they immediately ſent to prince Eugene a reinforcement of thirty ſquadrons of the imperial horſe, under the command of prince Maximilian of Hanover, juſtly renowned for his courage and military conduct; and they themſelves advanced directly to Rhain, a garriſon of the Bavarians, which ſurrendered the next day after the opening of the trenches. On the 28th of July they attacked Aicha, which they took by ſtorm; and the Bavarian garriſon, conſiſting of eight hundred men, being all killed or made priſoners, the town was left a prey to the ſoldiers. The elector of Bavaria, having withdrawn himſelf in haſte to Augſburg, ſat down there, and fortified his camp, in expectation of great ſuccours from France.

and Rhain;

and Aicha.

ABOUT

About this time, the emperor, having received intelligence of the glorious action at Schellenberg, ſent a meſſenger with a letter to the duke of Marlborough, ſignifying his intention of making him a prince of the empire, in remembrance of that victory. The duke of Marlborough excuſed himſelf till ſuch time as he could firſt know what the queen his miſtreſs ſhould think of it. The emperor inſiſted upon conferring this honour; and by his ambaſſador in England, aſked and obtained leave for the duke to accept of it. The duke of Marlborough knew that foreign honours are apt to be looked upon very invidiouſly by the Engliſh, and therefore he made ſome ſcruple, and continued to purſue the enemy through Bavaria, deferring the acceptance of the emperor's favour till another time, at the end of the war.

Negociation with the elector of Bavaria;

When the confederate forces were aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Augſburg, the prince of Baden and the duke of Marlborough ſent deputies to the elector of Bavaria, who then lay in a town among high hills, twenty miles from Augſburg, deſiring to know, whether he choſe peace or war; and offering him his choice of either, according to the powers with which they were inveſted by their reſpective ſovereigns. They alſo repreſented to the elector of Bavaria what obligations he was under to the emperor and people of Germany, how dangerous it was to revolt from the emperor and empire, the diſhonour and danger of an alliance with France, what danger would thence enſue to his country, how conſiderable the emperor's favour was, and how precarious the French king's faith; and therefore they earneſtly exhorted him to return again into alliance, favour, and friendſhip with the emperor; offering him an oblivion of what was paſt, aſſuring him of every thing fair and honourable, conjuring him to lay aſide all ſuſpicions for the future in this dangerous conjuncture, and not to haraſs the emperor and the people of Germany with the miſeries of a civil war. They dealt with him by preſents and promiſes alſo; and earneſtly perſuaded him to diſband his forces, at leaſt, if he would not conſent to join with the confederates in the grand alliance; they told him farther, that, in regard to his own honour, he ought to lay aſide all his paſſion and reſentment againſt the public, and not to continue ſo implacably averſe to the emperor. To all this the elector of Bavaria made

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made anſwer, "That he had fully repaid all the emperor's favours, "and ſtill reſpected him as his father; but, if he could be thought to "have been wanting to him in any thing, it muſt be imputed to Jo- "ſeph king of the Romans, who ſhewed a natural averſion to him and "his brother; however, that he would never fail in his affection to "the empire; and he added, that the confederates had no reaſon to "fear, but he would have a due regard to the intereſt and dangers of "his own people and family." After this return, they came to a conference; but with what diſpoſition, or whether Bavaria did it not with a deſign to deceive the confederates, may be eaſily conjectured by what followed. The confederates immediately made their propoſals, and demanded his. In the mean time, marſhal Marſin, who was a man of an active genius, and other Frenchmen, conſtantly repreſented to the elector, "That it would be diſhonourable in him to "deceive the French king, who was now his ally; that the emperor "had no other deſign in treating with him, but to enſnare him; and "that he who reconciles himſelf to a deceitful enemy, deceives "none but himſelf." The French thus continually ſolicited the elector of Bavaria, promiſing him freſh forces and plentiful ſupplies of money. Thus they perſuaded him to protract the time from day to day, the better to find an occaſion of fraud and treachery. After many days were loſt in treating, and diſpatching meſſengers backwards and forwards, when the duke of Marlborough expected an anſwer to his moderate demands, to try if by any fair means the difference might be accommodated, on the day and hour which the elector of Bavaria had appointed for accepting and ſubſcribing the conditions, he ſent a meſſenger to the duke of Marlborough to make his excuſe; becauſe now, for certain, marſhal Tallard had paſſed his army through the Black Foreſt, and made an irruption into the bowels of Swabia. Upon this intelligence, he deſired the duke of Marlborough not to expect him; and thus the negociation broke off.

How broken off.

THE prince of Baden and the duke of Marlborough, provoked at this diſappointment, when they knew that the French were approaching, and that the elector of Bavaria had contrived thus to amuſe them

for

for the ſole purpoſe of lengthening out the treaty till ſuch time as Tallard could come out of France with his army, they ſent him an admonition both of his duty and his danger. They adviſed him even now to ratify the conditions of the treaty, if he had any regard for his people or himſelf, any love for his wife, or affection for his children, or any concern for his religion, his dominions, or his own proper eſtate; but if he would not perform his agreement they declared they would over-run his country, and give it up to their ſoldiers for plunder. The elector of Bavaria was not in the leaſt moved with theſe threatenings; but, leaving eight battalions of French in Augſburg, under the command of Chamarante, on the 22d day of July, made a march of twenty miles round, and haſtened with all poſſible ſpeed by the way of Mindelheim, to meet the marſhal Tallard at the Danube.

Tallard joins Bavaria;

THE confederates ſent count Frize and the count de la Tour, with a body of troops, into that part of Bavaria which joins to Swabia, with orders to burn all that country before his face; thinking, that by this dreadful ſpectacle the elector, in compaſſion to his people, might yet probably be induced to depart from his raſh counſels. But he, relying on the friendſhip of France, ſtill perſevered, and as if he had no remembrance left of any thing, but of his promiſe given to the French king, purſued his march, and left all that was dear to him to the emperor's mercy. With a view to ſurpriſe prince Eugene's army, he paſſed the Danube, and congratulated the marſhal de Tallard on his arrival at Lavingen, without regarding any thing elſe. For he bore the utmoſt reſentment, and had a perſonal and irreconcilable quarrel againſt the king of the Romans; and therefore ſuffered himſelf to be eaſily abuſed by the French.

AFTER burning all the plain country of Bavaria, from the river Danube to the very walls of Munich, the duke of Marlborough left his camp in the neighbourhood of Augſburg. Prince Eugene avoiding the enemy, left his army, and came privately with all ſpeed to the duke of Marlborough's quarters. The duke and prince of Baden, apprehenſive of being cut off from a retreat, and from their proviſions, returned to the neighbourhood of Donawert, where prince Eugene's army lay.

and prince Eugene the confederate army.

Theſe

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Ingolſtadt beſieged.

Theſe commanders came to a reſolution immediately to lay ſiege to Ingolſtadt, and prince Lewis of Baden took upon himſelf the charge of carrying it on. Having ſent thirty-nine battalions to prince Eugene's camp, and paſſed through Newburg by regular marches, he began to inveſt Ingolſtadt on the 10th day of Auguſt. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, who were to cover the ſiege, as ſoon as they had intelligence by their ſpies that the enemy approached, and that the elector of Bavaria was encamped at Hockſtadt, moved to the village of Munſter, not far from Donawert. There they took a view of the enemy's camp from a high tower, and immediately reſolved to attack it; concluding, that if they could bring the enemy to a battle, that would moſt effectually cover the ſiege, as well as conduce greatly to the main ſucceſs of the war; but of this they did not mention one word to the prince of Baden: wherefore they privately drew their forces out of the ſmaller camps on both ſides of the river into one body, and ſent the baggage to Rietlingen near Donawert. In the mean time, the malcontents in England made loud complaints; in which they were ſeconded by the whole crowd of thoſe who were unexperienced in matters of war. Their clamour was, that our army was led too far from home; that people ought to be more careful of their own dangers than thoſe of others; that the Dutch were left a prey to the enemy; that our ſoldiers were worn out by continual marches night and day; that the duke of Marlborough had proceeded beyond his commiſſion; and that he did every thing by his own authority, with a view to his own private intereſt: all which, I am confident, was utterly falſe, or, at leaſt, greatly exaggerated; for hitherto, however much he might be inclined, he could not propoſe to himſelf any private intereſt whatever. Others extolled the duke and his undertaking to the ſkies. They ſaid, very few men could have performed what he had atchieved; and that it was a proof of a great ſoul to undertake difficult enterpriſes with reſolution, and to deſpiſe accidents. Sir Edward Seymour, a leading man in the houſe of commons, before inveighed bitterly againſt him. Seymour would have been a very great man, if his probity or candour had been equal to his talents. But he was ſo intolerably arrogant and proud, that he loudly threatened the duke of Marlborough with a ſevere cenſure of parliament, and with a ſmart puniſhment

niſhment for his march to the Danube, which, perhaps, might coſt him his head! What reaſon he had to exclaim againſt him thus, I know not, unleſs it was the reſentment of his loſs of the white ſtaff, or an apprehenſion that the duke of Marlborough at his return ſhould find out ſome other good office for him to ſtop his mouth. Great clamour was alſo raiſed, that the Britiſh ſubjects were led, as it were, to ſlaughter! As if a war could be carried on without any loſs of men or bloodſhed.

However, the duke of Marlborough was not ſo much concerned how to give ſatisfaction to the parliament, as how to ſtop the marſhal Villeroy, who had paſſed the Rhine, and advanced to the Neckar, in order to cut off his retreat homewards. The duke was alſo alarmed at the danger of being cut off from proviſions. Being therefore thus ſtraitened both in time and other circumſtances, if he could find an opportunity to hazard a battle, it is ſaid that he declared, "he would ſatisfy "the parliament either by his death or victory." They who think that prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough took this reſolution to fight, either for their own glory, or out of pique to prince Lewis of Baden, are utterly ignorant of the condition they were in at that time, and of the ſtate of the war: for in truth they were under a neceſſity of fighting, leſt they ſhould be reduced to the want of proviſions. And now that they had an opportunity of fighting, if they had declined, the enemy would eaſily have fortified themſelves the next day at the village of Blenheim: for there they had the river Danube on their right, and on the left a long ridge of ſteep hills, covered with woods, and fit for ambuſcades. They alſo obſerved, that an eagerneſs to fight had raiſed the ſpirits of the ſoldiers, who, for the moſt part, are apt to be inſpired with freſh courage, when they find themſelves about to fall upon the enemy. Therefore, in a council of war, the reſolution prevailed for fighting; and orders were accordingly given to march the next morning by break of day.

The enemy, not having had time to fortify Blenheim with entrenchments and ditches, ſurrounded it, as well as they could, with buſhes and wicker hedges, in imitation of a breaſtwork. In the front of the

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enemy, at the bottom of a ſmall aſcent, which riſes gently above the plain, there flows a large ſpring, which running down near Blenheim, increaſes to a ſort of river, and mixing itſelf with the oozy ſoil, and then overflowing all the neighbourhood of the village, ſpreads itſelf among the meadows, and renders the ground ſo marſhy, as not to be a fit field of battle.

THE elector of Bavaria was eager to engage; and when he was informed that the confederates made a halt in their march, he led his troops with the more courage out of their camp, ſending the ſick and wearied ſoldiers for ſecurity to the neighbouring caſtles and fortreſſes. When the enemy had marched out of Hockſtadt, they advanced to an eminence near the river, embanking the water to ſwell it as high as they could, and preparing for the attack as well as the time would allow. The marſhal de Tallard, who commanded the right wing, poſted twenty-eight battalions of foot and thirteen ſquadrons of dragoons in the village of Blenheim, and drew up his army in as good order as he could, as the elector of Bavaria alſo did his on the left. In the centre, where only the confederates could have a paſſage to the Danube, the marſhal placed a vaſt number of cannon at three hundred yards diſtance from the river, with which the French ſcoured all the plain far and near.

THE duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene having taken a view of the nature of the place, and ſent the baggage to the rear, and diſpoſed all things in order for battle, began to march on the 13th of Auguſt before break of day. On the other ſide, the marſhal Tallard, who was aware that his men had not yet well recovered from their fright in the late battle, and did not think this a proper place for fighting, wiſhed to put off the engagement for ſome time, that his ſoldiers might reſume their courage; and it is reported, that he ſaid, if they did but keep within their camp a few days longer, he doubted not but the confederates would be in want of proviſions: but the elector of Bavaria being under the influence of paſſion, would not hear of any delay; and perſiſting in his reſolution, commanded the cannon to be mounted and charged, and the army to be drawn up, reſolving to venture all upon the ſucceſs of that one day.

THE

The battle of Blenheim.

THE field of battle was a vaſt plain of twelve miles in extent, very level, ſurrounded with a large ridge of hills, ariſing from the Danube, in the form of a circle. The confederates marched againſt the enemy in two bodies. Prince Eugene, who commanded on the right, led up his men through the woods along the ſummits of the hills; and before it was light, had ſurmounted that difficult paſs, and reached a certain town, where he was alſo to paſs over a very dangerous valley incumbered with broken rocks. By the time he had cleared the woods, the ſun aroſe, which ſhed its laſt light on the domination and glory of France.

THE duke of Marlborough, on the left, having paſſed the river Keſſel, marched along the ſide of the Danube, and advanced towards the enemy through the plains of Blenheim, which were three miles broad, and enriched with fine corn-fields. When he was near the enemy, whom he ſaw ready drawn up, with their cannon planted to command the whole plain, he gave the ſignal to halt; and encouraging his men, diſtributed his orders to the ſeveral generals and colonels, for their conduct reſpectively in the action. When prince Eugene came out of the woods, and ſaw the duke of Marlborough before him haſtening towards the enemy, he commanded his men to quicken their pace. But why the French, when they ſaw the imperialiſts extending their lines out of the woody hills, ſhould miſtake them for their friends, I can find no other reaſon than that men are apt to believe what they wiſh to be true: for at the firſt ſight of this motion upon their left, the French thought it was the marſhal de Villeroy coming to their aſſiſtance; but when prince Eugene ſtretched out his right wing towards the hills, he ſoon convinced the French of their miſtake, and marched into the field. He had a broad waſh of water in front, and a thicket in his rear; and in this ſituation he aſſigned to his men their reſpective poſts and duties.

THE duke of Marlborough, ſtanding on foot in the open plain, ordered the lord Cutts, with ſome troops which had ſuffered much in the late action at Schellenberg, and other entire forces, to attack the village of Blenheim. On the ſight of this, the marſhal Tallard ſent a detachment thither from his army. The duke of Marlborough being expoſed to

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the fire of the enemy's cannon, formed his army in order of battle. He placed the Britiſh and Dutch ſoldiers in the left wing, and the reſt between the center and the wings, and placing himſelf in the front of the centre, well ſupported by ſome Engliſh regiments, he commanded them to face the enemy. The lord Cutts and major-general Wills, at nine o'clock, began the attack on Blenheim with great alacrity. After a bloody engagement on both ſides for an hour and a half, and that the lord Cutts's party had been ſeverely handled by the enemy, without gaining any advantage, the duke of Marlborough ſent him orders to proceed no further, but to give over the attack. The lord Cutts obeyed the orders of his general; and both parties facing each other, reſted on their arms: but the lord Cutts's party being before inſtructed what they were to do, kept their ground a long time before the enemy.

In the mean time the duke of Marlborough obſerving that the enemy had weakened their army by the detachment ſent into Blenheim, and that his men were eager to engage, waiting only for the ſignal, ordered the horſe to provide themſelves with twenty faſcines a-piece, in order to fill up the marſh, and render it paſſable; for the enemy had dammed up the water there to ſuch a height, as they thought would eaſily prevent the confederates paſſage that way. When the faſcines were prepared, and all the troops arranged in order, the duke of Marlborough gave the ſignal for battle, and ordered the ſeveral commanders to march up to the enemy. The whole army, with their natural alacrity, preſſing onward to paſs the rivulet in defiance of the fire of the enemy, proceeded to the ford, according to the duke of Marlborough's orders.

The marſhal Tallard, having, as he thought, ſo well guarded the paſſes of the marſh, ſtood at the head of his army, fully perſuaded, that if the confederates ſhould attempt to paſs through the marſhes, they would be ſo bemired there, that he ſhould eaſily be able to overthrow them: for he had before given orders to his army not to quit their ground, but to receive the aſſault of their enemies: nor did he uſe any other means to oppoſe our army in this paſſage than a continual diſcharge

diſcharge of his cannon. The conduct of Tallard, in this inſtance, appears to have been improper.

When the duke of Marlborough was marching down to the rivulet, he narrowly eſcaped being killed by a cannon-ball; by which accident the whole event of the war ſeemed to his ſoldiers to have hung in equal ſuſpence with his life; but all covered as he was with earth and duſt, the duke of Marlborough mounted his horſe, and coming to the brink of the rivulet, made his way through it with all his forces. Some ſquadrons of horſe being ſent over before, the foot followed as faſt as they could, and wheeling towards the left, formed themſelves in order of battle, leaving a ſpace, ſo that the reſt might have room to fight as they paſſed by. The confederates was ſo eager to engage, that they would hardly ſtay to be regularly formed, but made a furious onſet, with a terrible diſcharge of their fire-arms, whereby the French ranks were very much thinned. And now the battle grew hot in many places. For an hour or two the event ſeemed doubtful. At length the confederates in the left wing having ſpent all their powder, widened their ranks, that they might the more conveniently uſe their ſwords. They were ſupported by freſh troops, who renewed the fight in order of battle. The duke of Marlborough took care to fill up the ranks; then he himſelf broke in upon the enemy. His cool courage, in this conjuncture, was inflamed by action. The Britiſh ſoldiers often fell upon the enemy with the butt end of their muſkets; and being ſtronger than the French, repulſed them as they advanced in their ranks, and ſlew thoſe who reſiſted them by whole battalions together. The enemy was not able to bear the broad ſwords of our dragoons, or the impetuoſity and ſtrength of our horſe.

Towards the afternoon the duke of Marlborough, finding that he had the advantage, ordered the body of reſerve, which had not yet been engaged, to march to the aſſiſtance of prince Eugene, whom he perceived to be ſorely preſſed by the enemy. The imperialiſts, ſtrengthened by this reinforcement, ſallied out of the woods, and prince Eugene renewed the engagement. The duke of Marlborough forced the enemy to give ground; and when they would have rallied again, the

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the confederates, taught experience by the former engagements, attacked ſome of the enemy's battalions in front, ſome in the open flank, and endeavoured to come up with others of them in the rear. When the marſhal Tallard ſaw his forces ſhattered, he at laſt ſent for his troops out of the village of Blenheim to reinforce them; but the duke of Marlborough, being aware of this, cut off their communication; and with the Heſſian forces, and five battalions of Engliſh, defeated the French who were on their way to join the main army. And now all the avenues to the town being taken, the whole French army, no longer able to ſtand the ſhock of the confederate troops, began to ſhake. But the marſhal de Tallard, inflamed with rage, endeavoured to renew the battle upon a hill not far from his cannon. The prince of Heſſe, lieutenant-general Bulan, commander of the Hanoverians, and lieutenant-general Lumley, and other generals of the horſe, marching up with great intrepidity, drove Tallard's five ſquadrons down the hill. Whereupon the duke of Marlborough diſpatched his troops immediately where there was the moſt occaſion for them. Thus a general aſſault enſuing, put the enemy every where to flight.

THE confederates having once gained the advantage, were every where irreſiſtible; and the marſhal de Tallard had neither time to form his army anew, nor to rally his ſcattered troops; wherefore, giving up all for loſt, and endeavouring to make his eſcape out of the field, he was taken by a certain colonel of the Heſſian troops, and brought to the duke of Marlborough. The confederates now carried all before them; and the whole right wing of the French was utterly routed, and put to flight. The reſt of the enemy's horſe, which were drawn up on a ſteep place, on both ſides deſcending towards the Danube, were there ſurrounded by three ſquadrons of dragoons; and not having room to fight there, while they endeavoured to ſave themſelves, by forcing their way through the confederates, they were prevented, partly by the ruggedneſs of the ground, and partly by the valour of the confederates, and puſhed into the Danube.

The marſhal de Tallard taken.

DURING thoſe actions on the left, the battle was hard fought on the right. The imperialiſts were twice driven back into the woods, and many

many of them ſlain by the Bavarians. While prince Eugene was encouraging his men to make a third attack, he received advice of the good ſucceſs on the left. The duke of Marlborough deſired to hear from him how matters went on his ſide, and whether he wanted any thing: but prince Eugene having cheered his men with the arrival of a freſh reinforcement, which had been ſent to him by the duke, and the news of their ſucceſs on the left, made a third charge with great intrepidity, and began to gain ground upon the enemy, though they diſputed it with great reſolution. Nor had the elector of Bavaria time to bring his men together again; but when he ſaw the French army broken and put to flight, leſt he ſhould alſo be ſurrounded by the confederates, he marched out of the field in a cloſe ſquare, with his baggage, in order of battle, and continuing his march all night, retired to Ulm.

The elector of Bavaria retreats to Ulm.

By the time the enemy had left the field, the ſun was going down. The night afforded protection to the elector of Bavaria, whom the imperialiſts did not purſue further than to Hockſtadt, and that not very cloſely. The marſhal de Tallard was carried in the duke of Marlborough's coach, and put under a guard. The duke himſelf, riding about the army, wrote a ſhort letter to the queen, and then went to view and attack the village of Blenheim. He ſent a meſſage to the generals by the earl of Orkney, adviſing them voluntarily to ſurrender themſelves and their ſoldiers. The French made ſome ſcruple, and deſired him to conſider of it. Upon this the duke of Marlborough immediately gave orders to inveſt the village with ſoldiers and cannon. Then he ſent again to the marquis de Blanzac the commander of the French, putting him in mind of his danger and duty. He alſo diſpatched ſome perſons to repreſent to him, that ſince the whole army was put to flight, he ought likewiſe to conſult his own ſafety, as is uſual in war; and that, unleſs they laid down their arms, he would put every man of them to the ſword. And now the common ſoldiers, who had already ſeen the battle loſt, and were not ſolicitous about fame, began to hold up their hands; and in token of ſubmiſſion, to throw down their arms, to tear their colours, and beg their lives. Upon this, and upon intelligence that the count Clerambault, the late commander of the French horſe in that place, perceiving the loſs of the victory, and attempting to eſcape,

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eſcape, was drowned in the river, the marquis de Blanzac, by the perſuaſion of monſieur Deſnouville, treated about a ſurrender, and yielded without any other conditions, than that their lives ſhould be ſpared, and the officers not be ſearched. The conditions were granted; and that night the French, to the number of thirteen thouſand, laid down their arms, and were made priſoners of war.

THE confederates, fatigued with the heat of the day, and the long continued action, encamped that night in the field of battle; and orders were given, that if any priſoners had any arms concealed, they ſhould deliver them up, to prevent any occaſion of miſchief: but the confederates were ſo rouſed and carried along by the fury of fighting, that even now when they were conquerors, they could hardly reſt; nor could any of them eaſily get the thoughts of it out of their heads. The generals and colonels kept watch, leſt they ſhould be expoſed to any ſudden accident at night; and the common ſoldiers were buſy every where, ſearching about and hunting for plunder.

The marſhal de Marſin's retreat.

THE marſhal de Marſin, who ſtayed the longeſt in the field of battle, reached Hockſtadt before midnight with the remains of his army; where he joined his broken troops with thoſe of the elector of Bavaria: after which they proceeded, by redoubled marches, towards the Rhine, through Ulm, where they left a garriſon of their ſoldiers.

THERE never was a battle fought within the memory of man, wherein either the courage of the ſoldiers, or the prudence of the generals were more conſpicuous than on this day, which firſt ruined the French fortunes, and put a ſtop to their long courſe of victories. The approach of night, and the fatigue of the ſoldiers, was the only reaſon why the confederates ſo ſoon quitted the purſuit of the flying enemy; and now, as it often happens, the wings of fear were ſwifter than thoſe of anger. Prince Maximilian of Hanover, and the hereditary prince of Heſſe Caſſel, gave eminent proofs of their courage in this battle; as did alſo the earl of Orkney, the lieutenant-generals Lumley, Hompeſch, and Bulau; the prince of Holſtein-Beck, and major general Wood, brigadier-general Ferguſon, and many more, who bore a great ſhare in this

famous battle. The next day the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene beſtowed great commendations on the bravery of the whole army, and ordered military honours to be paid to thoſe who were dead; among whom were the prince of Holſtein-beck, brigadier Row, lieutenant-colonel Dormer, major Cornwallis, major Creed, the lord Forbes, and others, whoſe gallant actions were worthy of laſting honour. Among the wounded were the lord North and Grey, and the lord Mordaunt, two young gentlemen not leſs ennobled by their virtues than their birth; as were alſo colonel Hamilton and lieutenant-colonel Britton, &c. The confederates had four thouſand ſlain in this battle, and ſix thouſand wounded, moſt of whom ſoon recovered, and carried about them their honourable ſcars as proofs of their well-merited rewards. Of the enemy there were twelve thouſand ſlain in the field, beſides three thouſand puſhed into the Danube; eight thouſand wounded; three thouſand taken priſoners in the battle; beſides thirteen thouſand which ſurrendered after it. The next day ninety-ſeven commanding officers, who were left wounded at Hockſtadt, ſubmitted to the conquerors; of whom monſieur de Bleinville and monſieur de Surlauben, two lieutenant-generals, died of their wounds. The count de Verrue and the duke d'Humiers were killed in the battle. The marquis d'Arpajon and the count de Clerambault were drowned. The marquis de la Baume, only ſon to the marſhal de Tallard, a very hopeful youth, died of his wounds the next day. Many of the French, ſtraggling through the fields, were knocked on the head by the country people. The chevalier de Croiſet, brother to the marquis de Torcy, a good, juſt, and valiant man, being taken and ſent to Ulm for the cure of his wounds, died there, much lamented, not only by his friends, but by his very enemies. There were alſo taken three hundred colours and ſtandards, one hundred pieces of cannon, eighteen drums, thirty coaches, and three thouſand tents, which, with all the treaſure of the army, and a vaſt number of waggons, mules, pontoons, and baggage, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

THE news of this great victory was preſently ſpread beyond the limits of the empire; and even ſome meſſengers, who had fled at the beginning of the battle, on horſes laid on purpoſe, reported incredible things

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wherever they came, of the deſtruction of all the reſt. On the firſt news of their defeat, the whole French nation was in an uproar; and all the towns upon the confines took up arms to guard the walls. In Holland nothing was heard but the duke of Marlborough's victory. One Parker, who came expreſs of his own accord, no ſooner arrived in England, than he haſtened with the news to the queen in his travelling dreſs, and was graciouſly received and well rewarded. The lord Tunbridge came ſoon after with a confirmation of it, being ſent by the duke of Marlborough with letters to the queen.

On the news of this great victory, the whole city of London became one ſcene of joy. Nothing was to be heard or ſeen in every ſtreet but the acclamations of the people, ringing of bells, bonfires, firing of guns, and all kinds of fireworks. But all this joy did not paſs without the alloy of envy. Count Wratiſlaw, the emperor's envoy, then attending the camp, thinking that the office of an ambaſſador had nothing to do with that of a general, is ſaid to have ſtood on a hill at a diſtance during the battle, to obſerve the iſſue of it; ſo that he might be ready, according to the event of the day, either to congratulate the emperor on his ſucceſs, or to ſave himſelf by flight. As ſoon as he ſaw the French army defeated, it is reported, that he wrote the firſt account of it to the emperor, boaſting that he now had ſeen the happy ſucceſs of his own counſels, as if he had either had the command of the army, or had ſhared in the action and danger. At Rome, cardinal Janſon endeavoured a long time to diſcredit the report of theſe ſucceſſes in Germany. Many prodigies were at this time rumoured abroad in Italy, that in the chapel of the Bleſſed Virgin at Loretto, the angel which looks upon the ſhrine of the virgin had moved his wings; that a hanging candleſtick, a preſent from the French king, had ſunk below its uſual place; and that another, which the emperor had preſented, had raiſed itſelf on high, on the very day that the emperor had obtained this great victory. And even in England the like vain prodigies were ſpread among the vulgar; that the claſhing of ſwords, the ſhouts of armies fighting in the air, and a dreadful ſound of arms, had been heard at that time. It was commonly reported alſo, that a man riding upon a white horſe had been ſeen paſſing through the fens of Lincolnſhire, and reporting

reporting the victory obtained that day, who had never appeared before nor ſince, like Caſtor and Pollux of old. BOOK VII.

MANY celebrated the duke of Marlborough's name to poſterity on account of this victory, in their writings and poems; but the principal of all theſe was Mr. Joſeph Addiſon, a man of fine talents, cultivated by all kinds of learning.

AFTER the battle of Blenheim, deputies came from many places to the camp, imploring the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene to pardon their people for having ſubmitted to the elector of Bavaria; and as being ſituated in ſuch a part of the country as had none of the emperor's garriſons in it; urging further, that they were not competent judges of the differences between great princes, but under a neceſſity to obey the preſent prevailing powers, eſpecially after the elector of Bavaria was in poſſeſſion of Ulm, and had overrun all Swabia. The generals anſwered, that the emperor would conſider of theſe things, and ſent them all away in ſafety. The city of Augſburgh returned again under the emperor's obedience and protection. Some Bavarians alſo, who were ſent thither in the name of the electreſs, promiſed that they would put the emperor in poſſeſſion of the cities of Bavaria on certain reaſonable terms, which were referred to the emperor; and the Bavarians ſubmitted themſelves without delay. The electreſs herſelf alſo, having received a letter from her huſband, by an expreſs from the duke of Marlborough, immediately implored the emperor's compaſſion; and as a proof of her ſincerity, ſhe yielded up to the emperor Ingolſtadt and Munich; after this the imperialiſts, having reduced all Bavaria, domineered over the people with great rigour. All Bavaria reduced.

THE marſhal Tallard, with the chief of the other priſoners, were ſent to Francfort: the reſt, with the wounded, were diſpoſed of in the neighbouring countries. A few days after the battle, the confederates, having celebrated a ſolemn thankſgiving in the camp, and taken an account of the ſick and wounded priſoners, removed thence, and marched on the 21ſt day of Auguſt into the neighbourhood of Ulm. And continuing their march from thence towards the Rhine, left

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twenty-four battalions of foot, and ten ſquadrons of horſe there, under the command of general Thungen, with orders to beſiege Ulm. This he undertook with ſuch expedition, that by the time prince Eugene arrived at the Rhine, he received advice of the ſurrender of that city, with two hundred and twenty-two pieces of cannon, and a vaſt quantity of military ſtores and ammunition, on the 14th of September.

In the imperial diet a ſevere judgment was pronounced againſt the elector of Bavaria. He himſelf was put to the bann of the empire. His goods were either embezzled or expoſed to ſale: his treaſures, jewels, and pictures were ſent to Vienna, and his lands were adjudged to the emperor, who made great alienations thereof. Donawert, which had formerly been an imperial city, was reſtored to its ancient rights. Newburg fell to the elector palatine, not only by right of war, but by ancient title. Count Lamberg, who had been the chief favourite and miniſter to the pleaſures and luſts of Joſeph king of the Romans, had a principality granted to him in Bavaria. The Bavarians being thus reduced to ruin, entered into a conſpiracy; but that being diſcovered, their condition became worſe than ever, and the prince of Levenſtein was appointed governor of all Bavaria. The electreſs having all her children taken from her, retired to Venice, where ſhe ſuffered great hardſhips; and her children were confined in a caſtle upon the river Ins, without any care of their education, till the emperor Joſeph's death. The citizens of Ulm were freed from all puniſhment, and reſtored to their liberties, as were others alſo; and the picture of king Charles I. of England, on horſeback, drawn by Vandyke, was given up to the duke of Marlborough by right of conqueſt.

As ſoon as the confederates advanced to the Rhine, they conſulted what was to be done. Some gave their advice for penetrating into the heart of France; others thought it not ſafe to leave the enemy's garriſon behind them. Of this opinion was Joſeph king of the Romans, who was ambitious of military glory and triumph; and with him agreed prince Lewis of Baden, out of envy to the glory which others had obtained by their victories. Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough came into the ſame opinion, that they might not ſeem to be actuated

by motives of emulation; and therefore they left the charge of beſieging Landau to the prince of Baden, and took upon themſelves to cover the ſiege. The confederates inveſted Landau on the 14th day of September; but not being furniſhed with all things proper for carrying on the ſiege, they proceeded but ſlowly in their works. The ſeaſon of the year was inconvenient for wood and forage, and they had ſcarcely proviſions for ten days. The greateſt inconvenience of all was, that they were forced to wait ſo long for the king of the Romans, whereby the beſt opportunity for carrying the war into France was loſt; and, through this delay, the enemy had time to recover their ſpirits, and to bring together their ſcattered troops. At length the king of the Romans came to the camp attended with a crowd of his courtiers. He ſpent his time among the works in feaſting and drinking, and now and then beſtowing preſents to encourage the ſoldiers. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene ſuffered many hardſhips, and were diſpleaſed with the ſlowneſs of the ſiege. But at laſt the town ſurrendered, on the 23d day of November.

Landau beſieged.

and taken.

A FEW days before this the duke of Marlborough marched with his troops out of the camp; and leading his army along the Rhine, ſent the prince of Heſſe with orders by the way to lay ſiege to Traerbach, the citadel of which interrupted the communication upon the Rhine; and after he had returned thanks to them all for their good ſervices in that campaign, he ſent the reſt into winter quarters, to raiſe recruits, in order to meet him again in the field as ſoon as poſſible the next year. His grace ſet out for Berlin, to treat with the king of Pruſſia for a ſupply of eight thouſand men to be ſent to Italy. On his arrival there, he was received with extraordinary marks of reſpect, and loaded with preſents both there and at Hanover: all which compliments were looked upon with much envy by the lord Raby, who grudged every thing that eſcaped his own rapacity. The duke of Marlborough, in his return, came by way of Amſterdam, and haſtened to the Hague, where the deputies of all the princes and ſtates waited with impatience to receive him. All the way he came, he was entertained with the loudeſt acclamations; and the Dutch, now freed from all fear of the French, congratulated him upon his victory as their deliverer. The like

Duke of Marlborough goes to Berlin.

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like was done by the deputies and the ſtates general, who would have decreed him a triumph, and an honorary preſent: but the duke declined this; and it is ſaid, he now alſo refuſed even to accept their intended proviſion for his table, which they had every year made for king William, preferring his own reputation and conſideration of his duty before every thing elſe. However, having obtained the queen's conſent, he accepted the honour conferred upon him by the emperor's ambaſſador, and was promoted to the dignity of a prince, as the ſaviour of the German empire, with a grant of the territories of Mindelheim to him and his poſterity, for the immortal honour of his name.

Made a prince of the empire.

Rebellion of the Cevennois.

In France, the inſurrection of the Cevennois, who could no longer bear their king's government, and their rebellion againſt him under pretence of religion, had given the French king much trouble for two years paſt. Queen Anne had ſent ſuccours to thoſe rebels. The duke of Savoy had alſo ſent men among them to confirm them in their rebellion. In order to prevent this flame from ſpreading farther, the French king ſent the marſhal de Villars thither, who had been recalled from the command of the Bavarian army. He had a conference at Montpelier with colonel Cavilliere, who had been the head of that inſurrection, about an accommodation, and granted them terms; and Villars ſecured the peace there for that ſummer, very ſeaſonably for the rebels, on account of their poverty; for they had long ſubſiſted more by a confidence in vain prodigies than by preſent pay. Cavilliere, the ringleader of the rebels, being introduced to the king, was freely diſcharged, according to the promiſe made to him. The marquis de Guiſcard, a man of a noble family in France, but a mad fanatic, out of his intemperate zeal for the cauſe of liberty, endeavoured to raiſe freſh troubles: but being diſcovered, he eſcaped into Swiſſerland, and came over to England, where he was loaded with favours, and where, boaſting much of his own actions, he gave himſelf up to all manner of licentiouſneſs.

France was now delivered from its civil wars: but after the late overthrow, it began to fall a prey to its foreign enemies. For the French were in ſuch conſternation at the news of the battle of Blenheim, that,

that, according to their natural levity, they almoſt fell into deſpair of their common ſafety. They railed bitterly againſt the elector of Bavaria for hazarding a battle; excuſing their own countrymen, and caſting the blame of the ill conduct, as is uſual, upon others. And by hearing and reporting the news, they wrought themſelves up to ſuch a pitch of diſtraction, that their lamentations would not give way to any conſolation. They began to mutiny, and to raiſe tumults: they examined and enquired of all paſſengers, and tormented themſelves by their own inquiſitiveneſs; for every day brought freſh particulars of a greater ſlaughter than they had heard of before. The king, with great firmneſs of mind, conſidered, in the firſt place, how to provide againſt the evil conſequences of this diſaſter. He publiſhed an edict, forbidding his ſubjects ſo much as to ſpeak a word of that battle to one another; for the king well knew the temper of his people, and how apt men in a conſternation are to run into ſedition and revolt. And when he underſtood that the confederates had ſat down before Landau, he ordered levies to be made throughout all France. He now recalled the marſhal de Villeroy, who before the battle had threatened all the ſtates of Germany with fire and ſword, in order to defend his own dominions. He fortified his frontier, and filled all his fortified places with ammunition and proviſions; having his thoughts now more employed about his own ſafety than the acquiſition of glory: and the French, either out of an affectation of fidelity, or frightened by the very name of the king, were now forward to rivet chains upon themſelves for ever, and ſeemed to be wonderfully delighted with their own ſlavery. In ſhort, they could now diſcover a great many virtues in their king, in this dangerous time, which, during their proſperity, they had never heard of.

At this time there came alſo advice, by an expreſs, with letters to the queen from Sir George Rook, diſpatched to England by a light frigate, with the news of a ſea fight off Malaga on the coaſt of Spain; notifying, that he had taken Gibraltar, and defeated the French fleet. The marines under the command of the prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt made an unexpected attack upon Gibraltar. The forces in garriſon there were but few, and not much upon their guard. The citizens alſo, thinking the ſaints were guardians of their city, had gone that day, being a feſtival, to a chapel

Gibraltar taken.

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a chapel out of town, and were buſy at their devotions. On intelligence of this, the marines landed, mounted the rocks with ſcaling-ladders, and with great reſolution took the city. A few days after the Engliſh had got poſſeſſion of Gibraltar, admiral Rook was informed, that the count de Tholouſe, with forty ſhips, followed by thirty gallies, had come out of the port of Toulon, and was under ſail towards him; whereupon he alſo made ſail to meet the enemy. Theſe gallies were of great ſervice to the ſhips in an engagement, by ſupplying freſh men either to relieve the fatigued, or to gall the enemies ſhips with their long guns at a diſtance; or, in caſe of a calm to take hold of their diſabled ſhips, and to ſuccour the diſtreſſed with the multitude of their oars. As the Engliſh ſhips had been long at ſea, they were not able to ſail ſo faſt as the French: neither had they any dock on thoſe coaſts, where they could be cleared or refitted; nor even materials proper for refitting them. Beſides all this, a great part of their ammunition was ſpent in the taking of Gibraltar. In the mean time the enemy's fleet appeared within ſight on the ſecond day of September. Upon this the admirals Rook, Shovel, and Waſſenaer, reſolved to engage, though eight of the Dutch ſhips had left the fleet the day before, for a convoy to ſome trading veſſels. The confederate fleet was drawn up in three diviſions: the van was commanded by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel; the centre by Sir George Rook; and the rear was compoſed of the Dutch ſhips, under their admirals Waſſenaer and Callemberg. The ſhips which made the onſet bearing up cloſe to the wind, extended their line, and on either ſide maintaining a briſk fire at a diſtance, galled each other with their cannon. The confederates were careful to prevent the enemy, who had the advantage of the wind, from breaking their line, and that none of their diſabled ſhips ſhould be ſurrounded by the French gallies. Callemberg, one of the Dutch admirals, by caſting out ropes, got hold of an Engliſh ſhip, which had loſt her rigging, and was otherwiſe greatly damaged, after an engagement of two hours, with three ſhips of the enemy, and towed her out of the fight. The French manner of fighting at ſea is different from that of the Engliſh; for, whereas theſe level their guns againſt the veſſel itſelf, thoſe aim their ſhot at the maſts, ſails, and rigging. When the confederates perceived the enemy's deſign to cut off their van, they contracted their line,

line, and prepared to bear down upon them before the wind, which had now ſhifted ſo far as to favour this deſign. The count de Tholouſe, perceiving this, leſt the confederates ſhould come to cloſe action, and grapple with his ſhips, or board them by an overbearing force, or deſtroy his gallies, gave the ſignal for tacking about. The confederates, at this very critical juncture, began to be in want of powder; and, as it often happens in ſea-fights ſince the invention of gunpowder, there came on alſo a ſudden calm. On theſe accounts they could not purſue the retreating enemy, but were forced to ſteer another courſe. The French, in this retreat, derived great ſervice from their gallies, which afforded conveniency for healing the wounded ſeamen and marines; and by means of which they were enabled, with their oars and cables, to tow the diſabled ſhips out of the fight, and to lay them up in the dry dock at Malaga, where they left them, ſtript of all their military ſtores. After this, the reſt of the French fleet made back as faſt as they could for the port of Toulon. The confederate fleet returned to Gibraltar: and thus this naval engagement ended without one ſhip taken or ſunk on either ſide. Both fleets claimed the victory; and *Te Deum* was ſung both at London and Paris.

THE poets of London, a ſort of people not very well affected to the ſailors, out of prejudice againſt Sir George Rook, ridiculed in their lampoons the conduct of this engagement, as if Victory had fled from one who followed her, and followed him who fled from her! But the Oxford muſes, in order to leſſen the victory at Blenheim, magnified this; as if Rook, by his naval exploits, had ſhaken the pillars of Hercules, and the foundations of the dominion of France; or by the reduction of Gibraltar, had obtained poſſeſſion of the Heſperian orchards, which produced golden apples: and thus, what was highly celebrated in the poems and writings of one party, was as much ridiculed in the lampoons of the other; for London was at this time full of ſcribbling petty poets, who, with their tireſome and diſguſting babbling, endeavoured to bring diſparagement on the greateſt characters. But, to paſs over theſe things, as well as the animoſities of our own day, with which the hiſtory of theſe things is not unconnected:

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THE duke of Marlborough arrived in England on the 14th day of December, and coming up the river in a barge, to avoid the acclamations of the people, landed privately at Whitehall ſtairs; from whence he walked up the Park to the Queen's palace, to pay his duty to her majeſty, and to congratulate her on the victory. The marſhal de Tallard, whom the French faction repreſented as having been brought over hither by the duke of Marlborough, for the purpoſe of adorning his own triumph, was ſent to Nottingham. For in England priſoners are not allowed acceſs to the court; nor did the miniſters think fit to truſt the French priſoners, this year, at Oxford; for, two years ago, the Oxonians had, by the duke of Ormond's order, done the ſame honours to the enemies of the kingdom and the priſoners of war, that are uſually paid to friends and princes; a conduct, in the opinion of many, very indecent and improper.

THE duke of Marlborough received the congratulations of all ranks of people with great modeſty, and particularly the entertainment made for him by the city of London, where he was received with the joyful acclamations of a prodigious crowd of people. In the midſt of this univerſal applauſe, he was obſerved to behave with ſo much moderation, that he who in dignity was thought to excel princes, ſeemed now, in point of courteſy, to be on an equal footing with the loweſt in England.

IN commemoration of both theſe victories to all poſterity, medals were ſtruck in England, with theſe inſcriptions:

DE GALL. ET BAVAR. BLENHEIM.
CAPT. ET CÆS. XXX. M. SIG. RELAT. CLXIII.
AN. MDCCIV.

The other thus:

VICTORIA NAVALIS
CALPE EXPUGNATA ET GALL. DEVICTIS.
MDCCIV.

WHILE

WHILE theſe things paſſed in Germany, count Staremberg was wholly intent upon defending the dominions of Savoy from the attacks of the marſhal de Vendoſme. About this time prince Vaudemont, the ſon, a youth of great ſpirit, died of a fever, greatly lamented by the Germans; for his virtue and fidelity to the emperor were ſo eminent and conſpicuous to all men, that he alone took upon himſelf to ſerve in this army to the utmoſt hazard, not only of himſelf, but of his parents, rather than not to ſhake off the French yoke, which hung over all their necks. The French king, actuated by revenge, more than by any juſt motives of war, endeavoured with all his might to oppreſs the duke of Savoy. Beſides the army commanded by Vendoſme, others were raiſed in Dauphiny, to be ſent into Italy through the Alps. The marſhal de Vendoſme's brother had the command of the French in the dutchy of Mantua. The count de Herberſtein, firſt, and after him the count de Lavengen, were made commanders of the German forces upon the Po, in the room of the deceaſed prince of Vaudemont. The progreſs of the war brought both the armies into the dutchy of Ferrara; upon which the pope threatened to excommunicate them both. The ſummer was ſpent in diſputes on both ſides about the grounds of the war, and ravaging the country, without any conſiderable action in the field. At length the Germans labouring under the want of every thing, eight thouſand of them marched out of Italy, and reſolved to winter in the biſhoprick of Trent. And now the duke of Vendoſme's brother began to act without controul, burning the Venetian territories, and imperiouſly requiring the republic to ſtop the Germans from returning again into Italy. Of theſe proceedings the ſenate complained to the duke of Vendoſme, who entirely approved his brother's conduct. Upon this the Venetians repreſented the injuries done them to the French king, who put them off with excuſes; but when he heard of the ſlaughter of his forces at Blenheim, he ſent orders to his ſoldiers to behave with more moderation: and not long afterwards, the French quitted the Venetian territories.

French progreſs in Italy.

WHEN the German army was reinforced, they again entered into Italy; they reduced the town of Calcinata, and two other places in the Breſcian: upon which the French alſo threw a garriſon into Dezenzano;

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and between the contending parties, the country was miſerably haraſſed. The duke of Savoy could not ſecure himſelf by the mountains of the Alps againſt the cruelties of the French. The duke of Berwick, returning from Portugal, was ſent to Nice. The duke, having ſeized all the avenues to the citadel, inveſted the town with his forces. This being quickly reduced, he intended immediately to beſiege the citadel. But the French king, being either reduced by the want of ſoldiers and neceſſaries, or overcome by the entreaties of monſieur de Chammillard, ordered the ſiege to be put off, and the citadel to be blockaded. The duke of Berwick accordingly put a ſtop to the ſiege, and was recalled from the command of the army in Darphiny, by order of the French king, which army was ſoon after, by the advice of Chammillard, conferred upon the marſhal de Feuillade.

Vercelli beſieged,

THE duke de Vendoſme, having paſſed his forces acroſs the river Ticino, and taken poſſeſſion of Volenza, marched along by the way of Novaro, and laid ſiege to Vercelli, a ſtrong town on the confines of Savoy, and ordered a camp to be pitched there for the purpoſe of covering the ſiege. The duke of Savoy kept cloſe within his camp, and did not attempt with his ſmall force to occaſion any diverſion of the enemy. The French attacked the city with great reſolution; and the marſhal de Vendoſme would not grant the garriſon any other terms than

and taken.

that they ſhould be made priſoners of war. The walls, and the fortifications of Vercelli, which were the ſtrongeſt in all Italy, he levelled with the ground. When he removed from thence, he took and plundered ſome other places of leſs conſequence, and, by frequent incurſions, penetrated into the interior parts of Piedmont, giving orders to deſtroy all before him. Count Staremberg, who was well acquainted with the country, and experienced in war, found himſelf unable to ſtand his ground againſt the invaſions of his enemies on all ſides, becauſe his numbers were few, and in want of all neceſſaries. He therefore began to ſecure the rivers, mountains, and paſſes of the vallies with trenches and fortifications. Theſe, indeed, he had already fenced in many places with ſtakes driven into the ground; and foreſeeing what happened, that the war would be tedious, and deſpairing of ſupplies from Germany, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary for him to ſpare

his

his troops, which were far inferior in number to the enemy, to avoid an engagement, and not to place his ſoldiers into any garriſons, except ſuch as were exceedingly well fortified; for now the ſtate of the war was changed on both ſides. The Count made ſuch a diſpoſition of his forces, that he could make one hill a defence to another, and contented himſelf with keeping his men within their camp, and ſometimes removing without much loſs: but the duke de Vendoſme, perceiving the ſituation of the enemy, began to preſs them more cloſely, and to beſiege their cities; ſaying, "It was not his way to grant any other "terms to ſuch garriſons as oppoſed his arms than to receive them as "priſoners of war." The confederates did the like in other places. The marſhal de Vendoſme, having reduced the ſtrong town of Caſal upon the Po, advanced to Verrue. The duke of Savoy had a ſtrong garriſon in this town, which was ſo well fortified both by nature and art, as to ſtand out that whole winter againſt Vendoſme's utmoſt efforts.

Siege of Verrue.

THE Hungarians had long been under the Auſtrian yoke; and being now galled by its weight, began, not without reaſon, to attempt innovations; for, as they had all, in former times, been reduced under ſubjection to the emperor on very hard terms, ſo ſome of them were daily oppreſſed with new burthens, and others injuriouſly treated on account of religion. The biſhop of Five Churches, who was a bitter enemy to the Proteſtants, had for two years paſt haraſſed them with new exactions and cruel perſecutions; and they had complained of his cruelties to the emperor; but, when the emperor would neither declare his own ſentiments, nor hear their cauſe, they ſent deputies to implore the mediation of queen Anne and the ſtates general, for preſerving the peace. The queen and the ſtates, both by their ambaſſadors and letters, entreated the emperor to govern the Hungarians with more moderation, in order to prevent, at the preſent time, any detriment to the common cauſe, and the intereſt of the confederacy. The emperor Leopold, being an indolent man, referred the matter to his courtiers, who returned no other anſwer, than that the biſhop was a madman: to which the Engliſh envoy replied, "He ought therefore not to be ſuf-"fered in the church, and to fill an office of ſo great dignity." And this

Rebellion in Hungary.

BOOK VII.

this was all the comfort which the Hungarians found at Vienna under all their ſorrows. They were looked upon there with contempt as a conquered people: nor could they now avail themſelves of their act of ſettlement, which had been formerly made by way of compact, to ſecure them againſt the inſolence of the Auſtrians, who deſpiſe all mankind but themſelves, and would willingly have a perpetual war in Hungary. Some others alſo of the principal Hungarians were ordered to come to Vienna, to repreſent the violation of their civil rights and privileges; and, though theſe were of the Romiſh religion, yet they were neglected, and unworthily treated at the imperial court: neither was their religion reſpected, nor their ancient rights regarded; nor could they obtain any anſwer to their moſt reaſonable demands. The Hungarians, therefore, without diſtinction of religion, began all to conſult and conſpire together for their common ſafety. Prince Ragotſki was at hand, ready to head the conſpirators, and to aſſert their rights. He had been impriſoned by the emperor three years ago, and had eſcaped out of cuſtody in diſguiſe by the aſſiſtance of his wife, who was a woman of good carriage and beauty, and poſſeſſed of all excellencies, except an honeſt heart.

Prince Ragotſki, having recovered his liberty, wanted neither courage nor conſtancy. He retired into the confines of Poland, and privately concerted meaſures with the Hungarian malcontents for recovering the liberties of their country. And now, thinking matters were ripe for the execution of his enterpriſe, he all of a ſudden appeared in public, took up arms, and being ſupplied with French money, raiſed war againſt the emperor in Hungary. To his ſtandard not only ſuch of the Hungarians reſorted as were oppreſſed and zealous for their liberty, but papiſts, proteſtants, Grecians, bankrupts, the rabble of the neighbouring provinces; and, in a word, the profeſſors of all religions, as well as the enemies of all. Count Caroli and count Berezini, who were men otherwiſe inclined to peace, and well affected to the emperor, now broke out into arms, and joined their forces with thoſe of prince Ragotſki. There is no doubt but the French king excited this Hungarian war, and fed its flame with money, to occaſion a diverſion of the emperor's forces: but the occaſion of the war was the

emperor's

emperor's own obſtinacy, and the ſeverity of his governors; for by theſe means it came to paſs, that all Hungary flew to arms, and overran Stiria, Carinthia, and Auſtria. Now the imperialiſts were forced to fly before thoſe whom they had hitherto deſpiſed; for the conſpirators had great ſucceſs in the field. All the Upper Hungary, except a few fortified towns, fell into their hands; and the emperor's troops were defeated in many places. At length the calamities of the war reached to the very ſuburbs of Vienna. Hence the emperor's dominions, and the countries adjoining thereto, were full of flames, ſlaughter, deſtruction, and devaſtation. And all theſe evils, which had their origin in the pride and obſtinacy of the Auſtrians, were ſucceeded by a dreadful peſtilential diſtemper; which, having ſpread itſelf through Hungary and Poland, at laſt infected Germany for a long time, and carried off a multitude of people, and cattle of all ſorts.

THE Engliſh and Dutch ambaſſadors ſolicited the emperor every day to make an accommodation with the Hungarians, laying before him the example of the French king, who did not think it below him to make peace with his rebellious ſubjects; nor had the Auſtrians, who are apt to be governed by names, and the empty ſhadows of falſe glory, any thing to object to this, but only the honour and majeſty of the houſe of Auſtria. The Engliſh and Dutch inſiſted that it was now neceſſary; and that it ought to be done out of regard to his allies and the common cauſe; and that it would be diſhonourable to the emperor to lay upon them the whole burden of the confederate war, and to leave his ſon, king Charles, deſtitute of money and every thing elſe in a remote country. The emperor Leopold, who new drew near to his end, and remained irreſolute, did nothing towards an accommodation with the Hungarians. And his miniſters alſo ſeemed all of them to be, as it were, in a profound ſleep, as to any regard for the common cauſe, and the emperor's intereſt; wherefore the Engliſh and Dutch were unwillingly forced to take upon them the emperor's part of the Spaniſh war, and to bear the burden of it every year. Beſides this, the Engliſh paid the duke of Savoy a hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds on the emperor's account, for the expence of the laſt year's war in Italy; and ſixty-four thouſand pounds more for this year; the Dutch paid him half as much: the Engliſh alſo

Expences of the war to the confederates.

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paid the king of Portugal ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds, and the Dutch paid him three hundred and thirty-three thouſand three hundred and thirty-three pounds. As to the other ſums paid to the reſt of the auxiliaries, the Engliſh were charged with two thirds, as having undertaken for the emperor's ſhare; not indeed by the treaty of alliance, but to gratify ſome people who excuſed themſelves, under pretence of neceſſity, alleging, that otherwiſe the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy muſt have ſunk under the burden of the war. The malcontents in England reproached the duke of Marlborough with this and other things, as if the emperor's intereſt had been dearer to him than our own, while the emperor, or his miniſters, ſeemed to prefer any little trifling affair before the confederate war and the common ſafety.

Tranſactions in Portugal.

THE earl of Galway, a Frenchman, being made general of the army in Portugal, embarked for that kingdom in the month of July, with freſh forces, and landed at Liſbon, when duke Schomberg was preparing to return home to England. The two kings were then at Coimbra, in Beira, between the rivers Minho and Duero; thither the earl of Galway immediately repaired; who being well practiſed in the arts of a courtier, became a great favourite with both the kings. The kings were deſirous to make an irruption into Caſtile; in compliance with their wiſhes, the earl of Galway led his forces to the river Agueda: there he reviewed his army; but after he had alſo viewed all the fords of the river, he diſſuaded the kings from paſſing it, becauſe the banks were difficult, and all the fords ſecured by the enemy. Many places in Portugal being therefore thus loſt, rather than taken by the duke of Berwick, the kings returned to Liſbon, and the earl of Galway put his men into winter-quarters; for he was deſirous to give his ſoldiers ſome refreſhment; but he ſent four battalions for a reinforcement to Gibraltar.

Gibraltar beſieged;

GIBRALTAR is on three ſides encompaſſed by the ſea; and towards the continent it is fortified with a very deep double ditch, and a ſtrong wall; and on all the reſt of the coaſt there is no harbour between Gibraltar and Malaga. This city the Spaniards reſolved at this time to beſiege: on the other ſide the prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt, the governor,

vernor, prepared himſelf, and encouraged his ſoldiers, to make a vigorous defence. In the beginning of the winter, the Spaniards came, and encamped before the town; they were commanded firſt by the marquis de Villadarias, who was afterwards ſucceeded by the marſhal de Theſſe. The marquis made a briſk attack upon the works, but was as briſkly repulſed, and forced to remove farther off. Wood was then very ſcarce; and when the Spaniards had, with much pains, collected hurdles and faggots, the confederates made a ſally, and ſet them on fire. About this time, Sir John Leak, with a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, came ſeaſonably to the relief of Gibraltar. This naval commander, on his arrival, diſperſed the French fleet, and, having thrown ſome ſoldiers and proviſions into the town, the Spaniards thereupon raiſed the ſiege. The French admiral Ponti, having loſt ſix ſhips, was forced to fly, and returned home through Spain. Thus the Spaniards, having endured many great hardſhips during a ſix months ſiege, were forced at laſt to break up their camp, and to raiſe the ſiege with diſgrace. And now the Spaniards ſhewed how diſaffected they were to the French, againſt whom they began to mutiny, and become very tumultuous; and the princeſs d'Urſini, with many others, returned home to France.

and relieved.

I HAVE already ſhewn what diſpoſitions had been made in Brabant and Flanders, for ſecuring the Dutch frontiers, while the duke of Marlborough was carrying on the war in Germany. After the French had in vain attempted by divers feints to gain an advantage over general d'Auverquerque, they retired behind their lines. General Doph followed them with twelve ſquadrons of horſe, and paſſed the enemy's lines without any loſs; but ſoon returned back to his camp. Not long after this, the baron de Frogne, returning from the diſtrict of Liege, marched out with a party of the confederates, to try whether the French were inclined to come to an engagement, and paſſed their lines. The baron, being far inferior to the enemy in number, was in hopes, by reaſon of that diſproportion, to have drawn them out to a place fit for a fair battle. But the French, aware of his deſign, and diſcovering that general d'Auverquerque was upon his march, in order to ſupport de Frogne, kept cloſe within their camp; upon which

Campaign in Flanders.

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de Frogne returned again without delay to the army. The baron Spar, in Flanders, ſent a party of his ſoldiers to Bruges, to raiſe contributions from the citizens; and having collected three hundred thouſand crowns, he returned to his camp. General d'Auverquerque went to bombard Namur, in order to deſtroy the magazines there. After this he paſſed the Sambre, and threw the inhabitants into great conſternation.

As ſoon as the elector of Bavaria returned from Germany to Bruſſels, he intended to ſurprize general d'Auverquerque; but the French king was averſe to that deſign, leſt, in thoſe dangerous times, that prince, moved by revenge more than judgment, ſhould raſhly expoſe France as well as his own Bavaria to the utmoſt hazard. The king, therefore, diſpatched the marſhal de Villars into Brabant, to accompany the elector, and let him know his deſigns. When they came within ſight of the enemy, they ſaw general d'Auverquerque ſtanding under arms, bravely prepared to receive them. Nevertheleſs, the elector of Bavaria would have attacked him, but the marſhal de Villars oppoſed him; and producing his king's orders, he wiſely commanded his army not to engage, and drew off his forces into winter-quarters, without attempting any thing, as he had not ſufficient confidence in his troops; for he knew that as ſucceſs on the one hand is apt to gain the affections of the ſoldiery, ſo that adverſity, on the other, provokes them to a hatred of their commanders.

Tranſactions in Scotland.

WHEN the lords and commons in Scotland were aſſembled on the day appointed for holding the parliament at Edinburgh, the 6th day of July 1704, the marquis of Tweedale, being lord high commiſſioner, made a fine ſpeech to the parliament, laying before them what he had in charge from the queen, and preſenting to them her majeſty's letter; wherein ſhe heartily recommended to them unanimity among themſelves, the granting a ſupply for her ſervice, and the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion of the crown, according to that of England. The earl of Seafield, the lord chancellor, ſpoke alſo to the ſame effect. The ſame was enforced, with ſome enlargement, by the earl of Cromarty, lord ſecretary; who, being well verſed in the doctrine of Thomas

mas Aquinas, expatiated upon the point of the ſucceſſion of the crown. He declared, that the queen had a public will and a private will, a revealed will, and a ſecret will; much in the ſame manner as the divines are wont to ſpeak of God. While he diſcourſed of this and ſuch like matters, his ſpeech gave great offence to ſome, and raiſed laughter in others, at his having diſcovered a ſecret which ought of all things to have been concealed; and his declaring, without any diſſimulation of his own certain knowledge, out of his abundant eloquence, which way the queen's inclinations tended, and thus unfolded her majeſty's diſguiſes. The old gentleman fancied he had ſpoken gloriouſly of the queen, when he compared her to the Supreme Being.

When the buſineſs of the ſupply came on, the duke of Hamilton, with great zeal and much popular eloquence, inſiſted, that the parliament ought not to enter upon that matter before a thorough examination had been made into the conſpiracy. The duke of Athol alſo urged the ſame thing with much earneſtneſs. The lord commiſſioner wiſhed to have it deferred till another time, in compliance with the court; and the duke of Hamilton privately came over to the ſame opinion, in hopes thereby to gain the duke of Queenſberry's party to his intereſt. Some of that party, therefore, joining with the commiſſioner, and others with the duke of Hamilton, occaſioned delays to the queen's demands, and propoſed other ſudden and unexpected points, contrary to agreement. It was therefore reſolved in parliament, not to proceed to the nomination of a ſucceſſor to the crown, till they had had a previous treaty with England concerning their commerce and other concerns. In the debate on this ſubject, Mr. Fletcher particularly diſtinguiſhed his great eloquence. He reckoned up many and great injuries done to the kingdom, ſince the tranſlation of the ſeat of government to England; and vehemently exhorted all the members now to reſtore the honour of the kingdom, and to vindicate the liberty of the people of Scotland, who were oppreſſed by a ſmall faction; but, as his ſpeech aimed at the extirpation of tyranny, it was not very acceptable to his own party, who of all men hold the name of a king in the higheſt veneration. Their main grievance was, that the authority which they aſcribed to kings had been long ſince abjured, and

Reſolutions of the Scots parliament.

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this authority Mr. Fletcher was by no means inclined to ſupport. For though he agreed with the lord commiſſioner in every thing with regard to the public ſafety, thinking the parliament ought to redreſs the national grievances; yet it is the common fault of mankind, that private enmities are apt to have a ſtronger influence than a regard to the public good. Something of this kind had happened between theſe two men at this time, which broke out in an open rupture. Nor did Mr. James Johnſton's diligence do any ſervice to his friends; and his adverſaries expreſſed their deteſtation of him in the plaineſt terms. Sir James Falconer, laird of Fedo, moderated the contentions in parliament, ſo that the two reſolutions concerning the ſtate of the kingdom being laid before the houſe, were joined together and paſſed.

AFTER this, ſome ſevere reſolutions paſſed the Scots parliament concerning the peers of England, who they found had unduly intermeddled with the concerns of Scotland and Scotſmen, and by their addreſs preſented to the queen, ſeemed to have preſcribed laws to the Scots.

WHILE the queſtion about a ſupply was under conſideration, another bill was alſo brought in for the ſecurity of the kingdom, which ſeemed to them all ſo very reaſonable, that the lord commiſſioner ſent notice to the queen, that he ſhould hardly prevail with the parliament to paſs the ſupply, unleſs the act of ſecurity might paſs alſo; for all the lord commiſſioner's endeavours tended to that point. At firſt the lord Godolphin inclined to the queen's ſtopping that bill; but afterwards he was in ſome doubt, and took advice about it. Mr. A— C— happening to be aſked his opinion by a certain counſellor, at firſt excuſed himſelf; but being aſked again, What they ſhould grant? what they ſhould guard againſt? and what he thought beſt to be done in this difficult ſituation of affairs? he immediately anſwered, "That "was beſt to be done which would be the leaſt detrimental to the "public; and that in this time of danger to the common ſafety, the "tranquillity of both kingdoms ought to be preferred before all "other conſiderations whatſoever, eſpecially when money came along "with it." This reſolution was taken; and therefore the lord commiſſioner, having obtained the queen's authority for it, as he deſired,

fired, paſſed both thoſe bills conſolidated into one law. At that time, ſome warlike Scotch youths in the camp, ſolicited the duke of Marlborough very heartily in favour of their country. And it is ſaid, that the duke, having a great confidence in their virtue, wrote to the queen in that dangerous conjuncture, adviſing her majeſty to gratify the Scots out of regard to the times; for, ſince miniſters cannot always follow their own rules, it is neceſſary for them ſometimes to comply with the times.

After the diſcords and animoſities in Scotland were appeaſed by the act of ſecurity, the lord Godolphin had greater contentions to ſtruggle with in England on that very account. For, men who are concerned in ſtate-affairs, are often charged with deſigning what may happen by mere accident; and fortune, for the moſt part, predominates in public affairs. Things which are done without any deſign, often ſucceed better than thoſe which are undertaken with deliberation and judgment. But ſince miniſters are ſeldom at their liberty to chuſe what is good, they muſt take that for good which is the leaſt evil. Without the paſſing of this act for the ſafety of the kingdom, it was to be feared, that the Scots would have made an irruption into the northern parts of England, at the ſame time that the French had made a deſcent from the ſouth upon the Engliſh coaſt, which lies towards France; while a needy multitude of diſaffected perſons, who had long caſt their eyes upon the fortunes of loyal ſubjects, had ſeized the middle part of the kingdom. Now, in thoſe troubleſome times, it was to be conſidered, whether the Highlanders of Scotland, a tribe of people accuſtomed to rapine and plunder, would have continued quiet; and farther, what courſe the queen could have ſteered, and how the government of a woman could again have been eſtabliſhed; and laſtly, many were afraid, leſt the confederate war ſhould have been turned into a civil war. And yet the lord Godolphin was by many men of both parties, calumniated on account of that very council, which, in all doubtful caſes, is eſteemed the wiſeſt. The earl of Rocheſter's party, who had private intelligence of every thing that paſſed in Scotland from the duke of Queenſberry, perſecuted him cruelly in parliament. Upon this the lord Wharton began openly to expreſs his joy; and the better to draw

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the lord treaſurer into his meaſures, ſwore that he had his head now in a halter, and would draw the nooſe cloſe.

THE ungovernable fury of the people of Scotland broke out firſt upon an Engliſh ſailor, whom the multitude would needs make a ſacrifice; and no ſooner was that done, than they turned their rage againſt the authors of his death: and at laſt the mad multitude fell outrageouſly upon Mr. James Johnſton: for many people had old quarrels againſt him, on account of his having preſſed the queen's demands upon the Scots with too much warmth, and his ſaying, that they muſt of neceſſity comply with them. But the Scots upbraided him with not knowing himſelf, and many other reflections, as is uſual with men in anger. Mr. Fletcher alſo was inflamed with an incredible zeal in his country's cauſe; nor would he have ſtuck at an open rupture with the miniſters, if this fury had not been ſoon appeaſed by a mutual ſacrifice of all reſentment on both ſides.

AFTER the grant of the ſupply to the queen, and the act of ſecurity were paſſed into a law, the parliament of Scotland was prorogued to another day, without having nominated commiſſioners for a treaty with England; and the lord commiſſioner, according to cuſtom, ſet out for London. Mr. Johnſton, who was greatly out of favour with the people of Scotland, haſtened to Hampton-court, where the queen then reſided; but obſerving the dutcheſs of Marlborough to look upon him with anger, he retired to his country-ſeat and fine gardens not far off; where he entertained himſelf with country recreations, and the refreſhment of the pleaſant river. The lord high commiſſioner Tweedale was now made lord high chancellor of Scotland; the earls of Roxborough and Seafield, ſecretaries of ſtate; the earl of Rothes, lord privy-ſeal; and Mr. Baillie, lord treaſurer depute.

New miniſtry in Scotland.

WHEN matters were thus ſettled in Scotland, the miniſters applied themſelves heartily to the public ſervice in their reſpective offices; Mr. Baillie eſpecially, who was eminent for his probity, conſtancy, and grave and weighty manner of ſpeaking; and who applied himſelf to diſcharge the debts of the treaſury, which was the main point. But they were oppoſed

oppoſed by both the parties in England. For the duke of Queenſberry, who had been very much accuſtomed to court intrigues, had privately inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the tories, and openly courted the whigs, ſo as to gain favour with both. Mr. A—— C——, obſerving this, uſed his utmoſt endeavour to recommend the Scots miniſters, and particularly the earl of Roxborough, to the whigs, who then had great influence both at court and in the parliament, as well as to reconcile them to the duke of Queenſberry. The greateſt difficulty Mr. A—— C—— had to ſtruggle with in this attempt, was his deſiring that the duke of Queenſberry ſhould, in the firſt place, be paid a debt of fifteen thouſand pounds due to him out of the treaſury. This was oppoſed by the Scotch miniſters, through the perſuaſion of Mr. James Johnſton, who was now grown deſperate; ſo that they would not pay out the public money, but by certain periodical payments, under the name of different articles, according to the formal methods of the treaſury. For this ſole reaſon, the duke of Queenſberry was ſo enraged againſt them, that the very next day after this rejection of his claim by the earl of Roxborough, he entered into a concert with the duke of Argyle, and the earl of Seafield, who was a man of all parties, in order to overthrow the miniſtry of Scotland. Mr. A—— C——, being aware of all this, earneſtly entreated, and conjured the miniſters, to give the duke of Queenſberry ſatisfaction; but all in vain: and therefore a reſolution was taken to turn out this miniſtry, and to appoint others in their places. Mr. Adam Cockburne, returning to England at this time out of Germany, was alſo reconciled to the duke of Queenſberry, and made a judge; though he was ignorant of the laws, a violent party-man, and not very acceptable to the duke of Queenſberry.

Marlborough's ſervices publicly rewarded.

After the duke of Marlborough had happily ended the war in Germany, and returned to England, as above related, by order of both houſes, he received their thanks in parliament for his ſignal ſervices, and two victories. The manor of Woodſtock was alſo ſettled upon him by the queen's appointment; where he propoſed, at his own expence, to build a good houſe. A hundred and ſixty-two of the enemies ſtandards and colours were placed up againſt the walls in Weſtminſter-

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Weſtminſter-hall: but the malcontents complained, that none of the enemy's ſpoils were brought into the treaſury. An order of council was given for a ſolemn thankſgiving. The queen went to St. Paul's cathedral, attended by a great number of the lords and commons, to return thanks to God for the great victories obtained over the enemy. Te Deum was ſung, and the reſt of the ſervice duly ſolemnized; her majeſty returned in the evening, attended as before, to her palace.

In this parliament, the lord Haverſham, who was fond of ſpeech-making, but otherwiſe a good man, gave notice beforehand of the day on which he intended to entertain the houſe of peers with a ſpeech. As there was no room for him to find any fault in the conduct of the war, he took occaſion, from the act of ſecurity lately paſſed in Scotland, to inveigh bitterly againſt the Engliſh miniſters, as it was his cuſtom to do every year; affirming, that they had betrayed England, and forfeited their heads. When this matter came before the houſe of commons, Mr. Harley, the ſpeaker, excuſing himſelf from being privy to it, declared, that he knew no more of any ſuch deſign than one that lived in Japan. Though Sir Edward Seymour now began to grow weak, yet he wanted not inclination to bring vengeance upon the miniſters; he therefore ſpake ſome bitter things againſt them; but all to no purpoſe.

In this parliament, an ancient law, which had been wiſely provided by our anceſtors, in the early days of our government, called the ſtatute of mortmain, was haſtily repealed. This law having long been the firſt and principal ſecurity, both of the liberty of the people, and ſovereignty of our princes, the repeal of it was greatly complained of. For this ſecurity, being now removed, they ſaid, the clergy were enabled not only to engroſs the fortunes of private perſons, but even to encroach upon the ſovereign power; as the prieſts are recorded to have done in the reigns of king John and other kings. Neither did our wiſe anceſtors alone provide for their own ſafety and that of their poſterity, by this law, whereby care was taken that the goods of the ſubject ſhould not be appropriated to religious uſes; but the French, and the Venetians, and almoſt all other civilized nations, have eſtabliſhed

bliſhed the ſame, and have ſuch laws ſtill remaining in full force among them to this day, leſt under the ſpecious pretence of departed ſaints, their all ſhould be ſwallowed up by a tribe of men whoſe formidable abundance of wealth, and inſatiate thirſt of gain, had heretofore reduced the kingdom itſelf, as well as the fortunes of all the people, to great diſtreſſes. It is certain, the imminent danger to the common ſafety gave cauſe and occaſion to our illuſtrious anceſtors, three thouſand years ago, to make this law. In 1605, the Venetians, for the further confirmation of the reſolutions of their anceſtors, made a new law, that nothing ſhould be conveyed to the church for religious uſes, either by will, gift, or ſale, without the authority of the ſenate. And whether this was now done wiſely or not by the Engliſh, future times will ſhew. In memory of the abrogation, or rather the derogation of this law, a medal was this year ſtruck in England with the following inſcription:

PIETAS AUGUSTÆ
Primitijs et Decimis Eccleſiæ conceſſis
MDCCIV.

AND hence now the number of the clergy began to increaſe exceedingly, and bounty paſſed in all their diſcourſes as almoſt the only piety. The arrogance of ſome of the clergy grew to an incredible height. At length their behaviour became daily worſe and worſe, till at laſt they began to think of chuſing whomſoever they pleaſed for members of parliament; their whole deportment and converſation plainly ſhewed with what ſpeed they deſigned to procure to themſelves in all things pre-eminence and dominion. At length, as if they had forgot the ancient reſolutions and articles of the church of England, and their own oaths, they publicly, in their writings, preſſed for a reconciliation with the Gallican church, and endeavoured to reconcile the people to the ſame project in their diſcourſes. The archbiſhop of Canterbury did all that was in his power to reſtrain this unbounded extravagance, which was not indeed to be allowed in the government; in which he was ſupported by the greateſt part of the other biſhops. But theſe were oppoſed by archbiſhop Sharp of York, and Dr. Atterbury, dean of Carliſle, who boaſted that they were the main pillars of the church: and with them

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alſo joined the far greater part of the inferior clergy, who reconciling themſelves in ſome meaſure to the popiſh ceremonies, caſt ſcandalous reflections upon ſuch of their order as joined with the whigs, and called them falſe brethren! Thus there aroſe ſects in the church, as well as factions in the ſtate; and during the whole time of the confederate war, theſe animoſities ſeemed to threaten the rights of all our counties and towns with the calamities of a civil war.

Expedition into Spain.

THE miniſtry, in order to obviate the clamours of their adverſaries, and alſo to exert ſome part of their care for the recovery of Spain, reſolved to make an expedition into that country. The command of this was given to the earl of Peterborough, by the duke of Marlborough's advice, with a certain body of troops. Beſides the money voted by parliament for the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy, as already ſtated, the earl of Peterborough had a vaſt ſum paid him out of the treaſury for his expedition. Not to mention all the particulars, ſupplies were granted to the queen, by this parliament, to the amount of ſix millions of money, in the nature of ſubſidies: nor was this ordered to be laid out in any particular ſervices, but as occaſion ſhould offer, and the management of the war and other ſervices ſhould require. Though this might afford opportunity for many frauds, yet, without ſuch an unlimited power of laying out money, no war can be duly carried on, ſince ſudden accidents often happen, which no man could foreſee; and, as Cæſar ſaid, great events often turn upon the ſmalleſt accidents, which if not preſently laid hold on, the whole ſucceſs of the war may be much endangered. Many plauſible remedies were therefore provided in England; but, nevertheleſs, the evil ſpread itſelf daily more and more, ſince frauds, and other unlawful practices, paſſed with impunity. There was alſo an infinite number of perquiſites to the ſeveral offices, againſt which no redreſs could be found, but before the lord Cowper in his high court of chancery. Sir Iſaac Newton put an utter ſtop to them among the bankers and dealers in money. This puts me in mind of a new invention of new caſting the guns, at a ſmall expence, very advantagous to the public; which being recommended to the officers of the ordnance by the Dutch, was afterwards rejected by the whole board of ordnance in England, becauſe it would have been highly

highly ſerviceable to the public, and would have prevented many of their perquiſites and frauds. What great frauds relating to corn, ſtores, and timber, were at that time imputed to the ſeveral officers employed in furniſhing the fleet, the treaſurers of the navy and managers of the war, yea, and even to the very overſeers of the poor too, I have neither time nor ſpirits now to relate. To ſpeak the truth, the whigs combined together, not leſs than the tories, to connive at theſe abuſes; ſo that nobody durſt venture to queſtion them on that account, except Mr. John Tutchin alone, who having in his writings ſharply and expreſsly charged them with corruption and the ruin of their country, was waylaid by night and abuſed by ſome villains, who broke his bones, ſo that he died not long after.

New miniſtry in Scotland.

I HAVE already mentioned the combination entered into by the dukes of Queenſberry and Argyle, to overthrow the Scotch miniſtry. After this, the duke of Argyle was appointed lord high commiſſioner of Scotland. The earl of Seafield was abundantly forward to promote this reſolution, who, being diſpoſed to ſerve all parties alike, made no ſcruple now, even by treachery, to remove his colleague from his office. The duke of Argyle, not knowing how to deal with ſuch a man, made ſome difficulty with regard to his own reputation; and being yet but a young man of twenty-four years of age, was unacquainted with court intrigues, and gave his mind wholly to war. Argyle, therefore, conſidering the attentions and compliances requiſite in high political ſtations, was at firſt diſpoſed to follow the wars, and to reject the duke of Queenſberry's propoſals: but, being naturally addicted to pleaſure, he was prevailed with, by the perſuaſions of his brother the earl of Iſla, and the duke of Queenſberry, to lay aſide the thoughts of war, and to accept the office of lord commiſſioner, on condition that he ſhould be created a peer of England before he ſhould expoſe himſelf to any danger in Scotland. Whatever elſe he required was granted him by the queen, in order to his undertaking the office of commiſſioner. Being created earl of Greenwich, he ſoon after ſet out for Scotland, attended with a number of Highlanders and ſwordſmen, in whom he took great delight.

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Reſolutions of the Engliſh parliament againſt the Scots.

THE Engliſh parliament, in their laſt ſeſſion, had reſolved, that for the future, the Scots ſhould not enjoy the privileges of England, but be reputed as aliens, and rendered incapable of bearing any office in England, or of receiving any benefit from our laws; and they addreſſed the queen to publiſh her proclamation, forbidding the Scots to bring in cattle, ſheep, linen, &c. into England, or to carry horſes, arms, &c. out of England; and commanding the officers of her navy to take ſuch ſhips as they ſhould find trading to the contrary, and to prohibit the Scots from all commerce: and farther, that her majeſty would put good garriſons into Carliſle, Berwick, and other fortified places on the borders of Scotland. The Engliſh had recourſe to this extremity, that all remains of the former treaty for an union, of which the Scots made ſuch heavy complaints, being removed, they might join both nations together in one, and lay the foundation of a ſolid and perpetual union, for the common ſafety of all Britain.

THE lord Somers, who was the author of this ſcheme, and of the uniting the two kingdoms, deſired frequent conferences at that time with Mr. A— C—. They had no confidence or hopes in the affections of the people, knowing that all this whole affair would turn upon the votes and power of the nobles of Scotland. Some of the Scots were greatly offended, that the duke of Argyle was created a peer of England; and the Engliſh wondered, that the Lord Godolphin would promote any one of that family, which would not endure, not only the domination, but even the power of any other. They alſo objected againſt the duke, his youth, boldneſs, and pleaſures. The lord Godolphin anſwered, "That children do not always follow the ſteps of their parents, eſpe-
"cially when they have atoned for their crimes with their blood:
"neither (ſaid he) do I fear the boldneſs of this youth, in theſe deſpe-
"rate times, in Scotland, ſince it is wiſdom ſometimes to make uſe of
"boldneſs: nor could I have been able to defeat the duke of Hamilton's
"deſigns, otherwiſe than by gaining this man's good-will, and thereby
"ſtrengthening thoſe friends on whom I rely in Scotland. Some
"allowance muſt be made for youth; and an abſolute reſtraint ought
"not to be laid upon pleaſure: let pleaſure have its courſe now and
"then,

" then, ſo long as it is kept within certain bounds of moderation: " what his reaſon does not yet ſufficiently diſcover in his youth, ſatiety " will make him lay aſide, and experience teach him to deſpiſe." But the lord Godolphin was very much deceived in his opinion of this young man; and found that a greedy appetite is not leſſened, but encreaſed, by age; for he perceived, that Argyle's deſires were not light and vain ones, but ſuch as grew ſtronger with his years.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VIII.

Preparations for a new Parliament.——New Miniſtry in Scotland.——Proceedings of the Scots Parliament.——Debates about an Union.——Origin of the Wealth and Rights of Biſhops in England.——The Earl of Peterborough's Expedition into Spain.——King Charles goes on board the Fleet.——Barcelona taken.——Valencia ſubdued.——Campaign in Portugal.——Campaign in Italy.——Verue taken.——The Duke of Marlborough's fourth Campaign.——The French Lines forced.——Duke of Marlborough at Vienna.——Treaty of Union.——New Parliament in England.——Motion for inviting the Princeſs Sophia into England, rejected by the Whigs.——Act for the further Security of the Hanover Succeſſion.——Campaign in Spain.

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MEASURES being taken in England, during the winter, for carrying on the war, as well as for the adminiſtration of the government, as ſoon as the ſpring came on, proper perſons were made choice of for carrying them into execution. And while theſe were employed in performing their reſpective offices abroad, the miniſtry at home were full of care; for the three years for which the parliament had been appointed, being now expired, a new one was to be called.

Preparations for a new parliament.

Clubs were now held in London, and aſſemblies and merry-meetings in the countries. The clergy, alſo, who were very buſy about elections, travelled up and down the country, by land and water, ſoliciting votes even out of Ireland; and ſo induſtrious were they, in order to gain

the affections and intereſt of the people, that they would have carried all before them, if the queen's miniſters had not exerted themſelves, and engaged all their friends, in that ſtate of affairs, to procure votes. Thus the ſummer was ſpent in England in quarrels and drunkenneſs. It is needleſs here to mention what mobbings there were at Cambridge againſt the election of the lord Godolphin's ſon to the houſe of commons, or what riots at Coventry, Abingdon, St. Alban's, and other places, and what fury poſſeſſed the minds of all men; for every man began to make uſe of his own vote and intereſt in ſuch a manner as might promote his own advantage. As ſoon as a return was made by the proper officers, of the members elected to the houſe of commons, it was eaſy to gueſs which party would have the majority.

New miniſters in Scotland.

THE duke of Argyle, lord high commiſſioner, ſet out for Scotland, to diſcharge the duties of his office. Firſt of all, the former miniſters were removed from their places. The earl of Laudhon and the marquis of Annandale were made ſecretaries of ſtate, and the earl of Seafield continued lord high chancellor; the earl of Marr, in order to make his own fortune, made his addreſſes both to the duke of Queenſberry and the duke of Hamilton, making equal profeſſions to them both, of his faithful ſervices and aſſiſtance, and of much more than it was in his power to perform.

Proceedings of the Scotch Parliament.

THE parliament met at Edinburgh on the 28th day of June; to whom the lord commiſſioner made a ſpeech, ſetting forth the former benefits conferred upon them by the queen, and declaring at large how graciouſly ſhe was ſtill inclined towards them; profeſſing withal, that he would never be wanting in his beſt ſervices to the public good. He alſo privately careſſed his dependants, and the leading men of both parties, and entertained them with great magnificence, being furniſhed with money for that purpoſe out of the treaſury. The parliament then proceeded to conſider the ſtate of the nation; new laws were propoſed; the college of trade * was conſulted, and the opinion of Mr. John Law (who was a man well experienced in money-matters), and others, was aſked, about ways and means for reſtoring public credit.

* The Author probably means the convention of royal burghs.

But

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But when theſe did not ſeem an effectual remedy for their grievances, the lord high commiſſioner reſolutely proceeded to propoſe an union of the kingdoms; and recommended to the parliament to chuſe their commiſſioners to treat about that matter. Thoſe who were lately turned out of the miniſtry came into this propoſal: and all theſe maintained their opinion in parliament with great conſtancy. At length, many debates aroſe about the limitations of the crown, and the nomination of the commiſſioners. It was alſo propoſed that the miniſters ſhould be appointed by parliament; that parliaments ſhould be triennial, and that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed for Scotland in all future treaties. But all theſe things, great as they were, did not ſatisfy Mr. Fletcher; becauſe the remedies ſeemed not effectual, nor proportionable to the diſeaſes. He therefore ſpoke very boldly, propoſing, "That "it ſhould not be lawful for the king to declare war, or to conclude "peace, without the conſent of parliament: that the power of "conferring offices of ſtate, penſions, rewards, honours, &c. ſhould "remain in the parliament: that it ſhould not be lawful for the king "to raiſe forces, or to keep them when raiſed, at any time, either of "peace or war, without the conſent of parliament: that all the males "fit for war, between ſixteen and ſixty years of age, ſhould be pro-"vided with arms, and exerciſed in the uſe thereof, at certain times of "the year: that no indemnity, or pardons for crimes paſt, ſhould be "valid, without the conſent of parliament: that no judge ſhould be "choſen a member of parliament; and that the preſidents of the "courts of juſtice ſhould be appointed by the parliament for three "years; and the judges extraordinary be removed and ſuppreſſed for "ever." Theſe, and other clauſes in the ſame ſpirit, were propoſed by Mr. Fletcher; which, if they had paſſed into a law, would have greatly diminiſhed the power of the crown, eſpecially as the following condition was annexed to the whole: "That if any king ſhall act "otherwiſe, he ſhall thereby forfeit his crown, and the throne ſhall be "declared vacant."

The duke of Athol, who had entered upon a diſcovery of the conſpiracy, was deſerted by his friends; for they had already concerted with the duke of Queenſberry, that this matter ſhould not be

made a ſubject of open enquiry: nor did the duke of Hamilton ſhew great regard for the duke of Athol's honour. Thus many things were carried in parliament, not by merit, but by favour. And, laſt of all, there was a party of men more fit for action than counſel, ready to maintain the dignity of the lord commiſſioner, if there had been occaſion. Theſe were promoted to honours and offices of which others had been injuriouſly deprived. Of this Mr. Andrew Kennedy had reaſon to complain, whoſe conſulſhip in Holland was conferred on one Cumir, a creature of the lord commiſſioner's. Among the particulars which diſtinguiſhed the character of the duke of Argyle, this was one, that when he found any man deſperately in debt, involved in diſtreſs, and without any proſpect of relief, if he perceived him to be a man of courage, he would receive him into the number of his particular friends, and load him with ſuch favours and hopes as infallibly attached him to his perſon.

ARGYLE, in a handſome ſpeech to parliament (for in copious, graceful, and elegant oratory he was not excelled by any of all his cotemporaries), laid open the whole conſpiracy from its firſt beginning; and whereas the duke of Queenſberry had two years before accuſed the lord commiſſioner's father, who was now dead, as acceſſary to the conſpiracy, the lord commiſſioner produced letters, teſtimonies, and other proofs, and laid open all the ſecrets of the conſpiracy, and all the circumſtances of ſuſpicion, in order to remove all falſe notions of his father out of the minds of the people; aſcribing to the duke of Queenſberry alone whatever was in it worthy of praiſe or diſpraiſe, and aſſigning to every one his proper office, according to his inſtructions. Nor did the duke of Queenſberry's friends make any oppoſition to this ſpeech. And the lord commiſſioner knew that the duke of Queenſberry could not now be called in queſtion for the conſpiracy, and that it was forgotten by moſt of the members of parliament; nay, it is even believed, that Queenſberry gave his conſent that the commiſſioner ſhould turn all the edge of his ſpeech againſt him.

THE parliament now proceeded to conſider of ſending commiſſioners into England, upon the motion of the earl of Marr; for he

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was entertained by the duke of Queenſberry with hopes of reward and offices, and entered warmly into the propoſal for a treaty, expecting to reap no ſmall advantage from it to himſelf. The duke of Hamilton at firſt oppoſed the treaty all that lay in his power. At laſt he propoſed that the powers of the commiſſioners ſhould be limited, ſo as that they ſhould be reſtrained from derogating from the dignity of the kingdom. This motion was oppoſed by the court-party, as the queen had ſo expreſsly declared her deſire to have both kingdoms united into one, and that this was a matter which ſhe had very much at heart. On the ſubject of this union, as might have been expected, long debates were carried on in parliament. What ſome called perpetual peace and friendſhip, others termed a yoke of perpetual ſlavery. But many gave it as their judgment, that if the bill ſhould not be thrown out of parliament, ſome proviſional condition ſhould be ſtipulated for preventing or reſtraining the commiſſioners from giving up the rights of the kingdom, leſt the Engliſh ſhould fancy all the world to be bound by the laws of England. When the queſtion was put for limiting the commiſſioners, it paſſed in the negative, as it is ſaid, only by two votes. Other things alſo were propoſed for ſtopping the treaty; as repealing the law paſſed the laſt ſeſſion of parliament in England, for treating the Scots as aliens, and other hoſtile laws, which I have already mentioned. After this debate in parliament had been carried on till late at night, and ſome of the members, who had been fatigued with the ſervice of the day, had gone home, the duke of Hamilton, having previouſly communicated his deſign to the duke of Queenſberry, on a ſudden propoſed to the parliament to leave the nomination of the commiſſioners to the queen. On hearing this, his party cried out that they were now betrayed. Some exclaimed againſt thoſe who were abſent; others upbraided him for giving up what he ought not to have yielded, and for never ceaſing to add one offence to another. This motion being unexpected, and very acceptable to the courtiers, the earl of Seafield immediately put the queſtion to the houſe, which paſſed by a majority of eight voices. The duke of Hamilton's defection from his party was aſcribed to the earl of Marr; a great correſpondence and ſecret friendſhip being obſerved between them. What the duke of Hamilton ſaid in excuſe

Debates about an union.

for

for himſelf I know not; unleſs he looked upon the example of others as a warrant for him to do the like; and that he thought he might lawfully do as others did, in order to oblige the queen, and gain the favour of the court. If he had offered to make any other defence, his excuſe would not have gained credit. But the earl of Marr had drawn him over with the hopes of being one of the commiſſioners. And he himſelf fairly acknowledged, that we are not all ſuch as we ought to be: without which, neither had Hamilton been the ſame as he always uſed to be, nor Marr ſuch as he was reported to be.

THE moderate men, or the marquis of Tweedale's party, who at that time were reproachfully called the flying ſquadron, entered now upon the buſineſs of commerce, and the limitations to be impoſed upon the queen's ſucceſſors: and others propoſed ſeveral things of a quite different nature; ſo that ſome of the clauſes were contrary to others. At laſt that which Mr. Fletcher propoſed, was approved by the parliament to the effect before mentioned; whereby almoſt all the regal authority ſeemed to be devolved upon the parliament. But this was oppoſed by the lord commiſſioner: after which the parliament was adjourned. And the marquis of Annandale, a man of great fortitude, and very converſant in buſineſs, was removed from his office; wherein he was ſucceeded by the earl of Marr, who exerted all his endeavours for the ſending commiſſioners into England.

THE duke of Argyle, though but a young man, maintained the character of lord high commiſſioner, and the dignity of the office he held in thoſe turbulent times, with a degree of propriety and firmneſs greatly beyond what could have been expected from his age, and with the higheſt reputation. For, in the firſt place, he reſolutely reſtored the declining authority of the parliament. Then, thoroughly informing himſelf of the temper of the parties, he gained many of them to his intereſt; and being once gained, united them together for promoting the queen's ſervice: he often withſtood the duke of Hamilton's attempts; and diſunited and broke the ſtrength of his faction. The lord commiſſioner's brother, the earl of Iſla, who was a man of great ſubtility as well as eloquence, is ſaid to have removed out of the treaſury ſome proofs of

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great frauds, and reſtored others; and to have often moderated and repreſſed the heat of parties in parliament. The lord commiſſioner made ſome ſtay in Scotland on account of his own private affairs: and though he adminiſtered the government with great ability and applauſe, he is ſaid to have taken no leſs care of his own intereſt. During his ſtay in Scotland, he gained over to his party many who had been devoted to king James, but thoſe not of any conſiderable intereſt, with hopes of places and commands in the army. Although the duke's proſperity and the ſucceſs of his adminiſtration were owing in a great meaſure to his own penetration and foreſight, and the induſtry of the earl of Iſla, his brother, yet were they owing much more to the vigour of their meaſures, and the high reputation of their names.

When the duke of Argyle had ſettled the government, he returned to England, loaded with praiſes and rewards. The lord Godolphin granted him many things; but Argyle ſtill demanded more: Godolphin found, at length, his rapacity to be inſatiable.

The proceedings in the parliament were oppoſed chiefly by the French faction, and by many others, who paid more regard to antiquity, and the name of a king, and the other terms which had been uſed to adorn the ancient conſtitution, than the ſafety of the people, or the public happineſs, which Mr. Fletcher had ſolely at heart: but his countrymen looking upon his principles as too ſubtle, and too nearly allied to thoſe of the Greeks, and not agreeable to our thick air of Britain, and naturally accuſtomed to the northern ſlavery, oppoſed and rejected them, either through fear of treaſon, or out of a ſuperſtitious reverence for the name of a king, by which flatterers often reap no ſmall advantage. This was the only reaſon why the Scots did not declare the throne vacant at the time when king James VI. came out of Scotland into England. But now, to attempt to remedy this evil by a revolt, would be quite another thing, and ſo much worſe than the evil itſelf, that neither would it be conſiſtent with the public ſafety, nor would the temper of the Engliſh endure it. Some able and good men in England, conſidering the hidden grounds of the frauds of the miniſters in Scotland, and the occaſions of the hatred which the Scots had conceived againſt themſelves, now,

when

when all the former bonds of fœderal union, which had long been the root of the evil, were diſſolved, with great magnanimity propoſed to unite both the kingdoms into one; ſo that Britain, which in its nature is one continent and entire territory, might alſo be cemented together by the ſame government and the ſame laws. This being a matter of great weight and importance, was laid before the queen for her approbation, that the iſland might not be different or divided in any thing, except only in religious worſhip; which, though it be not all the ſame every where, may yet be ſimple and pure in either country, as we have it derived down to our times from the primitive ages, whether it be under preſbyters or biſhops. The queen was pleaſed with the propoſal, and recommended it to her friends to compoſe the differences among the clergy. All theſe things had been ſufficiently explained the laſt year from their very original, by Mr. Dodwell, who deduced preſbyters, as well as biſhops, from the earlieſt days of chriſtianity. For formerly the pope of Rome, in the firſt ages of the church, holding communion and friendſhip with both, appeaſed the ancient controverſy between the biſhops and friars; the one of theſe parties he reckoned among the regulars, and the other among the ſecular clergy; but yet the popes treated both with great favour, and without any imputation of ſchiſm. But when the papal authority was renounced in England, king Henry VIII. thought himſelf entitled to all the power which the popes had formerly exerciſed, and therefore, by a law, he ſeized the eſtates of the regulars, which were the richer, and therewith enriched the biſhops, that they might be the more ready to ſerve his turn in the matter of his divorce, to which the regulars, out of their great zeal for the pope, were reckoned to be averſe. It is thus that the biſhops have their right eſtabliſhed by law in England. But in Scotland, ſince the regulars were neither ſo rich in goods or land as to ſatisfy the avarice of the nobles, theſe adviſed the kings, or their vicegerents, to ſeize the poſſeſſions both of the regular and ſecular clergy, in the name of confiſcations; ſo that at laſt, under pretence of gifts, forfeitures, or ſome other title, they had begged and got all theſe poſſeſſions into their own hands. But, leſt an enquiry ſhould happen afterwards to be made into theſe things, the Scots utterly ſuppreſſed both theſe bodies of the clergy, and ſet up in their church an order of men, upon the model

Origin of the wealth and rights of biſhops in England.

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of the regulars, with an authority leſs than epiſcopal; leſt the biſhops, who would have a ſeat in parliament if they ſhould hereafter be reſtored, ſhould have recourſe to the law for the reſtoration of their eſtates, and the poſſeſſors be called to account for the means by which they had obtained their fortunes. They, therefore, ſet up preſbyters, to miniſter to the people in divine ſervice, for a moderate hire: and the Scots, who are jealous of their own power, deprived theſe of all manner of authority and right of voting in elections of members of parliament. Sharp controverſies had been carried on between theſe men and the clergy of the church of England, concerning ceremonies and church government, to which the Scots ſaid, the biſhops had not any divine right, and inſiſted that there was not any one branch of their authority that could be deduced from apoſtolical inſtitution, but from later times; and that it was derived to us from the pope's decretals. The preſbyterians alſo confirmed their own inſtitutions by the example of the churches of Germany and Switzerland, as well as by the authority of the regulars in the church of Rome, who refuſed to be ſubject to biſhops: they alſo produced the example of holy men, in the earlieſt ages of chriſtianity, who had given themſelves up to ſolitude and poverty, and whoſe devout lives and pious death had done much honour to the church in thoſe days.

Both parties being inflamed with envy and hatred, often carried on their controverſies with mutual injuries, and very reproachful perſonal reflections. One ſide called the other's diſcipline and doctrine, the infection and bane of the church; and the other called their orders, dignities and wealth, the poiſon of the church. The commiſſioners, who applied themſelves very ſincerely to the great buſineſs of the union of the kingdoms, very prudently declined, and indeed did not think it worth their while to enter upon ſo arduous and troubleſome an undertaking, as an attempt to compoſe and reconcile religious controverſies. All they aimed at was, that laying aſide all enmity, each nation ſhould have its own modes of worſhip left inviolate and entire: and therefore, ſaving the right of both churches, they made it their only endeavour to unite both the kingdoms into one; as ſhall be ſhewn more fully hereafter: in the mean time, the lord Sommers convinced

vinced the queen that this union would be a great advantage and honour to her, as well as very beneficial to poſterity, and what both king Henry VII. and king Henry VIII. had endeavoured to promote by many treaties.

THE miniſtry in England, in order to avoid the ſuſpicion of protracting the war, reſolved to make a deſcent into Spain. The earl of Peterborough, who was a man of indefatigable activity and ardour of mind, and prepared for all events, deſired of the duke of Marlborough to have the command of the army in Spain. He was accordingly made commander in chief both of the army and fleet, as I have already ſhewn. His plan of operations was to conduct a body of troops along the Spaniſh coaſt, for the ſuccour of the duke of Savoy, and to make an attempt upon Spain by the way, that now all the world might ſee how the Spaniards ſtood affected towards king Charles, and with what degree of alacrity and zeal they would aſſert the rights of the houſe of Auſtria. An army, therefore, of ſix thouſand men being provided, and a fleet prepared in England, and all things in readineſs to ſet out, the earl of Peterborough, ambitious of the command, gave orders for his forces to embark, and going himſelf on board, ſet out to ſea. Sir Cloudeſly Shovel was appointed admiral; and, with a fair wind, arrived at Liſbon the 20th day of July 1705. The earl of Peterborough having a conference with the earl of Galway, demanded of him ſome more troops. Galway excuſed himſelf, on account that his own forces were but few, and much inferior to the enemy. But at laſt the preſſing ſolicitations of Peterborough obtained two regiments of dragoons, and as many battalions, very much againſt the will of the Portugueſe.

The earl of Peterborough's expedition to Spain.

IN the mean time king Charles, weary of tarrying ſo long in Portugal, and informed by the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt of the diſpoſition of the Catalonians, ſet his heart upon an expedition into their territories. On the 28th day of July, Charles left Liſbon, and ſailed for Gibraltar, where he had ſome more reinforcements: and from thence paſſing along the Spaniſh coaſt towards the eaſt, he came in ſight of Barcelona; where the prince of Darmſtadt adviſed the king to make

King Charle goes on boar the fleet.

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make a deſcent, and was ſeconded in this by brigadier Stanhope. The earl of Peterborough, calling a council of war, declared this propoſal unreaſonable: but at length, being prevailed on by the king's entreaties, he landed his forces on the 28th of Auguſt. At that time the cities of Spain conſulted each other about the war: and the friends of king Charles diſpatched meſſengers, deputies, letters and manifeſtoes to all the coaſt-towns, and held conſultations by night in by-places. At length the inhabitants having ſeized on Vich and Denia, the Spaniards who were in arms, waited to ſee what further reſolutions were to be taken, and how the war was to begin.

When the army was landed, many towns ſubmitted to king Charles, and received his ſoldiers into their garriſons. The confederate forces not amounting to more than eight thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe, the earl of Peterborough, who was againſt undertaking the ſiege of Barcelona, would have willingly perſuaded the king to lay aſide the thoughts of that enterprize, and to proceed to the ſuccour of the duke of Savoy. But the king perſiſting in his opinion, reſolved to make an attempt upon the walls, though there was a garriſon of five thouſand men in the city, and the confederates were in want of every thing. In the mean time the prince of Darmſtadt undertook with eaſe to make himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Montjuich, if he might have a thouſand men under his command. The earl of Peterborough agreed to it; telling him with a ſneer, he would bring another thouſand to ſupport him. Whereupon colonel Southwell and Colonel Allen were ordered to advance with a detachment of ſoldiers; and, while the reſt of the army ſeemed to draw off, as if retiring towards their ſhips, theſe made a ſhort turn, and, under the cover of night, took poſſeſſion of the bottom of the hill, and the enemy's works. As ſoon as day-light appeared, the Spaniards ſeeing that the confederates, before they were aware, had ſurmounted the moſt difficult paſſes, made a ſtout reſiſtance; but the confederates advanced and preſſed on through the midſt of their fire; where the prince of Darmſtadt, encouraging his ſoldiers, received a ſhot, and died preſently of the wound. The fight was long and bloody. The marquis de Riſbourg ſupported his men in the caſtle. The earl of Peterborough, with great bravery, encouraged

couraged his men, and enforced the attack. At length colonel Southwell, having gained ſome works which overlooked the caſtle, planted his guns, and levelled a mortar at a building in which the powder was kept; which being blown up by the fall of a bomb, ſhook the whole caſtle. Upon this exploſion the garriſon was in ſuch a conſternation, that they made the ſignal of ſurrender, and delivered up the caſtle to the confederates on the 17th day of September. After the reduction of the caſtle, no time was loſt to put king Charles in poſſeſſion of the city alſo. Brigadier Stanhope, who had the command of the ſiege, carried on his mines where the walls were weakeſt: the ſailors were very ſerviceable in managing the guns; the Catalans ſeized all the avenues of the city; and eight ſhips coming up, cannonaded the walls and the buildings without ceaſing. The beſieged fortified their walls, and works, and mines with fourneaux, into one of which one of the enemies bombs happened to fall, which threw down a great part of the walls. Upon this, leſt the confederates ſhould immediately force the breach, the citizens mutinouſly forced the governor and the viceroy to offer terms of capitulation. They received honourable conditions, and on the 12th day of October the garriſon marched out. In the mean time, advice came to king Charles, that Girone, Tortoſa, and Lerida, had ſubmitted to him. In the midſt of all this proſperity of king Charles, every hour brought king Philip freſh trouble, with the ſad news of ſome conſpiracy and revolt of his ſubjects. On the 22d day of October Charles wrote congratulatory letters to the queen, ſetting forth the conſtancy of the earl of Peterborough, and the courage of brigadier Stanhope; and the reſolution of the ſailors in general, particularly of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, whom he highly praiſed, as having not only done his duty, but exceeded his utmoſt expectation. "By the aſſiſtance of your fleet (ſaid he) Tarragona is reduced to my obedience; and Girone, with the help of the country people; Lerida and Tortoſa have voluntarily ſubmitted to me, with other fortified towns in the province of Arragon; and, laſtly, Denia, in Valencia, is in my poſſeſſion: Xativa alſo, and other cities there, impatiently wait my arrival." King Charles, having wrote thus, mentioned at laſt the courage of the ſoldiers, the number of his remaining forces, and the affection of all the

Barcelona taken.

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Spaniards towards him, and desired immediate succours, and more forces.

About this time Don Raphael Nebot, a colonel of horse, revolted from king Philip, and coming to Denia, became the head of all the revolters in Valencia; and was afterwards joined by Don Juan Basset, of Ramos. The earl of Peterborough hastened to their succour, and easily over-ran all the province of Valencia. He also persuaded the neighbouring inhabitants not to neglect so fair an opportunity of asserting their own liberty, and revenging themselves upon the French; and those who voluntarily submitted to king Charles, were received into favour on their taking an oath of allegiance to him: but we shall speak of these again hereafter, and shew how vain the obligation of their oaths was. The marquis de Leganez was carried into France as a conspirator; where he cleared himself of all suspicion, but died soon after.

Valencia subdued.

The Portuguese army being refreshed in their winter quarters, marched out to the camp in the month of April, to the number of twenty-six thousand. The Portugueze were commanded by the count de las Calvas and count de la Corsona: the English and Dutch by the earl of Galway and general Fagel; who took the chief command every other day alternately. The Portugueze had their rendezvous, out of their winter quarters, at the town of Arenches; and waited there for the coming of their forces from Elvas, and other parts of the country. From thence they marched by the way of Codiciero to the plain of Majorga, within sight of Albuquerque, in three bodies; and passing by Vicenzo, one of the enemy's towns, without any material injury to the inhabitants, they came to Valencia, before which they encamped, and invested the town; and the count de San Juan having seized an advanced ground, cannonaded the place for two days. After this, the Portugueze being drawn out for the assault, and supported by the English, began to attack the walls, and drove the Spaniards back into the town, with great slaughter on both sides. The Spaniards, not sensible of the weakness of their fortifications, or else being now more apprehensive of shame than of danger, made a longer resistance than they

Campaign in Portugal.

they ought to have done; ſo that many of them being killed, the reſt, overpowered by the number and valour of our men, gave way, and fled towards the caſtle: but the garriſon in the caſtle ſhut the gates againſt their own men, leſt the confederates ſhould have entered with them. Thus a terrible ſlaughter was made between the town and the caſtle. Of thoſe who were within the caſtle, again, ſome declared for barring the gates on the inſide, and others for opening them; ſo that a tumult ariſing, the confederates entered and took the caſtle by force. Upon this, without any more ſlaughter, the ſoldiers plundered the whole city, ſearching every houſe. Here eight hundred Spaniards were taken on the 6th day of May. After putting a garriſon into this city, the confederate army marched on the 15th to Albuquerque. This town ſtands on the ſide of a hill, with a ſteep rock hanging over it. It is fortified with a caſtle, containing a garriſon of four hundred men; and the whole fortification is encompaſſed with a very ſtrong old wall, diſtinguiſhed with turrets twenty feet in height, and nine in breadth. The generals of the army, the ſame day, viewed all the works, and gave orders for their own approaches, which were carried on, on both ſides of the town, with great diligence. In the mean time the engineers perceiving that there was a breach made in the wall ſufficient for an aſſault, gave notice thereof to the earl of Galway; who, drawing out his men, threatened to ſtorm the place unleſs the governor ſhould inſtantly ſurrender: but when they could not ſettle the terms of capitulation, both ſides agreed to refer it to the mediation of the admiral of Caſtile; who being himſelf a native of Spain, might naturally be thought partial to the Spaniards; but who, in fact, favoured the Portugueze much more, becauſe he had revolted from king Philip. The governor having ſigned the conditions, delivered up the town on the 22d day of May; which happened the more ſeaſonably for the confederates, as they were then beginning to want proviſions for carrying on the war. During this time the marſhal de Theſſe aſſembled his forces not far from the camp of the confederates. On the 24th a party of the enemy fell upon the confederates foragers, and carried off a few of their mules, and without doing them any other injury, returned to their camp. On the 26th the confederates proceeded to the river Chevora, where they made a halt: and there the Portugueze hearing the

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report of guns, were alarmed with fears for their provifions, which were coming to the camp under a ſmall guard, and therefore ſent out a party of horſe to their aſſiſtance; but when the proviſions were out of danger, the horſe returned again to the camp. Another party of the enemy falling in again with the foragers, carried off ſome of the famiſhed mules of the confederates, with their pack-ſaddles: on the report of which in the camp, ſome of general Harvey's horſe, who were accuſtomed to depredations, undertook to recover the mules and their ſaddles from the enemy, and brought them ſafe to the camp. After this, the king of Portugal would have had his forces brought back into Beira; but this was oppoſed by the earl of Galway, leſt the whole army ſhould ſuffer through the length of the march and the heat of the weather; in which opinion the earl was ſupported by the count de las Calvas. Letters were therefore ſent to the king by general conſent, offering their reaſons to diſſuade his majeſty from that reſolution. In the mean time, general Fagel propoſed to his colleagues to attack the enemy unawares; but becauſe they were not thoroughly acquainted with the enemy's camp and their ſituation, this was alſo rejected in the council of war. From thence they removed to Onellia, which was a proper place for forage. Here a council of war was held about laying ſiege to Badajoz: the earl of Galway and general Fagel both earneſtly contended for the ſiege; but the Portugueze diſputed and oppoſed it, becauſe they were now in want of ammunition, as well as of pontons, for paſſing the river Guadiana, or Anas; and it was not ſafe for them to paſs their army in two bodies by the bridge of Olivenza, in ſight of the enemy; urging further, that the whole army being much affected with the fatigue of the former ſieges and the heats, required a ſhort refreſhment; and laſtly, that the city propoſed to be beſieged had a garriſon of ten thouſand men in it, and an army in the neighbouring country to aſſiſt them little inferior to their own: nevertheleſs, general Fagel's courage ſurmounting all difficulties, he conſtantly preſſed to attempt the ſiege, and therefore they marched on directly towards the enemy. The marſhal de Theſſe receiving advice of the confederates approach, paſſed his army acroſs the river Guadiana: the confederates followed him; but when, for want of pontons, they could neither overtake him, nor ſo much as come up with the rear of his army,

army, they returned, and diſpoſed of their forces in proper quarters of refreſhment. BOOK VIII.

DURING theſe tranſactions on this ſide the Guadiana, the marquis das Menas attacked the town of Salvaterra. After he had reduced this he went to Sarca; and finding it deſerted both of ſoldiers and inhabitants, he preſently took poſſeſſion of it, and ſent for other forces to join him. But theſe, as he was at a great diſtance, and the ſoldiers were greatly incommoded with the heat, were refuſed; and orders were ſent him to march into the fortified towns during the hot weather, for the refreſhment of himſelf and his army.

MUCH about this time the earl of Peterborough, of whoſe great actions we have ſpoken already, arrived at Liſbon. In the beginning of September, when the heats began to abate, the earl of Galway, according to the reſolution of the council of war, drew out his forces into the camp; but it is hard to ſay what retarded the motion of the Portugueze. The king of Portugal himſelf was in a very declining ſtate of health; and ſuch of his miniſters as were in the adminiſtration of the government, were thought to favour the French intereſt; on which account the queen dowager of England, the king of Portugal's ſiſter, who was the firſt in the regency, was ſo much offended, that ſhe laid down her office. This tardineſs of the Portugueze was imputed to the pope's nuncio; and before the queen dowager quitted the adminiſtration, ſhe was almoſt determined to have ſent him home; for, beſides the natural ſlothfulneſs of the Portugueze, his intrigues were believed to have delayed the motions of the army till the opportunity was loſt: but he cleared himſelf of this ſuſpicion, and afterwards became more ſubſervient to the confederates. After the diſputes about command, which were very frequent and hot, and the different opinions about carrying on the war, were compoſed, the Portugueze marched out of the camp on the 30th of September; and after a march of three days, paſſed the Guadiana with great ſilence (as I think) at Armenna, and advancing to Badajoz, encamped before it, and inveſted that town on the 3d day of October. It is certain there was no want of diſpatch in carrying on the ſiege. They began to open the trenches the next day,

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day, within an hundred paces of the walls. On the 5th, the Engliſh relieved the Portugueze on the watch; and the next day, theſe were relieved by the count D'Hona, with two battalions of the Engliſh and Dutch. The great guns were brought up to the camp, and in a few days planted againſt the fortifications. The confederates diſcharged a great number of ſhot into the town: but when every thing was going on with ſucceſs equal to their wiſhes, and it was thought the marſhal de Theſſe, who had but few troops, would not dare to attempt the raiſing of the ſiege, the fall of a bomb among the powder, ſhook the whole machinery that ſupported the artillery to pieces. Thither the earl of Galway and general Fagel haſtened to give orders for repairing the damage; and while they were both holding up their hands together, a cannon ſhot from the citadel took off general Fagel's coat-ſleeve, and the earl of Galway's hand. The ſtout old gentleman, undiſmayed at this accident, ſtood there two hours, to give orders for renewing the ſiege; but at length, by loſs of blood, was forced to be carried off the works. Afterwards, when all things were ready for an attack upon the walls, the marſhal de Theſſe, drawing his forces together, to the number of eight thouſand men, decamped from Talaverra, in order to ſurpriſe the confederates and relieve the city. Divers meſſengers came to the camp with news of the enemy's approach. At length the van of de Theſſe's army appeared in ſight of the confederates, and preſently drew up on the other ſide of the river Guadiana. General Fagel did not think it adviſeable to paſs the river in two bodies, for fear of expoſing the army to danger. At laſt, it was reſolved in a council of war to paſs the whole army over the river at once; which was done with all expedition: but the marſhal de Theſſe, with no leſs expedition, withdrew beyond the Ebro; ſo that he had the river in his front, and the town in his rear. Lieutenant general Wyndham being ſent out with a party of horſe, made ſuch ſpeed, that coming up with the rear of the enemy's forces, he made a great ſlaughter among them, and puſhed a body of their horſe into the river. The marſhal de Theſſe having put freſh forces into the town, leſt his retreat ſhould be cut off, drew off his army the ſame night to Talaverra: and the confederates, not being able to revenge this diſgrace, on account of the rainy ſeaſon, retired into winter quarters on the 19th

of October, and laid up all their military ſtores in Elvas. After this, general Fagel embarked for Holland; and the earl of Galway remained at Olivenza for the cure of his wound. Here we muſt not forget one Duncanſon, who gave ſignal proofs of his courage in theſe little ſkirmiſhes in Portugal. In the mean time, both king Philip and king Charles endeavoured all they could to gain the affections of the Spaniards: for the people of Caſtile were as averſe to Charles, as thoſe of Arragon daily diſcovered themſelves to be to Philip.

Campaign in Italy.

PRINCE EUGENE returning into Italy, and labouring under the want of all things, drew his forces out of their winter quarters, either with a deſign to ſuccour the duke of Savoy, or, by a ſeaſonable diverſion, to draw off the marſhal de Vendoſme from thoſe parts. The French king gave the command of another army to the count de Feuvillade, in order to ſurround the duke of Savoy on every ſide. Both ſides made uſe of their utmoſt power to obtain poſſeſſion of fortified places; the French king to ſtraiten the duke of Savoy all he could; and the duke of Savoy, in order to ſecure as many of the mountains as poſſible all around him; and frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between them on this account: but the French were ſuperior in the number of ſoldiers; and attempted to take Mirandola, and inſenſibly to ſtraiten the duke of Savoy; and having taken Montmelian, in Savoy, and the citadel of Nice, in the furtheſt part of the Alps, they haſtened into Italy to diſtreſs him there. Prince Eugene was reduced to the want of all things neceſſary for war, and deſpaired of getting proviſions out of Dalmatia, becauſe the French had, with great diligence, ſecured for themſelves all the coaſt of the Adriatic ſea; inſomuch, that he could no longer purchaſe corn from the neighbouring regions: he therefore reſolved to make light ſkirmiſhes in the neighbourhood of Gavardo, and then to force his way into the dutchy of Milan. When all things neceſſary were in readineſs for his march, he decamped from Gavardo, and marching through the Breſſian, towards the river Adda, paſſed the Oglio at Urago. As the enemy retreated he proceeded, and fell upon general Torvalba, with his party, in his march. When he came to the Adda, he laid his pontons upon the river, and endeavoured to paſs his

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his army over it: but for want of ſhips he was detained here longer than he expected. In the mean time, the duke de Vendoſme appeared on the oppoſite ſide of the river: on this, prince Eugene deſpairing of paſſing the river, turned off ſuddenly, and marched by night with all the ſpeed he could towards the mouth of the Adda, in order to ſurpriſe the duke de Vendoſme's brother in his camp, near the town of Caſſano; in which deſign he was not unſucceſsful; for out-marching the news of his coming, he overthrew that army not far from the confluence of the Adda and Numatia. As ſoon as the duke de Vendoſme perceived the Germans to move off, being aware of prince Eugene's deſign, he marched ſpeedily the ſame way; and ſuſpecting what happened, and that prince Eugene would make uſe of the opportunity and favour of fortune to overthrow the forces under the command of his brother, he marched as faſt as he could at the head of his horſe, and came up with them towards the end of the fight: but when he endeavoured to renew the battle, the inconvenience of the place prevented him: prince Eugene was not ambitious of a double victory in one day; and therefore he called off his men from the fight, and immediately commanded them to encamp, contenting himſelf with having defeated one of the brothers. The duke de Vendoſme, his infantry not being yet come up, was not able to force prince Eugene to renew the engagement, and therefore he wheeled about, and led his forces over the Adda. The report of this victory was doubtful; but ſince neither of thoſe generals ſtand in need of any undue praiſe to heighten his character, I ſhall not leſſen the one to raiſe the other; for I think both of them highly deſerving of praiſe for their courage and military conduct. But I have heard from worthy men of both ſides, that the honour of that day was due to prince Eugene, though the French ſung *Te Deum* at Paris for the victory, leſt, in thoſe cloudy times, the courage of the ſoldiers ſhould be caſt down with hearing nothing but news of their loſſes on all ſides. Prince Joſeph, of Loraine, a very hopeful youth, was here ſlain, and many other brave men were loſt; and prince Eugene wrote, that the battle was very ſharp. Here I muſt not omit, that to the great wonder of all men, the French unexpectedly quitted the ſtrong town of Aſti: but this I have heard was owing to the negligence of the governor; who either did not well obſerve his orders,

orders, or elſe did not underſtand them. On receiving intelligence of this, count Staremberg made a timely march, and took poſſeſſion of Aſti without any reſiſtance, which he defended a long time after, againſt all the attempts of the French, and which was at this time a great relief to his troops.

THE French having taken Suſa and Aoſt, the duke of Savoy began to be greatly ſtraitened. To oppreſs him the more, the duke de Vendoſme had laid ſiege to Verue in the autumn, and had worn out his foot by working, watching, and ſkirmiſhing in the ſiege of this town the whole winter: and as he found the horſe yet to hold out, when he wanted infantry, he ordered his cavalry to diſmount, and to make the attack on foot. The duke of Savoy, who poſted his army at Creſcentino, on the oppoſite ſide of the Po, was a great ſupport to the beſieged; and by means of a bridge of communication, ſent them daily freſh ſoldiers to relieve the guards, and alſo ſupplies of proviſions. This town was well fortified by its own natural ſituation, and protected both by a hill and a river; but its holding out ſo long a ſiege was chiefly aſcribed to the duke of Savoy's own diligence, who never neglected any thing that might contribute to the defence of his own territories; ſo that no place ever made a better defence within our memory. After the French had ſeveral times varied the methods of their attacks, they at length, having taken the works, began to cut off the bridge which was laid over the Po. When this was effected, the beſieged, making ſeveral ſallies, drove the beſiegers from their works: but the town not being able to hold out any longer, at the end of the winter the governor treated about a ſurrender, and opened the gates to the French. It was univerſally thought, that the duke de Vendoſme was too obſtinately ſet upon this ſiege, and had therein miſerably waſted the French army all this winter. This the duke of Orleans ſoon after found true by experience, from the weakneſs of thoſe who remained, and the ſtarved condition of the horſes. The French loſt twenty-four thouſand men in that ſiege; and yet they did not intend to keep Verue long in their hands, though it ſeemed to be ſtrongly fortified. The French got poſſeſſion of this town in the month of April. The duke de la Feuillade ſpent all the ſummer in taking the duke of Savoy's garriſon, and committed all manner

Verue taken.

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of hoſtilities in the principality of Piedmont. The duke of Berwick took Nice and the caſtle of Montmellian; and the French king ordering combuſtibles to be put under theſe forts in a hundred places, cauſed them all to be deſtroyed and torn to pieces, ſo as that no veſtige or appearance of them ſhould remain; and with ſuch fury did he wage war againſt the duke of Savoy, as if he would not only level the Alps to ruin the houſe of Savoy, and move the mountains, but even in the ruins of thoſe mountains, would utterly bury all remembrance of that family.

AFTER ſuch a ſlaughter of the French had been made in the battle of Blenheim, as that a proclamation was publiſhed in France, declaring it unlawful to ſpeak of it, and commanding every one to inform the preſidents of the provinces whatever news ſhould be heard relating to the ſtate of the kingdom, not to mention the ſame to any other perſon whatſoever, becauſe ignorant people are often drawn into conſultations about matters of ſtate, and raſh men engaged in deſperate actions by idle rumours, whereby the peace of the kingdom may be greatly endangered; after ſuch a diſaſter, none could eaſily have believed that France could have been able to ſtand ſuch a ſhock: but the next year, the French king ſent into the field an army as numerous as that of the confederates, which alſo was very ſtrong in horſe. But they were furniſhed every year with horſes from Swiſſerland, Mentz, and Treves; and even, as it is ſaid by ſome Colonels in Flanders, out of an avaricious view to their own private intereſt, which often tempts men to act contrary to that of their country.

ABOUT this time, on the 5th day of May, died the emperor Leopold, a man of great piety and prudence, and who was wont to make war by the help of his auxiliaries more than with his own forces. When all things were prepared in parliament, the duke of Marlborough ſet out for Holland, and arrived ſafely at the Hague on the 2d day of April 1706. After he had concerted with the ſtates-general the operations of the campaign, and had ſhewn them the neceſſity of aſſiſting the duke of Savoy in his extremity, and drawing off the French forces from thoſe parts, he propoſed to them to carry the war into France on the ſide of

The duke of Marlborough's fourth campaign.

the Moſelle, which was approved by the Dutch; and prince Lewis of Baden was intruſted with the care of all things neceſſary for the war. The duke of Marlborough left the Hague on the 4th of May. As ſoon as he came to Maeſtricht, he ordered the forces to turn out of their winter quarters, and to march through the diſtricts of Liege and Aix to Juliers. He went himſelf before to Coblentz, and from thence to Raſtadt, in order to have a conference with prince Lewis of Baden; where theſe commanders concerted all the meaſures for carrying on the war. After this, having viewed the lines of Stolhoffen, the duke of Marlborough returned with all poſſible ſpeed to Triers the 26th day of May, eager either to penetrate into France, or to put an end to the war. When he had there reviewed the united forces, he paſſed the Moſelle, and from thence proceeded to the river Saar, over which he laid bridges. In the mean time, the people of Loraine, who had long ago received French troops, and whoſe towns were held with French garriſons, began to conceive great hopes from the duke of Marlborough's favour, that he would either put a ſtop to their ſufferings, or that they ſhould now have an opportunity to aſſert their liberty: but the French king put ſtrong garriſons into their cities to prevent their revolt, and force them to continue in ſubjection. When the duke of Marlborough came to the river Saar by difficult marches, he encamped near the enemy, to try whether the marſhal de Villars could be drawn into an engagement. Villars, though he had a numerous army under his command, avoided a battle in thoſe parts, and fortified his camp; for he was not ſufficiently aſſured of the courage of his ſoldiers; and therefore he decamped and retreated a little to a neighbouring hill, which was a very commodious place for a camp; having a wood on the right, the Moſelle on the left, and inacceſſible places and narrow defiles in front. In this place, therefore, the French lay ſtrongly encamped in one front, facing the confederates, not doubting but they would, in a few days, for want of proviſions, be forced to return within their own confines. In the mean time the duke of Marlborough diſpatched expreſſes to the prince of Baden to excite him to expedition. For he had undertaken to beſiege Saar Louis; and the duke of Marlborough's part was to cover the ſiege, which was the deſign of his coming into that place, where he had neither forage enough, nor any

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proſpect of getting proviſions from the Germans, who had promiſed to take care of that matter: for the corn was not yet ripe in the fields; nor could it be fetched from any other quarter, or bought in thoſe parts: but the ſoldiers bore the want of bread all this while with extraordinary patience. When things were in this diſtreſſed ſtate, the duke of Marlborough made great complaints againſt the Germans, becauſe he was not ſupplied by them in his neceſſities, according to their agreement: eſpecially, ſince it was in a manner owing to their intreaties that he came thither, and had undertaken a war in thoſe parts for their ſervice; and it is not ſtrange, that now, finding himſelf neglected and deceived, he ſhould complain while his ſoldiers ſuffered the utmoſt extremity; and for want of forage were forced to feed their horſes with the leaves off the trees. The Germans ſaid, all things were prepared, were coming, were juſt at hand; but they performed nothing. At laſt they notified to him the death of the emperor Leopold, which they pretended was the cauſe of their delay: but when the duke of Marlborough found, at length, that he was cajoled and deceived, and that the French had beſieged Huy; and when by expreſſes and letters from the ſtates general, he was informed that the enemy had taken that fortreſs, and beſieged Liege, deſpairing of any means of obtaining proviſions, he marched back with all expedition into the confines of the United Provinces with all his forces, who had borne the hardſhips of the place with wonderful patience, except ſeven thouſand palatines. The duke of Marlborough's arrival raiſed the ſiege of Liege; and the earl of Orkney being ſent before with the foot, forced the enemy to retire within their lines. In the mean time the marſhal duke de Villars ſent out a party of ſoldiers to deſtroy all the country round about Triers; upon whoſe approach the general of the palatines, who was left in a garriſon at Triers, ſent precipitate orders to the governor of Saarbruck to blow up the fortifications, to deſtroy the military ſtores, and burn the boats. Upon this the marſhal de Villars was ſo elated, that he wrote letters to his king, boaſting that he had gained a victory without bloodſhed.

THE caſtle of Huy was taken on the 2d day of July, after the duke of Marlborough had reſolved in a council of war to attack the enemy's lines, contrarily to the opinion of ſome of the Dutch generals. General

d'Auverquerque decamped from Vignamont on the 19th of July, and paſſed his forces acroſs the Mehaigne. The duke of Marlborough making a ſhew as if he would follow him, turned ſhort, and ſent another ſtrong party to Heigleſheim, to attack the lines there in earneſt. At break of day theſe troops obeyed their orders; and immediately the duke of Marlborough and general d'Auverquerque came up, and joining their forces, ſurpriſed the enemy. The Bavarian cavalry, who endeavoured to make reſiſtance after the lines were forced, were cut in pieces. In this engagement, brigadier general Cadogan's regiment of horſe highly diſtinguiſhed their bravery, driving the enemy's horſe upon their own foot, and taking four ſtandards with their heavy cannon. The duke of Marlborough, reſolving not to allow the ſcattered enemy an opportunity to rally their forces, encouraged his ſoldiers to improve the preſent favour of fortune, and to make themſelves maſter of the enemy's camp. There the fight was very ſharp on both ſides: the French fled at length with the utmoſt precipitation; for the marſhal de Villeroy, ſeeing that all was loſt, and nothing but confuſion in the army, betook himſelf immediately to flight. Of the French there were one thouſand two hundred killed. The marquis d'Allegre, the count de Horn, and other brave officers of all ranks, to the number of ſeventy-two, were taken priſoners, with two thouſand private ſoldiers, who were ſent into Holland. The reſt of the French fled with ſuch precipitation, that they were forced to leave behind them one thouſand five hundred men, who were in the rear, at the river Gheet. After this they paſſed the Deyle in great confuſion, and took poſſeſſion of ground ſingularly commodious for a camp at Parck, in the neighbourhood of Louvain. Not long after the duke of Marlborough followed, having ſent his brother before to open a way through the woods, and commanded his men to paſs the Deyle, the banks of which were difficult: nor was it general Schlangenberg's fault that they did not. But when a council of war was called, ſome of the Dutch generals oppoſed it; and general Churchill, who had been ſent out to view the roads, agreed with them in opinion; reporting, that all the ways through the woods were either impaſſable, or guarded by the enemy. On the other ſide, general Schlangenberg would not be convinced; but being reſolute to make the attempt, advanced of his own accord to paſs the

The French lines forced.

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the river. As ſoon as the enemy approached he was recalled, but obeyed the orders with great reluctance; and the duke of Marlborough, to prevent his forces from paſſing the river, commanded them to keep within the camp. This provoked general Schlangenberg to a high degree: but the duke of Marlborough depended upon his brother's report; and the Dutch generals conſulted their own honour in this affair, perſiſting in their former opinion, that they ought not then to attempt to paſs the river. General Schlangenberg, who was a well experienced ſoldier, but naturally rough almoſt to a degree of barbarity, ſpread ſevere reproaches every where againſt the two brothers; affirming (though falſely), that it was only their fault that the enemy was not utterly ruined, and the confederates that day not poſſeſſed of all Brabant: but if any misfortune had happened in the paſſage, would his head have atoned for the damage? In ſhort, the duke of Marlborough gave orders for the execution of what was reſolved on in the council, and complied with the Dutch deputies.

BUT as nothing is more greedily ſwallowed than ſlander, the faction in England gave credit to Schlangenberg's injurious reports, and perſuaded the ignorant multitude, that the duke of Marlborough ſpan out the war for his own private advantage, without regard to the public intereſt, and that it was carried on without any conſideration either of the people, or of the queen, or her allies. In this injurious manner, and with ſo much impudence, were falſe rumours propagated by whiſpers among ſome of the Engliſh; and thus ſome men, who were either of the French faction, or filled with avarice or envy againſt the duke of Marlborough's fortune, made their own advantage of this notion of the prolongation of the war for private advantage, as well as of the fancy, that the church was in danger: but as the duke had from his youth been a man of frugality, he held on in his own way now in his advanced years, nor would abate any thing of his former habits, to pacify the minds of his adverſaries, which many people were of opinion he ought to have done.

ONE whoſe name was Hunter, went over by night to the elector of Bavaria's camp; and being admitted to converſe with the elector, diſcovered

diſcovered in what place the duke of Marlborough intended to paſs the river Deyle. The duke of Marlborough being informed of this, immediately enquired whether the man who was noted for ſpeaking Latin had not deſerted yeſterday? which is a proof how ſpeedy intelligence the duke had by his ſpies of every thing that paſſed in the elector of Bavaria's moſt ſecret councils.

In this engagement the count de Noailles did all that man could do to diſtinguiſh his bravery. The duke of Marlborough beſtowed the higheſt commendations on the count in his letter to the ſtates. The feint which was made by general d'Auverquerque to attack the French lines over againſt their camp, led the enemy to think all ſafe at Heigleſheim, and to ſend off their ſtrongeſt forces another way. There were eighteen cannons taken in the enemy's camp, beſides ſtandards and trumpets. On the 3d day of Auguſt, baron Spar, the general in Flanders having defeated a party of the enemy, immediately paſſed the canal which leads from Ghent to Bruges, levelled the French lines, laid the country under contributions, and returned ſafe to his camp with hoſtages for the ſecurity of the payment.

In the mean time the duke of Marlborough and general d'Auverquerque reſolved, if any opportunity ſhould offer, to fight the enemy. After they had viewed the French camp at the river Iſche, they thought they had now got a fair opportunity of fighting; but the Dutch deputies, who at that time agreed with general Schlangenberg, were of a different opinion; at which the duke of Marlborough was ſo offended, that he complained of the obſtinacy of the deputies in a letter to the ſtates-general: in which he ſaid, that he could not but reſent the want of that confidence which they had repoſed in him the year before, when he commanded their forces in Germany.

After this the confederates began to beſiege Sout Leewe: the fortifications of which being greatly out of repair, the governor made no reſiſtance, but ſurrendered the town without any conditions. Here was found one hundred braſs cannon, and a large quantity of military ſtores. When Sout Leewe was taken, and the ſummer drawing to an end, the duke of Marlborough, intending to ſet out for Germany, ordered the enemy's

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enemy's lines to be levelled, and the fortifications of Tirlemont to be deſtroyed; and from thence marching toward Arſchot, he paſſed the river Demer. There he encamped, with a deſign to fortify Dieſt and Tongeren, in order to enlarge his winter quarters. In his return to Turnhout, he was met upon the road by monſieur de Buys, who came thither to excuſe the behaviour of the deputies, and to conſult with him about other affairs, in the name of the ſtates-general; entreating them all to agree in their reſolutions, and not to expoſe the public intereſt to danger by their diſſentions.

After this, the duke of Marlborough went to the Hague; from whence he intended to proceed to Vienna, in quality of ambaſſador to the emperor and the princes of Germany.

In the mean time, general d'Auverquerque ordered Sandvliet on the frontier of Flanders to be beſieged on the 27th of October; which town was ſurrendered without much reſiſtance to the confederates on the 29th, by the marquis d'Entragues the governor, and the garriſon, conſiſting of eight hundred men, made priſoners. On the other ſide, the elector of Bavaria, in order to revenge the diſhonour of this loſs, laid ſiege to Dieſt, which being but weak, the confederates not having yet finiſhed their works, was taken with as much eaſe as Sandvliet.

The earl of Sunderland followed the duke of Marlborough to Vienna, to aſſiſt in the negociation of public affairs. The duke of Marlborough's glory was a ſubject of envy to ſome malignant people in Holland. General Schlangenberg eſpecially railed bitterly againſt him; for which the ſtates-general turned him out of his command in the army.

Before the duke of Marlborough returned out of Germany, he ſent colonel Durell to the emperor Joſeph, to repreſent to him the reaſons of the late miſcarriage on the Moſelle. The emperor privately examined prince Lewis of Baden about that matter, who laid all the blame upon ſome of the principal perſons in Germany. The elector palatine's miniſters endeavoured to acquit themſelves of all blame in this affair;

affair; but the diſcoveries made in this dark tranſaction were of ſo little importance to the public on either ſide, that it was thought fit to conceal them out of regard to the common cauſe.

Campaign in Germany.

THE marſhal de Villars ſent one party of his forces into Brabant, another to Duoſe and Alſace, and marched himſelf to Wiſſenbourg, the garriſon of which he forced to ſurrender. The French deſtroyed the works of the confederates in the territories of Triers; and Villars advancing to Haguenau, ravaged all the neighbouring country, and laid all their towns, even on the other ſide of the Rhine, under contribution. The inhabitants of theſe parts, haraſſed and diſpirited with the continual calamities of war and depredations, came to a reſolution among themſelves to leave their country, to remove far out of the way of the French, and to ſeek their fortune in a ſtrange land. The condition of all proteſtants upon the Rhine was moſt grievous; for in time of war they were plundered by the enemy, and in time of peace they were perſecuted by their princes, through the hatred and inſtigation of the prieſts. At laſt, incited by the enthuſiaſm of deſpair, papiſts, as well as proteſtants, reſolved to quit their habitations, to commit themſelves to their fate, and to tranſport themſelves into Britain; for neither their rights, nor laws, nor the public faith, could now be any longer a ſecurity to them in Germany; thoſe very princes, who ought to have been their protectors, having long ſince, either through corruption or indolence, been drawn into the intereſt of the emperor.

Palatines leave their country.

ON the 6th of Auguſt the marſhal de Villars paſſed his army over the Rhine at Straſbourg: the prince of Baden therefore came in all haſte to the imperial army, and drew up his forces within ſight of Villars, to ſee what reſolution that commander had taken. The marſhal de Villars, on advice of the prince of Baden's approach, retired with his army as faſt as he could into the neighbourhood of Fort Kehl. The prince of Baden therefore paſſed the Rhine, to attack the lines at Haguenau; and ſending count Merci before with a body of horſe, became maſter of the enemy's works. The marſhal de Villars intending to attack count Merci, the prince of Baden, aware of the enemy's deſign, came up ſeaſonably to ſupport him. Upon this Villars, wheeling about, returned to his camp; and when the prince of Baden's army was reinforced with

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ſix thouſand Pruſſians, Villars, with great ſilence, retreated by night to Straſbourg. On the 19th of September, the count de Frize inveſted Druſenheim, which ſurrendered on the 24th: and general Thungen marching from thence to Haguenau, ſoon took that town with the aſſiſtance of the Pruſſians and Saxons; for when he had refuſed to grant the French garriſon any other terms than thoſe of priſoners of war, they withdrew by night into Zuben, leaving the city a prey to the enemy. Thus the fort of Saar Louis ſeemed to be ſurrounded for all the following winter: on the approach of which the armies decamped, and went into winter quarters.

In Spain, where the earl of Peterborough, in order to enlarge his command, kept his ſoldiers conſtantly employed in continual labours and daily marches, a new method of war ſeemed to have taken place, and a newly-invented military diſcipline. After Peterborough had made incurſions through all the provinces far and near, and had ſometimes made a ſhew of giving the enemy occaſion to expect a battle, he would ſuddenly appear the very next morning in ſome other place at a great diſtance from his camp. On this account the enemy's general is ſaid to have reflected upon him, for waging war in a quite different manner from all other generals, and not like a ſoldier; but the earl of Peterborough's anſwer was like that of other generals: "That he "would not command according to his rules, but according to his "own judgment."

Duke of Marlborough at Vienna.

The duke of Marlborough, and the earl of Sunderland, who was now to be employed in ſtate affairs, on their arrival at Vienna, were graciouſly received by the emperor. And now the main negociation was about two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, to be remitted from England to prince Eugene, for the ſervice of the war in Italy. When they had laid before him the whole amount of their inſtructions, the emperor, on his part, made ample promiſes; but he was always deficient in performing them, being continually in want of money: but the duke of Marlborough diſpatched his own buſineſs; for as ſoon as he had ſettled the affairs of his principality, and on account thereof had paid his homage to the emperor, the emperor was promiſed the loan of money from England on certain terms, for the expence of the war in Italy.

The

The duke of Marlborough, having been liberally entertained and loaded with preſents, returned to Holland by the way of Berlin and Hanover. His coming to thoſe places is ſaid to have been very unacceptable to the queen's miniſters reſiding there, becauſe, perhaps, he privately interpoſed in matters within their provinces: but it is certain, every one was not to know the ſecret ſchemes of the war. In truth, he treated with the king of Pruſſia at this time, about ſending reinforcements to Italy. When he had concerted with the ſtates-general the meaſures for carrying on the war, he left the major-general Cadogan to ſettle other matters with them; for Mr. Alexander Stanhope was then dead, of whoſe ſingular regard for the people of England, as well as fidelity and good-will to themſelves, the Dutch were very ſenſible. Mr. Howe was ſent envoy to Hanover; and a great quarrel happened between him and Mr. James Craggs, who was but a youth. Craggs ſupported himſelf more by the power of his friends than by his own innocence. When this young gentleman returned to England, he took great delight in night-entertainments. His father, either out of avarice to ſave his money, or elſe to give him the better opportunity to rove at large, turned his ſon out of doors, and reduced him to ſuch extremity, that he lived from hand to mouth, and made a livelihood by his body, or by whatever ways he could, even with more than one at a time. Mr. Stepney was ſent to ſucceed Mr. Stanhope; but, partly through the fatigue of the journey, and partly worn out with the effects of wantonneſs, he died ſoon after. The duke of Shrewſbury, a moſt polite well-bred man, who had grown weary of public offices, and either for his amuſement or for his health had gone to travel abroad five years ago, came about this time to the Hague from Italy, where he had taken a wife, and returned with the duke of Marlborough to England, earneſtly ſoliciting now what he had before deſpiſed; but he had loſt much of his intereſt, as well as his eſteem and reputation among his friends, on account of his marriage and other matters.

Treaty of union.

THE commiſſioners of Scotland, being thirty in number, came to London, by the queen's authority; and thoſe of England were thirty-four. All theſe, laying aſide all reſentment of former injuries, met together, and entered upon the affair of uniting the kingdoms. In the

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first place, they appointed accomptants, to make an eſtimate of the taxes and debts of both kingdoms, and to lay the ſame in proper tables before the commiſſioners. Among theſe accomptants were Dr. James Gregory and Mr. Paterſon; the latter of whom was wholly devoted to the public ſervice, as the former was only to his own intereſt: Dr. Davenant was another of them, who had ſquandered away his own fortune. When the commiſſioners, therefore, had made a calculation of all things, it appeared that near one million of pounds was to be paid at preſent to the Scots, on condition that they ſhould come under obligations to the Engliſh, for the payments of the debts of the nation in a due proportion; but in this their random eſtimate, ſome taxes are valued at no more than what they produced into the treaſury in four years, according to the yearly rate, from which the accomptants were afterwards ſaid to have either egregiouſly erred, or elſe to have had ſome private views of their own in that affair. In anſwer to this, the Engliſh ſaid, ſome taxes produced more, and ſome leſs; ſo that when a juſt computation was made of the exceedings and deficiencies, there would be nothing of a ſum remaining. The Scots will ſay, if any of theſe produce leſs, it is to be imputed either to the number or the fault of thoſe who are employed in collecting them; but, not to digreſs too far into theſe difficulties, I ſhall return to the commiſſioners, who in general had the ſame object at heart, the union of the two kingdoms; but the archbiſhop of York and Mr. Lockhart were utterly againſt any union: the former out of anxiety for the ſecurity of religion, and the latter out of zeal for the pretender, to whoſe intereſts he is ſaid to have been heartily attached. The lord Godolphin was very deſirous to protract the affair, and to ſpin out the time till the Scots ſhould have repealed their act of ſecurity. Mr. Harley at that time favoured the ſame deſign; and therefore he propoſed to them a league of perpetual friendſhip. The whigs were earneſt for a perfect coalition. In all their meetings this was the prevailing opinion; without which neither could the ſucceſſion be eſtabliſhed in Scotland, nor the Scots be admitted to the benefit of a free commerce. Different men propoſed different expedients, all which, after a time, turned to no account to either ſide. The concluſion of all their debates was chiefly this, that the Scots ſhould eſtabliſh the ſame ſucceſſion of the crown, and the Engliſh ſhould allow them a full and unlimited par-

ticipation of their commerce. Both the Engliſh and the Scots will ſay, "Why ſhould we do this?" Each party had one and the ſame obſtacle. But neceſſity obliges, or a proſpect of greater advantage perſuades men to do many things which are ſeemingly hard and unreaſonable. The whigs inſiſted, that ſuch an union could not be any inconvenience to the public, nor any indignity, ſince the treaſury would be common to both nations: that the Engliſh commerce was already open to foreigners who live in England; and why not alſo to our neighbours of Scotland, who being joined with us in the ſame land, language, and manners, are only as it were other Engliſhmen, and in many reſpects able to help us much more than foreigners, who have no ſuch tie of affection for us, as the Scots have had for an hundred years paſt, and who do, and always muſt, ſhare with us in the common ſafety and dangers of both realms: upon theſe, and the like grounds, the whigs in both kingdoms were added, as mutual acceſſions to each other, to the enlargement of the Britiſh empire. The principal difficulty which ſtuck with the Scots, who were unwilling to forſake their country, was, how to ſatisfy their numerous nobility, without which an union of the kingdoms could not be effected in parliament: for theſe were wont to ſay, "What have we "to do with commerce, who were not born to be merchants, nor ac- "cuſtomed to ſuch mean employment? As to the treaſury of Scot- "land, though but ſmall, yet, ſuch as it is, it is now in the hands of the "nobility, and we have it in our power to uſe it, or to abuſe our country, "as we think fit; but if it comes once into the hands of the Engliſh, "every thing muſt be managed, not according to our own will, but at "the diſcretion of others." The Engliſh, and ſome of the Scots, who had ſecretly made their own bargains for honours and other advantages, promiſed that the demands of the Scotch nobles ſhould be ſatisfied in the firſt place out of the aforeſaid ſum. The earls of Mar and Seafield, and others, took great pains about this matter, in order to inſpire into the minds of many of the nobility of Scotland an ardor equal to that with which they themſelves were ready to do any thing; but yet a great number of nobles oppoſed this: and nothing was of importance enough to induce the marquis of Annandale and the lord Belhaven to loſe ſight, and give up the treaſury, or to neglect the public ſervice. Theſe noble- men earneſtly preſſed the reſt of the Scots, not to conſent or permit

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the treaſury of Scotland, which had often paid their debts, to be removed into England. Others oppoſed the union, among thoſe who were moſt attached to the royal family and name, becauſe this union of the kingdom with England ſeemed to have been projected by the whigs, for no other end, but only by degrees to clip the wings of kings, and to diveſt and deprive them of their royal authority. But the duke of Hamilton oppoſed it, becauſe ſuch a coalition would cut off his right of ſucceſſion, and all his hopes of the crown. Mr. Fletcher alone, without any concern either for the treaſury or the pretender; without aſſerting any private right of his own, or vindicating the royal authority; and moved merely by a genuine affection for his country, which is natural to mankind, or inſpired into ſome from heaven, vehemently oppoſed the union, either out of a ſort of reverence for the name of Scotſmen, or elſe becauſe he thought there were many defects in the Engliſh conſtitution, which could not poſſibly be reformed, or which they themſelves were not willing to have altered. But waving all this, the commiſſioners agreed upon the articles of the union.

When the treaty was concluded, and before the commiſſioners of Scotland returned home, the queen, who had this matter much at heart, earneſtly recommended to them, not to relax in their endeavours, but every one of them to uſe his utmoſt intereſt, with courage and reſolution, to perfect in their next ſeſſion of parliament what they had already begun. At their departure, they all returned to Scotland equally elated, though they had not all the ſame grounds of joy, on account of the ſecret contracts made with them, which, however, are now but of little benefit to them. The commiſſioners thought fit to conceal their proceedings in the treaty, till they ſhould be laid before the parliament.

While theſe things were tranſacting at London, the oppoſite party held many private conſultations in Scotland; and among them came one Hookes, who was ſent thither by the French king, to treat with them about reſtoring the pretender, and raiſing freſh troubles in Scotland, in order to divert the confederates from the French war. The French

French faction in Scotland, not to be wanting in reſpect to the French king, ſent alſo captain Henry Stratton to him, under a pretence of merchandiſe. Letters were likewiſe handed up and down, by particular perſons, from the pretender, to ſome of the chief men in Scotland, who were thought to be inclined to favour him, and to be aſſerters of his royal dignity; among whom were reckoned the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and the earls of Errol, Marſhal, and Hume. Letters were alſo written from France to the marquis of Montroſe, ſetting before him, as examples worthy of his imitation, the heroic actions of his illuſtrious great-grandfather: but he is ſaid to have expreſſed ſo much indignation againſt them, that they were never delivered to him. But other letters to other chiefs were received in a quite different manner. Every thing, when the parliament met in Scotland, ſeemed, to the pretender's party, to go very ſmoothly. In the mean time, the earl of Roxburgh, who was of the moderate party, induſtriouſly concealed his real ſentiments, and inſtilled ſuch notions into the multitude as he thought fit. This ſilence and reſerve of Roxburgh's is ſaid to have promoted the union of the kingdoms, in thoſe uncertain times, more than all the boaſted endeavours of the reſt, and more than the boldeſt clamours of the adverſaries were able to hinder it.

New parliament in England.

When the parliament met in England, the houſe of commons, in the firſt place, choſe Mr. John Smith their ſpeaker, for three years; for Mr. Robert Harley was made one of her majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, as we have related above; and it was unuſual in this kingdom for the ſame perſon to hold both theſe offices at once, as Harley had been allowed to do the laſt year, contrary to cuſtom, through the favour of both parties in the houſe of commons. He was alſo greatly confided in by the lord high treaſurer Godolphin. The tories, therefore, who had been long deluded by Godolphin, being enraged on ſeveral accounts, grew angry with Mr. Harley; and, ſetting themſelves to oppoſe the union of the kingdoms, expatiated in their ſpeeches upon the hardſhips of the war, the debts of the nation, and the heavy burden of the taxes upon the people. They entered upon inquiries into the management of the public money; and the adminiſtration.

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ſtration of affairs, and threw out many other things; which even though true, many were of opinion, ought rather to have been diſſembled and concealed, than confirmed by them, for fear of raiſing the ſpirits of the enemy, and diſcouraging the good people at home. Many conſiderable men in the houſe of commons oppoſed this party. The lord Coningſby, who was ungrateful to the houſe of commons, and become a ſlave to the court, ſharply oppoſed the giving any account of the public money; and, according to his cuſtom of ſpeaking, ſpent a great part of the day. After the debate was protracted till late at night, the queſtion was put; and the whole management of the war was approved of by a great majority of votes. The next day, as private injuries and friendſhips often prevail over the public good, the tories, out of revenge, and in order to raiſe ſome trouble to the queen and her miniſters, or at leaſt to ſhew that they were far from having any affection for the French king, contrived an inſidious motion, for inviting into England the princeſs Sophia, electreſs dowager of Hanover, on whom the ſucceſſion of the crown had been already ſettled. Upon this the queſtion was propoſed in the houſe of commons. Great was the diſtraction of the parties there; and ſeveral of both ſides forſook their friends. Thoſe who were for the queſtion gave their votes not ſo much from good-will, as to render themſelves popular, and to give the queen ſome trouble. The leaders of the parties could not prevail on all their friends to vote with them, either for or againſt the motion, ſome being engaged one way and ſome another. This queſtion was ſtarted, in order to diſcover which was the ſtronger party in the houſe of commons; for there were many zealouſly affected to the pretender, who neither would be thought unfaithful to him at any time, nor to have abjured him with any other intention than to be the more able to ſerve him, and to aſſiſt his friends as occaſion might offer. It is certain, there were but few in all Britain who had not been prevailed with to take the oaths; but how little ſecurity their oaths were likely to be to the queen or her ſucceſſors, ſome of them have ſhewn by their actions. When this queſtion for inviting the princeſs of Hanover into England was formally put in parliament, all the court whigs oppoſed it; and therefore it was rejected with indignation, to the no ſmall diſguſt of brigadier-general Stanhope, and other of the whigs: but none

Motion for inviting the princeſs Sophia into England, rejected by the whigs.

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was more offended at the whigs for rejecting this motion than the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who judged of every thing according to the principle of right and reaſon, rather than according to the circumſtances of affairs. He did not perceive that this affair was ſet on foot, in order to ſhew the queen which party was moſt able to defend her; and therefore, ſpeaking with ſome warmth to ſome of the whigs, whom he reproved for their conduct, the good man ſaid, "If this be a part of your moderation, I will have nothing to do with it." The venerable old gentleman, therefore, retired to his own houſe, and would not be preſent with them either in parliament or council, for a long time after, leſt he ſhould ſeem to expoſe his own dignity to diſhonour. In this troubleſome time both parties condemned what they had before approved. The rumour of this motion being rejected by the whigs, excited a general alarm; and a clamour was ſpread abroad throughout the country, how diſaffected the whigs were to the court. "Now (ſaid their adverſaries) you ſee how dutiful they are! what time-ſervers they are, and what reſpect they have for the glorious memory of king William, and the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover." And thenceforth the tories ceaſed not to caſt reproaches with aggravations far beyond the truth upon the whigs, chuſing to be wicked ſlanderers rather than not to be popular. On the other ſide, the leading whigs, who had oppoſed the motion, endeavoured to excuſe themſelves to their friends, by alleging that the motion was neither ſafe nor ſeaſonable; and leſt what they had done for the public good might hereafter be turned to their reproach, they brought in a new bill for confirming the act of ſucceſſion; whereby the electreſs dowager of Hanover was impowered to nominate whom ſhe ſhould think fit, to act in conjunction with the queen's miniſters of ſtate, as lords juſtices, on the demiſe of the crown; and it was made treaſon for any perſon to oppoſe or ſpeak againſt this law in the parliament. They alſo ſent the lord Halifax, who was a leading man, and of approved parts and fidelity to the whigs, to Hanover, with an account of the proceedings in parliament, and to carry the enſigns of the moſt noble order of the garter to the electoral prince, and to compliment him on his new title of duke of Cambridge. The lord Halifax undertook his embaſſy; and after a long ſtay at the Hague, where he endeavoured in vain to prevail with the ſtates-general to become gua-

Act for the further ſecurity of the Hanover ſucceſſion.

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rantees of the act of ſucceſſion, he proceeded to Hanover. The elector of Hanover, of whoſe title he had always been a ſtrenuous aſſerter, received him with perfect cordiality. Halifax ſhewed what good reaſons the parliament had for rejecting the motion; whereby he affirmed the ſucceſſion of the crown was now made ſure and ratified, and that the whigs were the only friends of his family. In the mean time, the whigs in England told their friends, that the motion was inſidious, as either not being ſeaſonable, or made by turbulent men with an ill deſign. But this was a very dark affair, and much ſuſpected by the common people, who ſeldom ſee into the cauſes, motives, and connections of things; and therefore it ſtruck the whigs like a deadly dart, and was ſoon followed by their diſgrace and ruin; for the hopes of many people were quite fruſtrated. The ignorant multitude could not now perceive any difference between the whigs and tories; and from that time alſo the memory of king William, which was a great ſtrength to the Hanoverian title, began to ſink daily, and the whigs were ſuſpected to have forgot their old principles. The tories alſo took great pains among the people, to make them believe that the whigs had not ſo much regard for the public good as for their own private profit: but the more the whigs loſt their credit with the people, ſo much the more did they recover their intereſt at court, and their favour with the queen; for Mr. Cowper, a man highly renowned for his maſterly eloquence and ſkill in the law, and who was naturally inclined to ſteddineſs, juſtice, and moderation, was firſt made lord keeper of the great ſeal, and afterwards lord Cowper and lord high chancellor of the kingdom. The earl of Sunderland, who was a man bold in his deſigns, quick in his conception, and born for any hardy enterprize, was made ſecretary of ſtate. Sunderland being, as it were, the very picture of his father's mind, aſſociated to himſelf men of all parties, however ſcandalous their characters: he ſaid with his father, "What is one man better than "another?" The lord Somers thought there was reaſon to fear he would bring all things into confuſion by his boldneſs and inexperience. Sunderland began ſoon after to diſcredit the old whigs, and to form new ones, and endeavoured to raiſe contentions among the nobility, to dictate to the queen, to impoſe upon the parliament and people, and to enſnare Mr. Harley. Other changes of places were alſo made, rather according

according to the fancy of the lord Godolphin and the earl of Sunderland, than to the mind of the whigs; for they choſe rather to make uſe of men of no reputation for fidelity, conſtancy, or virtue, than of good and ſteady men, as thinking they had nothing to fear from ſuch; but they were much miſtaken in their opinion: the whigs now, in order to pleaſe the people, took ſome concern about paying off king William's debts, giving out that they would take ſuch care of this matter, that all theſe debts ſhould be diſcharged in a ſhort time; but yet they did nothing. The utmoſt that can be aſcribed to them is, that they were extremely obſervant of the earl of Sunderland, and attentive to Mr. James Craggs, both of whom the old whigs deteſted. They were too eaſy alſo in approving the frauds of others, and giving credit to new ones; ſo that the whigs, in defending the conduct of the war in Spain, ſeemed ſometimes to do honour to diſgrace. They alleged in their excuſe the neceſſity of the war; but this excuſe, though juſt, yet was not always valid; for it had been ſo often repeated, that the common people thought it grew ſtale. Sir Thomas Hanmer ſaid, "The "neceſſity of the war ſerved only for a fair pretence to raiſe money;" and the ignorant multitude at length began to be quite weary of the war.

WHILE the inquiry was carried on in parliament about the public money, Mr. Lowndes gave in an account of deficiencies, and occaſional expences. As theſe articles were numberleſs, the parliament was very uneaſy at the debts, and did not underſtand the nature of them. As to the deficiencies, the houſe of commons made them good; but the country party ſaid they were not able to bear the occaſional expences of the war hereafter; nor was it in the treaſurer's power to lay ſuch a burden upon the nation every year; for this (they ſaid) would be to levy taxes upon the people by private authority, and without an act of parliament. But Mr. Lowndes to all this made anſwer, "You do not "know how many whole days we are hard at work; how many nights "we ſit up; and that for many years under ſuch difficulties, in order "to raiſe money for the defence and ſecurity of this government againſt "a formidable enemy. Many things happen in war by chance, and "by the ſole act of God, which nobody could foreſee; yet theſe things

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" muſt be preſently ſupplied, unleſs the parliament would have a ſtop " put to the whole progreſs of the war."

At length, that money might not be wanting for the war, theſe occaſional and contingent expences were allowed; and the emperor's proportion in Spain and Portugal was ſomehow undertaken to be made up by the Engliſh. They reſolved alſo to advance one hundred and ninety-four thouſand five hundred and twenty pounds to the king of Pruſſia; and the Dutch were to ſupply him with ſixty-ſeven thouſand two hundred and ſixty pounds. The Engliſh were to pay the king of Denmark one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds every year from the beginning of the war to the end of it; and the Dutch to pay him as much. When it was aſked, Why the Dutch did not pay the king of Pruſſia as much as the Engliſh? The Dutch made anſwer, " That the " Engliſh took upon themſelves to pay the emperor's part, but that " they themſelves, in fact, though not obliged, paid a third of that " part; that therefore they could not fairly be blamed on this account; " ſince they had not only contributed to the expence of the war beyond " what they were well able to levy, but even more than they had con- " tracted for, and that they had not failed in the performance of any " part of their treaties; and that they did not think it reaſonable to put " the United Provinces upon an equality of ſtrength with England.

When theſe things were objected to the miniſtry in parliament, and the queſtion was put to them, Why they had undertaken to make good the emperor's part, and waſted the blood and treaſures of the nation? They made anſwer, " That they were under a neceſſity to do theſe " things, or otherwiſe the war muſt have been at an end." If any further complaint was made, the parliament eaſily approved of their proceedings, and even agreed to transfer thoſe unforeſeen expences to the firſt ſupplies of the next year; ſo much had their party the ſuperiority at that time. There were many whigs in that parliament who did not conform to the lord Godolphin in every thing: among whom were, Mr. Edward Wortley, Mr. Hampden, Sir Joſeph Jekyl, and Sir Peter King, who was a man of eminent eloquence, conſtancy, and moderation. Others of the whigs were thorough courtiers. Mr. John Smith,

Smith, the ſpeaker, held a middle courſe between both. The lord Coningſby, Mr. Craggs, Mr. Peyton, and others, obſerved the lord Godolphin's directions, like ſlaves obedient to their maſter's will. As to Mr. Henry Boyle, who was the chairman of the committees of parliament, he was naturally a cautious and prudent man, and therefore often avoided to bewray himſelf by ſpeech-making in the houſe of commons. But brigadier general Stanhope, the better to ſerve the common cauſe, and himſelf at the ſame time, would ſeldom do any of the courtiers dirty work, but preſſed to have a clear account of the public money, the ſucceſſion of the crown as by law eſtabliſhed, and the liberties of the people maintained, and every thing to be openly and fairly tranſacted, in order to acquire to himſelf the reputation of a great patriot; and when he was to go this year into Spain, he made a long ſpeech in parliament, to put his fellow-ſubjects in mind of their duty, and at the ſame time warned them of their imminent danger, not ſo much from the enemy, as from the parliament itſelf, and courageouſly turned the edge of his ſpeech againſt men who pretended to the name of whigs, but were ſtaunch courtiers, though he was one of theſe himſelf. "It grieves me," ſaid he, "that we ſhould now de-"ſire to be ſuch men as our anceſtors would not have endured." And as if he had been a great aſſerter of the public liberty, the earl of Huntingdon, now dying, left him an annuity of two hundred pounds in his will, to defend the liberty and laws of his country, and the rights of the people: but he was much deceived in Mr. Stanhope.

About this time Mr. Harley took great pains to ingratiate himſelf with the ducheſs of Marlborough, and privately endeavoured all he could to gain her favour; fearing, leſt the violent temper of that lady might one time or other prove pernicious to him, as it had been to many others; but ſhe was headſtrong, and of ſuch a proud ſpirit, that ſhe could hardly be prevailed with to return him a civil anſwer. She had an averſion to him, and with an haughty air deſpiſed all that gentleman's civilities, though he had never diſcontinued his endeavours by the moſt obliging methods, and all the good offices in his power, to gain her friendſhip; but ſhe, without any concern, rode all about the town triumphant; ſometimes to one lady, ſometimes to another; and

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ſometimes ſhe would viſit the lord Halifax, who, in compliance with the humour of the times, was wont to appeaſe that lady's ſpirit with concerts of muſic and poems, and private ſuppers and entertainments, for all which he was well qualified by the natural eaſe and politeneſs of his manners.

In the mean time, the lord Somers, ſeeing that the whigs were in ſome meaſure united with the court, and fearing leſt the principles of our anceſtors ſhould be ſubverted, retired from all public employment; for his own private intereſt appeared of no conſideration to him in compariſon of the public; and as there was nothing more dear to him than his country, ſo he thought nothing more honourable than integrity and zeal for the public ſafety. He concerted meaſures with the Scots for the defence of the common ſafety and liberty of the people, and fairly pointed out what both ſides ought to hold faſt, and what they might give up; he was alſo of opinion, that the public wounds of England were, at this time, to be healed by wholeſome and perpetual laws, according to the cuſtom of our anceſtors, leſt hereafter, by ſome accident, or through the inſtigation of a buſy woman, they who had the intereſt of their country at heart might happen to loſe the queen's favour. This deſign was oppoſed by the duke of Marlborough and the lord Godolphin, who were little acquainted with law, but had been bred at court, and now, having the aſcendant there, would rather have had all things ordered after their own will, than according to the rules of law.

The lord Halifax, who was no ſtranger to court intrigues, with ſome difficulty entered into their meaſures; and the lord Wharton, flattered with the hopes of the lieutenancy of Ireland, was alſo brought into the ſame. Therefore the lord Somers, that great patriot, left to fortune and future events, what, through the alteration of the times, he was not able to reform in the ſtate; and applying to the act of ſucceſſion, took care to have it improved in ſome important points by the parliament, before it was carried to the elector of Hanover by the lord Halifax. How the duke of Marlborough and the lord Godolphin ſtood affected in relation to the ſucceſſion and the union, time has not yet fully diſcovered, for they were obliged in policy to conſult the queen's humour;

humour; and many things were done in her majeſty's name, of which ſhe either knew nothing at all, or to which ſhe was very averſe.

THIS winter the French king had entertained great projects; and therefore, that he might not give occaſion to raiſe the ſpirits of the confederates, or to diſcharge his own ſoldiers in carrying on the war, he thought it neceſſary to attempt ſomething extraordinary in the field the next ſpring: and that he might do it the ſooner, he privately treated with the king of Denmark, offering him a ſum of ready money on condition that his forces ſhould not leave their winter quarters to join the confederate's army, till the Dutch had firſt given them ſatisfaction for all their pay: in the mean time, he treated ſecretly with the Dutch, not to pay that money to the king of Denmark. Both the Danes and the Dutch came to an agreement with the French king to this purpoſe; upon which, being ſecure from the Danes, he began to conſult what he had now to do. At laſt he came to this reſolution, to raiſe forces throughout all his provinces, to borrow money, and to ſign tallies for money, in order to ſupply the defects of ſinking credit; and to circulate them among the bankers, and the Daniſh miniſters, and other private agents, inſtead of coin; but, as there was a great want of money at that time, the coin, by degrees, became exceedingly ſcarce. The king himſelf alſo was ſo reduced by the war, and eſpecially by that in Italy, that he had not wherewithal even to pay the intereſt of loans. His money tallies were ſo far from ſerving his occaſions, that they paſſed in commerce at a very great diſcount, and made the king's neceſſities apparent to the whole world, to which alſo the fraud committed by one Hungetain very much contributed. This man having been long employed in paying the French king's forces in Italy; and having aſſiſted the king with money for carrying on the war, now took an opportunity to eſcape ſuddenly out of France, and came to Holland, where he implored the protection of the ſtates-general, declaring to them the good he had done to the confederates, and how the French king was now, by his means, reduced to the want of money: but the Dutch, being merchants, refuſed to give protection to any private frauds, leſt the French king ſhould pay them in their own coin: therefore they only gave him leave to ſettle his

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accounts with thoſe who had dealt with him, but would not have any thing further to do with him. Yet they afterwards called ſome bold men in queſtion, who had undertaken to carry Hungetain off by force into France, and inflicted exemplary puniſhments upon them for violating the law of nations: but the money tallies were attended with this ill conſequence, that the king delivered them out to his ſubjects at one price, and received them again at another; whence, of courſe, aroſe great deficiencies. The monied men were very careful under this calamity, either to ſend what money they had left into foreign countries, or to keep it locked up in their cheſts at home without intereſt. Neither the king's edicts, nor examples of puniſhment, nor all the induſtry of Monſieur de Chammillard, could contribute any thing to the redreſs of this public grievance. In theſe diſtreſſed times the two Croiſſards, brothers, and other French merchants, made an adventurous voyage to the South Sea, whence they brought immenſe riches, without which France muſt have ſunk under the burden of the war.

When the ſpring came on, the French king ordered the marſhal de Theſſe to beſiege Barcelona by land and ſea; and the duke de Feuillade, who had lately married Chamillard's daughter, to beſiege Turin. The French king had placed the duke of Orleans, who was ambitious of military glory, at the head of his army in Italy, and threatned Germany dreadfully. He commanded the marſhal de Villeroy in Brabant to fight the enemy, whenever they gave him an opportunity; and he gave the command of the few weak troops he had on the frontier of Portugal to the duke of Berwick, to keep the wavering Spaniards in ſubjection to king Philip. He alſo ſent the Condé de las Torres from Italy into Valentia, to reſtrain the people of that province, who were incited to a revolt from king Philip by Nebot and Baſſet, and to ſupport thoſe who continued firm in his intereſt. He laid ſiege to the town of San Mattheo with ſeven thouſand men, which had ſubmitted to king Charles. On this Charles ſent the earl of Peterborough to relieve that town if poſſible. He intended to have gone thither immediately after the reduction of Barcelona, if the king had not been prevailed on by the advice of major general Cunningham, who was a ſoldier of great reputation, rather to give a little reſt and refreſhment to his

few

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few forces, tired out with the length of the march, and the fatigue of the ſiege. The earl of Peterborough, taking the opportunity of colonel Nebot's revolt, made all the haſte he could to San Matteo, by the way of Tortoſa, marching all night. When he arrived there, he exerted his utmoſt courage and artifice to deprive the enemy of all hope of ſucceſs: but, ſince he had neither a ſufficient force of his own, nor found the people of that country in arms for king Charles, as he had been informed they were, he was ſomewhat diſcouraged; however, after calling a council of war, he reſolved to attempt it by policy and ſtratagem; he therefore wrote a letter to the governor of San Matteo, and ſent it by a truſty meſſenger, who, as if he had been a deſerter, was artfully to deliver it to the Condé de las Torres. The contents of it were to this effect, "That he was now at hand with "ſeven thouſand men, and all the province in arms for king Charles, "ready to ſecure all the roads and paſſes; ordering him to make a "ſally at a certain hour appointed, and promiſing that he himſelf at "the ſame time would attack the enemy's camp." The plot ſucceeded beyond expectation; for the Condé de las Torres, reading the letter, and not ſuſpecting the fraud, but fearing leſt his retreat ſhould be cut off, decamped ſuddenly before the time mentioned in the earl of Peterborough's letter, and with the utmoſt ſpeed and fear marched off ſix miles through the mountains. The earl of Peterborough had alarmed all the country, far and near, with dreadful rumours and meſſages of his approach; and carefully concealing the ſmall number of his troops, cauſed reports to be ſpread that the confederates had a large army. It is ſaid he had not above twelve hundred men, who were reduced to great weakneſs, when he thus put to flight ſeven thouſand of the enemy. After this, he thought it worth his while to attempt the town of Noles, which the inhabitants held out for king Philip. But ſince he neither had ſoldiers, nor any thing in readineſs neceſſary for war, he himſelf rode full ſpeed to the gate of the town; and calling for one of the magiſtrates, or prieſts, demanded the town to be ſurrendered to him: he told them, if they would yield immediately, they might expect good conditions; but, if they refuſed, he would inſtantly give orders to his army to plunder the town, allowing them only ſix minutes time to conſult and return their anſwer; and

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calling out aloud for his cannons (though he had none) to be planted againſt the walls. As great revolutions are brought about by ſmall accidents, the word was no ſooner ſaid, but the town was delivered up; and other places alſo he went and took with the ſame celerity; all which he added to the dominions of king Charles. By this manner of making war, the earl of Peterborough, in a ſhort ſpace of time, performed ſuch wonderful exploits in Spain, that the Spaniards even began to give credit to all the fabulous ſtories of the valour and atchievements of Don Quixote: and the Engliſh alſo, thought his praiſes an obſcuration of the duke of Marlborough's glory. He further pretended to be furniſhed with horſes, as it were ſprung out of the earth, and drew brigadier Mahoni into a conference, in which he dexterouſly operated on his mind, and managed his paſſions, as it ſuited his own purpoſe. Then he took Molviedro, and ſeized Valencia; and by his rumours and ſpies cauſed the Spaniards to make war upon one another; and defeated the duke de Arcos: and, laſtly, he ſupported the prieſts, and ſuch of the country people as would take up arms for king Charles, by his liberality. In a word, the earl of Peterborough, in the hiſtory of his conduct, is ſtyled the father of ſtratagems, and fortune is ſaid to have always attended his undertakings.

DURING this great run of ſucceſſes in Spain, the earl of Peterborough, as if he had been a rival to the greateſt generals of former times, applied himſelf to the writing of letters, giving an account of his own actions, complaining of his great want of every thing, and how much he was oppoſed by the king's favourites, who are ſaid to have conſulted their private profit more than the public intereſt: but, as glory is often followed by envy, theſe things were reported to the king, who excuſed his ſervants from all blame. Hence aroſe contentions, both in the army and the court, and complaints were made to the queen. Theſe miſchiefs are ſaid to have been inflamed by brigadier general Stanhope, who is reported to have diſparaged the earl of Peterborough by miſrepreſenting all his gallant actions as vain: and his adverſaries in England even railed at his moſt glorious exploits, as if they had been injurious to the common cauſe; and gave out every where, that he had ſquandered away vaſt treaſures in Spain, without

having done any thing; fearing leſt the earl of Peterborough's actions ſhould obſcure the glory of the duke of Marlborough. When Peterborough was informed of this, he ſometimes ſuſpected Mr. Harley, and ſometimes the earl of Sunderland; and found now that he had a rival in the earl of Galway, who was a Frenchman, in great favour with the earl of Sunderland. But as Galway was not only a foreigner, but alſo more fit for council in the cabinet than action in the field, the lord Sommers, and others of the leading patriots, were not brought into his party without the greateſt difficulty and heſitation. But every thing being managed at that time according to the duke of Marlborough's will, the command of the army in Spain was given to the earl of Galway. And now firſt by the connivance of the parliament, money was borrowed of the citizens of London, by private authority, for the ſervice of the war in Italy. This was remitted to prince Eugene by the way of Italy, leſt it ſhould either have been ſpent by the emperor's miniſters at Vienna, or miſapplied to other uſes. Prince Eugene aſcribed the benefit of this loan to the duke of Marlborough, and not to the citizens: on which account the duke of Marlborough's diligence and military praiſes were highly celebrated every where, and the earl of Peterborough's credit with king Charles daily leſſened. In England his councils and actions, his liberality and other princely virtues, were made objects of cenſure: but ſuch is the complaiſance of our country, as to give a preference to foreigners before our own countrymen, though they ſhould even violate the rights, manners, and cuſtoms of the nation, and contaminate, by their rudeneſs and improbity, the natural civility and candour of Engliſhmen: not only foreign merchants were naturalized, but even ploughmen and herdſmen; nay, and gameſters, ſingers, dancers, and other wretches as infamous as theſe, whoſe depraved courſe of life was the ready way not only to inferior honours and employments, but even to offices under government, and to ſeats in parliament. The earl of Sunderland was thought to be inſtrumental to all this; who, though but of moderate parts, deſpiſed and made no account of natives of Britain, or of the cuſtoms, laws and rights of our anceſtors, civil and eccleſiaſtical, in compariſon with himſelf and his own new and nefarious ſchemes, as if he alone had excelled all the reſt of mankind. His violent

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violent temper and ſour carriage rendered him very uneaſy to the queen; and the more diſagreeable he became to her, ſo much the more did Mr. Harley recover her favour. The lord Sommers, who was the only man to whom Sunderland would liſten, exhorted the miniſters, ſince they were engaged in a war of ſuch extent, both by land and ſea, in divers and diſtant parts, not to entertain diſſentions, or to quarrel about power at home. In the mean time, the queen being diſturbed with their domeſtic contentions, ſomewhat to divert her thoughts, gave orders to beautify St. James's Park, to cover the walks anew with gravel, and to cleanſe and enlarge the old canals, which were almoſt filled up with mud.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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